Mr. NEAL's HISTORY

OF THE

PURITANS,

OR

Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts,

A NEW EDITION,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED,

BY

JOSHUA TOULMIN, A.M.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.





REV.P ALEXANDER LEIGHTON D.D.

THE HISTORY OF THE PURITANS, OR, *Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts*,

FROM THE

DEATH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

TO THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR

IN THE YEAR 1642.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

Their Principles; their Attempts for a further Reformation in the Church; their Sufferings; and the Lives and Characters of their principal Divines.

VOLUME II.

By DANIEL NEAL, *M. A.*

A NEW EDITION,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED,

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TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

Some Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Author.

But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed ye be not conſumed one of another. Gal. v. 15.

BATH, PRINTED BY R. CRUTTWELL;

AND SOLD BY

C. DILLY, POULTRY; AND J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, LONDON; AND J. LLOYD, BRISTOL.

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THE

EDITOR's ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Editor, in reviſing the firſt volume of Mr. *Neal*'s "Hiſtory of the Puritans," was greatly aſſiſted by the author's "Review of the principal facts objected to in that volume." In the volume which is now preſented to the publick, ſuch aid fails him, as it will alſo in the ſucceeding ones, ſince Dr. *Grey*'s "Examination" did not make its appearance till the declining ſtate of Mr. *Neal*'s health prevented his further vindication of his work.

The juſtice due to Mr. *Neal*'s memory and to truth, required the Editor to attempt what could have been done by the author himſelf with much greater advantage than at this diſtance of time, from the firſt ſtatement of the facts, by one who cannot come at all the authorities on which Mr. *Neal* ſpake. He has endeavoured, however, to acquit himſelf with care and impartiality in the examination of Dr. *Grey*'s animadverſions, and is not aware that he has paſſed over any material ſtrictures, extended through a volume of 400 pages.

Though Dr. *Grey*'s* "Examination" may be now little known or ſought after, it received, at its firſt

* Dr. *Zachary Grey* was of a Yorkſhire family, originally from France; he was rector of Houghton-Conqueſt in Bedfordſhire, and vicar of St. Peter's and St. Giles's pariſhes in Cambridge, where he uſually paſſed all his winter, and the reſt of his time at Ampthill, the neighbouring market-town to his living. He died Nov. 25, 1766, at Ampthill, in the 79th year of his age, and was buried at Houghton-Conqueſt. He was of a moſt amiable, ſweet, and communicative diſpoſition, moſt friendly to his acquaintance, and never better pleaſed than when performing acts of friendſhip and benevolence. His publications were numerous.

Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 354.

publication,

publication, the thanks of many divines of the firſt eminence; particularly of Dr. *Gibſon*, then biſhop of *London*, and of Dr. *Sherlock*, then biſhop of *Saliſbury*. The latter prelate, writing to the Doctor, ſaid, "It is happy that Mr. *Neal*'s account appeared "when there was one ſo well verſed in the hiſtory, "and ſo able to correct the errors and prejudices. "The ſervice you have done muſt be conſidered as a "very important one by all the friends of the con-"ſtitution of the church of England."§

From the notes in the following pages, the reader will be able to form a judgment whether the encomium beſtowed on Dr. *Grey*'s work proceeded from a careful inveſtigation of his remarks, and a compariſon of them with Mr. *Neal*'s hiſtory and vouchers, or from bias to a cauſe. In the Editor's apprehenſions, the value of Mr. *Neal*'s hiſtory and its authorities is, ſo far as he has proceeded, heightened by the compariſon.

In his advertiſement to the firſt volume, he made a great miſtake in aſcribing the quarto edition of "The Hiſtory of the Puritans" to the author himſelf; who died about twelve years before its appearance. It was given to the publick by his worthy ſon, Mr. *Nathaniel Neal*, of the Million Bank, and is generally eſteemed very correct.

There has been pointed out to the Editor a ſlight error of Mr. *Neal*, p. 244; who ſays, that biſhop *Jewel* was educated in Chriſt's College, Oxford; whereas, according to *Fuller* and *Wood*, he was of Corpus Chriſti.

§ See Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 356. Note *.

The

The Editor has been aſked,† on what authority, in the biographical account of Mr. *Tomkins*, ſubjoined to p. 18 of the "Memoirs of Mr. *Neal*," he charged Mr. *Aſty*,§ on making an exchange with Mr. *Tomkins*, one Lord's day, with "alarming the "people with the danger of pernicious errors and "damnable hereſies creeping in among the diſſent-"ers, and particularly referring to errors concern-"ing the doctrine of Chriſt's divinity."

On examining the matter, he finds that he has uſed the very words, as well as written on the authority, of Mr. *Tomkins*, who ſpoke on the information he had received concerning the tenor and ſtrain of Mr. *Aſty*'s ſermon; and adds, that Mr. *Aſty* himſelf afterwards acknowledged to him, "that the in-"formation in general was true, viz. that he ſpake "of damnable hereſies, and applied thoſe texts 2 "*Peter* ii. 1, *Jude* verſe 4, or at leaſt one to the new "doctrines about the deity of Chriſt, that were now, "as he apprehended, ſecretly ſpreading." Mr. *Tomkins* was alſo told, that Mr. *Aſty* was very warm upon theſe points, but he ſubjoins, "I muſt do "Mr. *Aſty* this juſtice, to acquaint others, that he

† By the Rev. *Thomas Towle*, a diſſenting miniſter of eminence among the independents, in an interview, at which the editor was very politely received, and which took place at Mr. *Towle*'s deſire, in conſequence of a letter written to him by a friend on the ſubject of the above charge.

§ Mr. *Aſty* was grandſon of Mr. *Robert Aſty*, who was ejected from Stratford in Suffolk. He had good natural parts, and by ſpiritual gifts and conſiderable attainments in literature, was richly furniſhed for his miniſterial province. He was perceived to have drunk very much into the ſentiments and ſpirit of Dr. *Owen*, who was his favourite author. The amiable traits of his character were, a ſweetneſs of temper, an affectionate ſympathy in the afflictions and proſperity of others, a familiarity and condeſcenſion of deportment, and a diſpoſition to caſt a mantle over the failings of others, and to aſk pardon for his own. He died Jan. 20, 1729-30, aged 57. Dr. *Guyſe*'s funeral ſermon for him.

"aſſured

" aſſured me had no particular view *to me* or *ſuſpi-*
" *cion of me*, when he brought down this ſermon
" among others to Newington. As he had an ap-
" prehenſion of the danger of thoſe errors and of
" the ſpreading of them at that time, he thought it
" might be ſeaſonable to preach ſuch a ſermon *any*
" *where*." When another gentleman, however, put the matter more cloſely to him, he could not deny that he had ſome intimation of a ſuſpicion of Mr. *Tomkins*. But from the aſſurance Mr. *Aſty* gave Mr. *Tomkins*, candour will be ready to conclude, that he did not greatly credit the intimation.

Mr. *Towle*, who was a ſucceſſor to Mr. *Aſty* in the paſtoral office, could ſcarcely ſuppoſe, that he could be guilty of a conduct ſo remote from the amiable and pacifick character he always bore, and from the delineation of it in the funeral ſermon for him by Dr. *Guyſe*; who, I find, ſays of him, " I have with
" pleaſure obſerved a remarkable tenderneſs in his
" ſpirit, as judging the ſtate of thoſe that differed
" from him, even in points which he took to be of
" very great importance."

It will be right to add Mr. *Tomkins*'s declaration with reſpect to Mr. *Aſty*'s views: " I never had a
" thought that he preached his ſermon out of any
" particular perſonal prejudice againſt me; but re-
" ally believed that he did it from a zeal for what
" he apprehended to be truth neceſſary to ſalvation.
" Though I am perſuaded in my own mind, that
" this zeal of his in this matter is a miſtaken zeal;
" I do nevertheleſs reſpect him as a chriſtian and a
" miniſter."

In the memoirs of Mr. *Neal*, we mentioned his letter to the Rev. Dr. *Francis Hare*, dean of *Worceſter*.

The

The Editor has lately met with this piece; it does the author credit, for it is written with ability and temper. He is inclined to give a paſſage from it, as a ſpecimen of the force of argument it ſhews, and as going to the foundation of our eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment.

The dean contended for ſubmiſſion to the authority of the *rightful* governors of the church; whom he defined to be "an eccleſiaſtical conſiſtory of preſ-"byters with their biſhop at their head." Mr. *Neal*, to ſhew that this definition does not apply to the church of England, replies: "Now taking all this "for granted, what an argument have you put into "the mouths of the diſſenters to juſtify their ſepa-"ration from the preſent eſtabliſhment."

"For is there any thing like this to be found "there? Is the church of England governed by a "biſhop and his preſbyters? Is not the KING the "fountain of all eccleſiaſtical anthority? And has "he not power to make ordinances which ſhall bind "the clergy without their conſent, under the pe-"nalty of a *premunire?* Does not his majeſty no-"minate the biſhops, ſummon convocations, and "prorogue them at pleaſure? When the convoca-"tions of Canterbury and York are aſſembled, can "they debate upon any ſubject without the king's "licence? Or make any canons that can bind the "people without an act of parliament? The biſhops "in their ſeveral courts can determine nothing in a "judicial manner about the faith, there lying an "appeal from them to the king, who decides it by "his commiſſioners in the court of delegates.

"Now though this may be a wiſe and prudent "inſtitution, yet it can lay no claim to antiquity,

"becauſe

" becauſe the civil magiſtrate was not chriſtian for
" 300 years after our Saviour; and conſequently
" the diſſenters, who are for reducing religion to the
" ſtandard of the *Bible*, can be under no obligation
" to conform to it. We have a divine precept to ob-
" lige us to do whatſoever Chriſt and his Apoſtles
" have commanded us; but I find no paſſage of
" ſcripture that obliges us to be of the religion of
" the ſtate we happen to be born in. If there be
" any ſuch obligation on the Engliſh diſſenters, it
" muſt ariſe only from the laws of their country,
" which can have no influence upon them at pre-
" ſent, thoſe laws having been long ſince ſuſpended
" by the act of indulgence."

THE

THE

AUTHOR's PREFACE.

THE favourable acceptance of the *firſt* volume of this work has encouraged me to publiſh a *ſecond*, which carries the hiſtory forward to the beginning of the *civil war*, when the two houſes of parliament wreſted the ſpiritual ſword out of the hands of the king and biſhops, and aſſumed the *ſupremacy* to themſelves.

There had been a ceſſation of controverſy for ſome time before the death of queen ELIZABETH; the *puritans* being in hopes, upon the acceſſion of a king that had been educated in their own principles, to obtain an eaſy redreſs of their grievances; and certainly no prince ever had ſo much in his power to compromiſe the differences of the church, as king JAMES I. at the conference of Hampton-Court; but being an indolent and vainglorious monarch, he became a willing captive to the biſhops, who flattered his vanity, and put that maxim into his head, *No biſhop, no king*. The creatures of the court, in lieu of the vaſt ſums of money they received out of the *exchequer*, gave him the flattering title of an ABSOLUTE SOVEREIGN, and, to ſupply his extravagancies, broke through the conſtitution, and laid the foundation of all the calamities of his ſon's reign; while himſelf, ſunk into luxury and eaſe, became the contempt of all the powers of Europe. If king *James* had any principles of religion beſides what he called KINGCRAFT, or diſſimulation, he changed them with the climate, for from a rigid *calviniſt* he became a favourer of *arminianiſm* in the latter part of his reign; from a proteſtant of the pureſt *kirk* upon earth, a doctrinal *papiſt*; and from a diſguiſed *puritan*, the moſt implacable enemy of that people, putting all the ſprings of the prerogative in motion, to drive them out of both kingdoms.

But inſtead of accompliſhing his deſigns, the number of *puritans* increaſed prodigiouſly in his reign, which was owing to one or other of theſe cauſes.

Firſt; *To the ſtanding firm by the conſtitution and laws of their country*; which brought over to them all thoſe gentlemen in the houſe of commons, and in the ſeveral counties of England, who found it neceſſary, for the preſervation of their properties, to oppoſe the court, and to inſiſt upon being governed according to law; theſe were called STATE PURITANS.

Secondly; *To their ſteady adherence to the doctrines of* Calvin, *and the ſynod of* Dort, *in the points of predeſtination and grace, againſt the modern*

modern interpretations of ARMINIUS *and his followers.* The court divines fell in with the latter, and were thought not only to deviate from the principles of the firſt reformers, but to attempt a coalition with the church of Rome; while moſt of the country clergy, being ſtiff in their old opinions, (though otherwiſe well enough affected to the diſcipline and ceremonies of the church) were in a manner ſhut out from all preferment, and branded with the name of DOCTRINAL PURITANS.

Thirdly; *To their pious and ſevere manner of life, which was at this time very extraordinary.* If a man kept the ſabbath, and frequented ſermons; if he maintained family religion, and would neither ſwear, nor be drunk, nor comply with the faſhionable vices of the times, he was called a *puritan:* this, by degrees, procured them the compaſſion of the ſober part of the nation, who began to think it very hard, that a number of ſober, induſtrious, and conſcientious people, ſhould be harraſſed out of the land, for ſcrupling to comply with a few indifferent ceremonies, which had no relation to the favour of God, or the practice of virtue.

Fourthly; It has been thought by ſome, that their increaſe was owing to *the mild and gentle government of archbiſhop* ABBOT. While BANCROFT lived, the puritans were uſed with the utmoſt rigour, but ABBOT, having a greater concern for the doctrines of the church than for its ceremonies, relaxed the penal laws, and connived at their proſelyting the people to *calviniſm.* ARMINIANISM was at this time both a church and ſtate faction; the divines of this perſuaſion, apprehending their ſentiments not very conſiſtent with the received ſenſe of the thirty-nine articles, and being afraid of the cenſures of a parliament or convocation, took ſhelter under the prerogative, and went into all the ſlaviſh meaſures of the court to gain the royal favour, and to ſecure to their friends the chief preferments in the church. They perſuaded his majeſty to ſtifle the predeſtinarian controverſy, both in the pulpit and preſs, and would, no doubt, in a few years, have got the balance of numbers on their ſide, if, by graſping at too much, they had not precipitated both church and ſtate into confuſion. It was no advantage to thoſe divines that they were linked with the ROMAN CATHOLICKS, for *theſe* being ſenſible they could not be protected by law, cried up the *prerogative*, and joined the forces with the *court divines*, to ſupport the diſpenſing power; they declared for the unlimited authority of the *ſovereign* on the one hand, and the abſolute obedience of the *ſubject* on the other; ſo that though there is no real connection between *arminianiſm* and *popery*, the two parties were unhappily combined at this time to deſtroy the puritans, and to ſubvert the conſtitution and laws of their country.

But if ABBOT was too remiſs, his ſucceſſor LAUD was as much too furious, for in the *firſt year* of his government he introduced as many

many changes as a wise and prudent *statesman* would have attempted in *seven*;* he prevailed with his majesty to set up the English *service* at Edinburgh, and laid the foundation of the Scots *liturgy*; he obtained the revival of the *book of sports*; he turned the *communion tables* into *altars*; he sent out injunctions which broke up the French and Dutch churches; and procured the repeal of the Irish *articles*, and those of England to be received in their place. Such was his rigorous persecution of the *puritans*, that he would neither suffer them to live peaceably in the land, nor remove quietly out of it! His GRACE was also the chief mover in all those unbounded acts of power which were subversive of the rights and liberties of the people: And while he had the reins in his hands, drove so near the precipices of popery and tyranny, that the hearts of the most resolved protestants turned against him, and almost all England became PURITAN.

I am sensible that no part of modern history has been examined with so much critical exactness, as that part of the reign of king CHARLES I. which relates to the rise and progress of the *civil war*; here the writers on both sides have blown up their passions into a flame, and instead of history, have given us little else but panegyrick or satire. I have endeavoured to avoid extremes, and have represented things as they appeared to me, with modesty, and without any personal reflections. The character I have given of the religious principles of the LONG PARLIAMENT was designedly taken out of the earl of *Clarendon's History of the* GRAND REBELLION, that it might be without exception: and I am of opinion, that the want of a due acquaintance with the principles of the two houses with regard to *church discipline*, has misled our best historians, who have represented some of them as *zealous prelatists*, and others as *cunning presbyterians*, *independents*, *sectaries*, &c. whereas in truth they had these matters very little at heart. The king was hampered with notions of the divine right of diocesan episcopacy, but the two houses [excepting the bishops] were almost to a man of the principles of ERASTUS, who maintained, *that Christ and his apostles had prescribed no particular form of discipline for his church in after ages, but had left the keys in the hands of the civil magistrate, who had the sole power of punishing transgressors, and of appointing such particular forms of church government from time to time, as were most subservient to the peace and welfare of the commonwealth.* Indeed these were the sentiments of our church reformers, from archbishop *Cranmer* down to *Bancroft*. And though the *puritans* in the reign of queen *Elizabeth* wrote with great eagerness for the divine right of their *book of discipline*, their posterity in the next reigns were more cool upon that head, declaring their satisfaction, if the present episcopacy might be reduced to a more primitive standard. This was the substance of the *mi-*

* Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 506.

nisters'

niſters' petition in the year 1641, ſigned with ſeven hundred hands. And even thoſe who were for ROOT and BRANCH were willing to ſubmit to a *parliamentary reformation*, till the Scots revived the notion of *divine right* in the aſſembly of divines. However, it is certain, the TWO HOUSES had no attachment to *preſbytery* or *independency*, but would have compromiſed matters with the king upon the *epiſcopal ſcheme*, as long as his majeſty was in the field; but when victory had declared on their ſide, they complied in ſome meaſure with their northern friends, who had aſſiſted them in the war; but would never part with the *power of the* KEYS out of their own hands. If the reader will keep this in mind, he will eaſily account for the ſeveral revolutions of church government in theſe unſettled times.

It is not to be expected, that the moſt diſintereſted writer of theſe affairs ſhould eſcape the cenſures of different parties; I thought I had already ſufficiently expreſſed my intentions in publiſhing the *Hiſtory of the Puritans*; but becauſe it has been inſinuated in a late pamphlet, that it looked like a plot againſt the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution,* I think it proper to aſſure the world once for all, that what I have written is with no ill ſpirit or deſign againſt the peace of the church or nation; that I have no private or party views; no patron; no aſſociates; nor other proſpect of reward, than the pleaſure of ſetting the Engliſh *reformation* in a true light, and of beating down ſome of the fences and incloſures of conſcience. Nor can there be any inconvenience in remembering the miſtakes of our anceſtors, when all the parties concerned are gone off the ſtage, and their families reconciled by inter-marriages; but it may be of ſome uſe and benefit to mankind, by enabling them to avoid thoſe *rocks* on which their forefathers have ſplit. When I am convinced of any miſtakes, or unfair repreſentations, I ſhall not be aſhamed to retract them before the world; but FACTS are ſtubborn things, and will not bend to the humours and inclinations of artful and angry men; if theſe have been diſguiſed or miſreported, let them be ſet right in a decent manner, without the mean ſurmiſes of *plots* and *confederacies*; and whoever does it, ſhall have mine as well as the thanks of the publick.

I have no controverſy with the preſent church of England, which has abandoned, in a great meaſure, the perſecuting principles of former times; for though I am not unacquainted with the nature and defects of *religious eſtabliſhments*, yet neither my principles nor inclinations will allow me to give them the leaſt diſturbance, any further than they impoſe upon conſcience, or intrench upon the rights of *civil ſociety*. If the *preſbyterians* or *independents* have been guilty of ſuch practices in their turns, I ſhall freely bear my teſtimony againſt them, and think I may do it with a GOOD GRACE, ſince I

* Expoſtulatory Letter, p. 29, 30.

have

have always declared againſt *reſtraints upon conſcience* among all parties of chriſtians;* but if men will vindicate the juſtice and equity of oaths *ex officio*, and of *exorbitant fines*, *impriſonment*, and *baniſhment*, for things in their own nature indifferent; if they will call a relation of the illegal ſeverities of *council-tables*, *ſtar-chambers*, and *high-commiſſions*, a SATIRE AGAINST THE PRESENT ESTABLISHMENT, they muſt uſe their liberty, as I ſhall mine, in appearing againſt eccleſiaſtical oppreſſion, from what quarter ſoever it comes.

I have freely cenſured the miſtakes of the puritans in queen ELIZABETH's reign; nor will I be their advocate any longer than they have ſcripture, reaſon, and ſome degree of good manners on their ſide. If it ſhall at any time appear, that the body of them lived in contempt of all lawful authority, or bid defiance to the laws of their country, except in ſuch caſes wherein their conſciences told them, *It was their duty to obey God rather than man*; if they were guilty of rebellion, ſedition, or of abandoning the *queen* and the *proteſtant religion*, when it was in danger, let them bear their own reproach; but as yet I muſt be of opinion, that they were the beſt friends of the conſtitution and liberties of their country; that they were neither *unquiet nor reſtleſs*, unleſs againſt tyranny in the ſtate, and oppreſſion upon the conſcience; that they made uſe of no other weapons, during a courſe of fourſcore years, but prayers to God, and petitions to the legiſlature for redreſs of their grievances, it being an article of their belief, *that abſolute ſubmiſſion was due to the ſupreme magiſtrate in all things lawful*, as will ſufficiently appear by their proteſtations in the beginning of the reign of king *James* I. I have admitted that the *puritans* might be too ſtiff and rigid in their behaviour; that they were unacquainted with the rights of conſcience; and, that their language to their ſuperiors the biſhops was not always decent and mannerly: *Oppreſſion maketh wiſe men mad.* But ſurely, the depriving, impriſoning, and putting men to death for theſe things, will not be vindicated in our times.

In the preface to the firſt volume of this hiſtory, I mentioned with pleaſure the growing ſentiments of religious liberty in the church of England, but complained of the *burthen of ſubſcriptions* upon the *clergy*; and *of the corporation and teſt acts*, as prejudicial to the cauſe of religion and virtue, among the *laity*; for which reaſons the proteſtant diſſenters throughout England intended to petition for a repeal or amendment of theſe acts, the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament, if they had met with any encouragement from their ſuperiors, or had the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs. The SACRAMENTAL TEST is, no doubt, a diſtinguiſhing mark of reproach which they have not deſerved; and, I humbly conceive, no very great ſecurity to the church

* Expoſtulatory Letter, p. 12.

of

of England, unleſs it can be ſuppoſed, that one ſingle act of *occaſional conformity* can take off the edge of all their imagined averſion to the hierarchy, who worſhip all the reſt of the year among non-conformiſts. Nor can the repeal of theſe acts be of any conſiderable advantage to the *body of diſſenters*, becauſe not one in five hundred can expect to reap any private benefit by it to himſelf or family; their zeal therefore in this cauſe muſt ariſe principally from *a regard to the liberties of their country, and a deſire of reſcuing one of the moſt ſacred rites of chriſtianity from the profanation to which it is expoſed.*

But it ſeems this will not be believed, *till the diſſenters propoſe ſome other pledge and ſecurity by which the end and intent of the ſacramental teſt may be equally attained, for* (ſays a late writer*) *the legiſlature never intended them any ſhare of truſt or power in the government; and he hopes never will, till they ſee better reaſons for it than hath hitherto appeared.* Muſt the diſſenters then furniſh the church with a law to exclude themſelves from ſerving their king and country? Let the diſagreeable work be undertaken by men that are better ſkilled in ſuch unequal ſeverities. I will not examine into the intent of the legiſlature in this place; but if proteſtant non-conformiſts are to have no ſhare of truſt or power in the government, why are they choſen into ſuch offices, and ſubject to fines and penalties for declining them? Is it for not ſerving? this, it ſeems, is what the legiſlature never intended. Is it then for not qualifying? ſurely this is a penalty upon conſcience. I would aſk the warmeſt advocate for the ſacramental teſt, whether the appointing *proteſtant diſſenters for ſheriffs of counties, and obliging them to qualify againſt their conſciences under the penalties of a premunire, without the liberty of ſerving by a deputy, or of commuting by a fine, is conſiſtent with ſo* FULL A TOLERATION, *and exemption from penal laws*, as this writer‡ ſays they enjoy? It is true a good government may take no advantage of this power, but in a bad one men muſt qualify, or their liberties and eſtates be at the king's mercy; it ſeems therefore but reaſonable, (whatever the intent of the legiſlature may be) that proteſtant diſſenters ſhould be admitted to ſerve their country with a good conſcience in offices of *truſt* as well as of *burden*, or be exempted from all pains and penalties for not doing it.§

It is now pretty generally agreed, *that receiving the holy ſacrament merely as a qualification for a place of civil profit or truſt, is contrary to the ends of its inſtitution, and a ſnare to the conſciences of men*;† for though the law is open, and "they who obtain offices in the ſtate

* Hiſtory of the Teſt, p. 16, 23, 25. ‡ Ibid. p. 25.

§ It ſhould be mentioned to the honour of biſhop *Warburton*, who was an advocate for a teſt, though not a *ſacramental* teſt, that to this propoſal, that "diſſenters ſhould be exempted from all pains and penalties for not ſerving "their country in offices of truſt," he gave his hearty aſſent by adding in the margin, *moſt certainly!* ED.

† Hiſtory of the Teſt, p. 22.

"know

" know beforehand the conditions of keeping them," yet when the bread of a numerous family depends upon a qualificati n which a man cannot be ſatisfied to comply with, it is certainly a ſnare. And though I agree with our author, that " if the minds of ſuch perſons " are wicked, the law does not make them ſo," yet I am afraid it hardens them, and makes them a great deal worſe. How many thouſands come to the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper with reluctance! and, perhaps, *eat and drink judgment to themſelves*; the guilt of which muſt be chargeable either upon the *impoſers*, or *receivers* or upon *both*. Methinks therefore charity to the ſouls of men, as well as a concern for the purity of our *holy religion*, ſhould engage all ſerious chriſtians to endeavour the removal of *this grievance*; and ſince we are told, that the appearing of the *diſſenters* at this time is unſeaſonable, and will be ineffectual; I would humbly move our *right reverend fathers the biſhops* not to think it below their high ſtations and dignities, to conſider of ſome expedient to roll away this reproach from the church and nation, and agree upon ſome ſecurity for the former (if needful) of a civil nature, that may leave room (as king *William* expreſſes it in his ſpeech to his firſt parliament) FOR THE ADMISSION OF ALL PROTESTANTS THAT ARE ABLE AND WILLING TO SERVE THEIR COUNTRY. The honour of Chriſt, and the cauſe of publick virtue, ſeem to require it. And for as much as the influence of theſe acts affects great numbers of the *laity* in a very tender part, I ſhould think it no diſhonour for the *ſeveral corporations* in England, as well as for the *officers of the army*, *navy*, *cuſtoms*, *and exciſe*, who are more peculiarly concerned, to join their intereſts in petitioning the legiſlature for ſuch relief. And I flatter myſelf that the wiſe and temperate behaviour of the *proteſtant diſſenters* in their late *general aſſembly* in London; with the dutiful regard that they have always ſhewn to the peace and welfare of his majeſty's perſon, family, and government, will not fail to recommend them to the royal protection and favour; and that his MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY, in imitation of his glorious predeceſſor king WILLIAM III. will in a proper time recommend it to his parliament to ſtrengthen his adminiſtration, by taking off thoſe reſtraints which at preſent diſable his *proteſtant diſſenting ſubjects* from ſhewing their zeal in the ſervice of their king and country.

DANIEL NEAL.

London,
March 6, 1732-3.

ERRATA IN THE NOTES.

Page 142, line 3, for "*In this Dr. Harris*" *says Grey, did not quite so right*;" read, "*In "this*," *Dr. Harris says, Grey did not quite so right*."

Page 178, line 7, for *nnfolds*, read *unfolds*.

270, l. 2, for *Franland* read *Frankland*.

290, l. 4, for *au*, read *an*.

292, l. 13 of the second note, for *enlisted*, read *enlisted*.

302, l. 11, for *there sort*, read *the resort*.

315, l. 10, after *Harward*, read *college*.

410, l. 4, for *relief*, read *reprieve*.

530, in the reference to *Clarendon*, for *vol. ii.* read *vol. i. part ii.* and for *p.* 61, read *p.* 62.

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The

THE AUTHOR's PREFACE

TO

THE THIRD VOLUME.

NO period of civil hiſtory has undergone a more critical examination than the laſt ſeven years of king *Charles* I. which was a ſcene of ſuch confuſion and inconſiſtent management between the king and parliament, that it is very difficult to diſcover the motives of action on either ſide; the king ſeems to have been directed by ſecret ſprings from the queen and her council of papiſts, who were for advancing the prerogative above the laws, and veſting his majeſty with ſuch an abſolute ſovereignty as might rival his *brother of France*, and enable him to eſtabliſh the Roman-catholick religion in England, or ſome how or other blend it with the proteſtant. This gave riſe to the unparalleled ſeverities of the *ſtar-chamber* and *high-commiſſion*, which, after twelve years triumph over the laws and liberties of the ſubject, brought on a fierce and bloody war, and after the loſs of above a hundred thouſand lives, ended in the ſacrifice of the king himſelf, and the ſubverſion of the whole conſtitution.

Though all men had a veneration for the perſon of the king, his MINISTERS had rendered themſelves juſtly obnoxious, not only by ſetting up a new form of government at home, but by extending their juriſdiction to a neighbouring kingdom, under the government of diſtinct laws, and inclined to a form of church diſcipline very different from the Engliſh: This raiſed ſuch a ſtorm in the *North*, as diſtreſſed his majeſty's adminiſtration; exhauſted his treaſure; drained all his arbitrary ſprings of ſupply; and (after an intermiſſion of twelve years) reduced him to the neceſſity of returning to the conſtitution, and calling a parliament; but when the publick grievances came to be opened, there appeared ſuch a collection of ill-humours, and ſo general a diſtruſt between the king and his two houſes, as threatened

all the miſchief and deſolation that followed. Each party laid the blame on the other, and agreed in nothing but in throwing off the odium of the *civil war* from themſelves.

The affairs of the *church* had a very conſiderable influence on the welfare of the ſtate: The epiſcopal character was grown into contempt, not from any defect of learning in the biſhops, but from their cloſe attachment to the *prerogative*, and their own inſatiable thirſt of power, which they ſtrained to the utmoſt in their *ſpiritual courts*, by reviving old and obſolete cuſtoms, levying large fines on the people for contempt of their canons, and proſecuting good men and zealous proteſtants, for rites and ceremonies tending to ſuperſtition, and not warranted by the laws of the land. The king ſupported them to the utmoſt; but was obliged, after ſome time, to give way, *firſt*, to an *act* for aboliſhing the *high commiſſion*, by a clauſe in which the power of the biſhops' *ſpiritual courts* was in a manner deſtroyed; and at laſt to an act depriving them of *their ſeats in parliament*. If at this time any methods could have been thought of, to reſtore a mutual confidence between the king and his two houſes, the remaining differences in the church might eaſily have been compromiſed; but the ſpirits of men were heated, and as the flames of the civil war grew fiercer, and ſpread wider, the wounds of the church were enlarged, till the diſtreſs of the parliament's affairs obliging them to call in the Scots, with their *ſolemn league and covenant*, they became incurable.

When the *king* had loſt his cauſe in the field, he put himſelf at the head of his divines, and drew his learned pen in defence of his prerogative, and the church of England; but his arguments were no more ſucceſsful than his ſword. I have brought the debates between the *king* and Mr. *Henderſon*, and between the divines of both ſides at the treaties of Uxbridge and Newport upon the head of epiſcopacy, into as narrow a compaſs as poſſible; my chief deſign being to trace the proceedings of the parliament and their aſſembly at Weſtminſter, which (whether juſtifiable or not) ought to be placed in open view, though none of the hiſtorians of thoſe times have ventured to do it.

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The Weſtminſter aſſembly was the parliament's *grand council* in matters of religion, and made a very conſiderable figure both at home and abroad through the courſe of the civil war, till they diſputed the power of the keys with their ſuperiors, and ſplit upon the rocks of *divine right* and *covenant uniformity*. The records of this venerable aſſembly were loſt in the fire of London; but I have given a large and juſt account of their proceedings, from a manuſcript of one of their members, and ſome other papers that have fallen into my hands, and have entered as far into their debates with the *eraſtians*, *independants*, and others, as was conſiſtent with the life and ſpirit of the hiſtory.

Whatever views the Scots might have from the beginning of the war, the parliament would certainly have agreed with the king upon the foot of a limited epiſcopacy, till the calling the aſſembly of divines, after which the *ſolemn league and covenant* became the ſtandard of all their treaties, and was deſigned to introduce the preſbyterian government in its full extent, as the eſtabliſhed religion of both kingdoms. This tied up the parliament's hands, from yielding in time to the king's moſt reaſonable conceſſions at Newport, and rendered an accommodation impracticable; I have therefore tranſcribed the *covenant* at large, with the reaſons for and againſt it. Whether ſuch obligations upon the conſciences of men are juſtifiable from the *neceſſity of affairs*, or binding in all events and revolutions of government, I ſhall not determine; but the impoſing them upon others was certainly a very great hardſhip.

The remarkable trial of archbiſhop *Laud*, in which the antiquity and uſe of the ſeveral innovations complained of by the *puritans*, are ſtated and argued, has never been publiſhed entire to the world. The archbiſhop left in his diary a ſummary of his anſwer to the charge of the *commons*, and Mr. *Prynne* in his *Canterbury's doom*, has publiſhed the firſt part of his *grace*'s trial, relating principally to points of religion; but all is imperfect and immethodical. I have therefore compared both accounts together, and ſupplied the defects of one with the other; the whole is brought into a narrow compaſs, and thrown into ſuch a method, as

will give the reader a clear and distinct view of the equity of the charge, and how far the archbishop deserved the usage he met with.

I have drawn out abstracts of the several ordinances relating to the rise and progress of presbytery, and traced the proceedings of the committee for plundered and scandalous ministers, as far as was necessary to my general design, without descending too far into particulars, or attempting to justify the whole of their conduct; and though I am of opinion, that the number of clergy who suffered purely on the account of religion, was not very considerable, it is certain that many able and learned divines, who were content to live quietly, and mind the duty of their places, had *very hard measure* from the violence of parties, and deserve the compassionate regards of posterity; some being discharged their livings for refusing the *covenant*, and others plundered of every thing the unruly soldiers could lay their hands upon, for not complying with the change of the times.

In the latter end of the reign of queen *Ann*, Dr. *Walker* of Exeter published *an attempt to recover the number and sufferings of the clergy of the church of England;* but with notorious partiality, and in language not fit for the lips of a clergyman, a scholar, or a christian; every page or paragraph, almost, labours with the cry of *rebellion, treason, parricide, faction, stupid ignorance, hypocrisy, cant*, and *downright knavery and wickedness* on one side; and *loyalty, learning, primitive sanctity*, and the *glorious spirit of martyrdom*, on the other. One must conclude from the doctor, that there was hardly a wise or honest patriot with the parliament, nor a weak or dishonest gentleman with the king. His preface* is one of the most furious invectives against the seven most glorious years of queen ANN that was ever published; it blackens the memory of the late king WILLIAM III. to whom he applies that passage of scripture, *I gave them a king in my anger, and took him away in my wrath*; it arraigns the great duke of MARLBOROUGH, the GLORY of the English nation, and both houses of parliament, as in a confederacy to destroy the church of England, and de-

* Preface, p. 8, 9, 10, 11.

throne

throne the *queen*. "Rebellion, ſays the doctor, was eſteemed "the moſt neceſſary requiſite to qualify any one for being "intruſted with the government, and diſobedience the prin-"cipal recommendation for her majeſty's ſervice.——Thoſe "were thought the moſt proper perſons to guard the throne, "who, on the firſt diſlike, were every whit as ready to guard "the ſcaffold; yea, her majeſty was in effect told all this to "her face, in the greateſt aſſembly of the nation. And to "ſay all that can be ſaid of this matter, all the principles of "1641, and even thoſe of 1648, have been plainly and "openly revived."

Thus has this obſcure clergyman dared to affront the great AUTHOR, under GOD, of all our preſent bleſſings; and to ſtigmatize, the MARLBOROUGHS, the GODOLPHINS, the STANHOPES, the SUNDERLANDS, the COWPERS and others, the moſt renowned HEROES and STATESMEN of the age.

It muſt be confeſſed, that the tumults and riotous aſſemblies of the lower ſort of people, are inſufferable in a well-regulated government; and without all queſtion, ſome of the leading members of the *long parliament* made an ill uſe of the populace, as tools to ſupport their ſecret deſigns: but how eaſy were it to turn all this part of the doctor's artillery againſt himſelf and his friends; for *Prynne*, *Burton*, and *Baſtwick*, in their return from their ſeveral priſons, were not attended with ſuch a numerous cavalcade, as waited upon the late Dr. *Sacheverel*, in his triumphant progreſs through the weſtern counties of England and Wales; nor did they give themſelves up to the ſame exceſs of licentiouſneſs and rage. If the mob of 1641 inſulted the biſhops, and awed the parliament, ſo did the doctor's retinue in 1710; nay, their zeal outwent their predeceſſors', when they pulled down the *meeting-houſes* of proteſtant diſſenters, and burnt the materials in the open ſtreets, in maintenance of the doctrines of paſſive-obedience and non-reſiſtance, which their pious confeſſor had been preaching up; "a bold inſolent man, (ſays biſhop *Burnet*) with a very "ſmall meaſure of religion, virtue, learning, or good ſenſe;" but to ſuch extremes do men's paſſions carry them, when they write to ſerve a cauſe! I have had occaſion to make

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ſome uſe of Dr. *Walker*'s confuſed heap of materials, but have endeavoured carefully to avoid his ſpirit and language.

No man has declaimed ſo bitterly againſt the proceedings of parliament upon all occaſions, as this clergyman; nor complained more loudly of the unſpeakable damage the liberal arts and ſciences ſuſtained, by their purging the two univerſities; the new heads and fellows of Oxford are called, "a colony of preſbyterian and independant novices from "Cambridge; a tribe of ignorant enthuſiaſts and ſchiſma-"ticks; an illiterate rabble ſwept from the plough-tail, from "ſhops and grammar-ſchools, &c."* The univerſity of Cambridge is reported by the ſame author, "to be reduced "to a meer *munſter* by the *knipper-dolings* of the age, who "broke the heart-ſtrings of learning and learned men, who "thruſt out one of the eyes of the kingdom, and made elo-"quence dumb; philoſophy, ſottiſh; widowed the arts; drove "away the muſes from their ancient habitation, and plucked "the reverend and orthodox profeſſors out of their chairs. "—They turned religion into rebellion, and changed the "apoſtolical chair into a deſk for blaſphemy.—They took "the garland from off the head of learning, and placed it "on the dull brows of ignorance.—And having unhived a "numerous ſwarm of labouring bees, they placed in their "room ſwarms of ſenſeleſs drones.—"† Such is the language of our hiſtorian, tranſcribed from Dr. *Berwick!* I have carefully looked into this affair, and collected the characters of the old and new profeſſors from the moſt approved writers, that the diſintereſted reader may judge, how far religion and learning ſuffered by the exchange.

The cloſe of this volume, which relates the diſputes between the parliament and army; the ill ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms and treaties; the ſeizure of his royal perſon a ſecond time by the army; his trial before a pretended *high court of juſtice*, and his unparalleled execution before the gates of his royal palace by the military power, is a moſt melancholy and affecting ſcene; in which, next to the all-diſpoſing providence of God, one cannot but remark the

* Walker's Introduct. p. 139, 140. † Ibid. p. 115. Querela Cant.

king's

king's inflexible temper, together with the indiſcretion of his friends, eſpecially his *divines*, at a time when his crown was loſt by the fortune of war, and his very life at the mercy of his enemies; nor is the unwarrantable ſtiffneſs of the parliament leſs unaccountable, when they ſaw the victorious army drawing towards London, fluſhed with the defeat of the Scots and Engliſh *loyaliſts*, and determined to ſet aſide that very uniformity they were contending for. If his majeſty had yielded at firſt what he did at laſt, with an appearance of ſincerity; or, if the two houſes had complied with his conceſſions while *Cromwell* was in Scotland; or if the army had been made eaſy by a general indulgence and toleration, with the diſtribution of ſome honours and bounty-money among the officers, the crown and conſtitution might have been ſaved; "but ſo many miraculous circumſtances "contributed to his majeſty's ruin, (ſays lord *Clarendon**) "that men might well think that heaven and earth con-"ſpired it.

The objections to the *firſt volume of the Hiſtory of the Puritans*, by the author of *The Vindication of the government, doctrine and worſhip of the Church of England*, obliged me to review the principal facts in a ſmall pamphlet, wherein I have endeavoured to diſcharge myſelf as an hiſtorian, without undertaking the defence of their ſeveral principles, or making myſelf an advocate for the whole of their conduct. I took the liberty to point out the miſtakes of our firſt reformers, as I paſſed along, but with no deſign to blacken their memories; for, with all their foibles, they were glorious inſtruments in the hand of Providence, to deliver this nation from anti-chriſtian bondage; but they were free to confeſs, the work was left imperfect; that they had gone as far as the times would admit, and hoped their ſucceſſors would bring the reformation to a greater perfection.

But the ſtate of the controverſy was entirely changed in the time of the civil wars; for after the coming in of the Scots, the puritans did not fight for a reformation of the hierarchy, nor for the generous principles of *religious liberty to all peaceable ſubjects;* but for the ſame ſpiritual power the

* Vol. v. p. 258.

biſhops

biſhops had exerciſed; for when they had got rid of the oppreſſion of the ſpiritual courts, under which they had groaned almoſt fourſcore years, they were for ſetting up a number of *preſbyterian conſiſtories* in all the pariſhes of England, equally burthenſome and oppreſſive. Unhappy extreme! That wiſe and good men ſhould not diſcover the beautiful conſiſtency of truth and liberty! Dr. *Barrow* and others have obſerved, that in the firſt and pureſt ages of chriſtianity, the church had no coercive power, and apprehend that it may ſtill ſubſiſt very well without it.

The body of proteſtant diſſenters of the preſent age have a juſt abhorrence of the perſecuting ſpirit of their *predeceſſors*, and are content that *their* actions be ſet in a fair light, as a warning to poſterity. They have no leſs a dread of returning into the hands of *ſpiritual courts*, founded on the bottomleſs deep of the *canon law*, and ſee no reaſon why they ſhould not be equally expoſed, till they are put upon a better foot; though it is an unpardonable crime, in the opinion of ſome churchmen, to take notice, even in the moſt reſpectful manner, of the leaſt blemiſh in our preſent eſtabliſhment, which, how valuable ſoever in itſelf, is allowed by all to be capable of amendments. Some little eſſays of this kind have fired the zeal of the biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*,* who, in a late charge to the clergy of his dioceſe, is pleaſed to lament over the times in the following mournful language: "At ſo critical a juncture, (ſays his lordſhip) when common "chriſtianity is treated with an avowed contempt and open "profaneneſs; when an undiſguiſed immorality prevails ſo "very generally; when there is ſcarce honeſty enough to "ſave the nation from ruin; when, with regard to the eſta-"bliſhed church in particular, the *royal ſupremacy* is pro-"feſſedly expoſed, as inconſiſtent with the rights of con-"ſcience, even THAT SUPREMACY, which was the ground-"work of the reformation among us from popery, which "was acknowledged, and ſworn to by the *old puritans*, "though now, inconſiſtently enough, diſowned and con-"demned in the new hiſtory, and vindication of them and "their principles:—When ſo deſtructive an attempt has

* Dr. *Smallbrook*.

"been

" been made on the legal maintenance of the clergy, by the " late *tithe bill*, and conſequently, *on the fate of the chriſtian* " *religion among us*:—When an attempt has been lately " made on the important outworks of our eccleſiaſtical eſta- " bliſhment, the *corporation* and *teſt acts*, with the greateſt " inſolences towards the church, and moſt undutiful menaces " to the civil government:—When the *epiſcopal authority* " has been well nigh undermined, under a pretence of re- " forming the eccleſiaſtical courts; and if that *order* had " been rendered uſeleſs, as it muſt have been, when it had " loſt its *authority*, then the *revenues* would have been ſoon " thought uſeleſs; and in the reſult of things, the *order* " *itſelf* might have been conſidered as ſuperfluous, and per- " haps in due time thought fit to be aboliſhed:—When " churches have been put into ſuch a method of repair, as " would end in their ruin in a little time; and when the cor- " rection of the abuſes of the matrimonial licences has been " laboured in ſo abſurd a manner, as to permit the marriage " of minors without conſent of their parents or guardians: " —When theſe melancholy circumſtances have ſo lately con- " curred, it is natural to infer, our zeal for the church " ſhould be in proportion to its danger; and if theſe are not " proper occaſions for zeal for our eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, " it is not eaſy to aſſign circumſtances that may juſtly de- " mand it."* How fine and ſubtile are theſe ſpeculations! I have not obſerved any inſolences towards the church, or undutiful menaces to the civil government, in the late writings of the diſſenters; but if one pin of the hierarchy be removed by the wiſdom of the legiſlature, the whole building is ſuppoſed to fall, and all religion along with it. His lordſhip therefore adviſes his clergy to ſtudy the biſhop† of *London's codex*, in order to defend it; and it can do them no real prejudice to examine at the ſame time, the principles of law and equity, on which it is founded.‡ As to the *diſſenters*, his lordſhip adds, " however it will become us of " the clergy, in point of *prudence*, not to give any juſt *ſuſ-* " *picions of our diſguſt* to the legal toleration of them, while

* Charge, p. 41, 42, 44. † Dr. *Gibſon*.

‡ See a late excellent Examination of the Codex Juris Eccl. Angl.

" they

" they keep within due bounds; that is, while they do not " break in upon the privileges and rights of the eſtabliſhed " church, by declaring againſt all legal eſtabliſhments, or the " legal eſtabliſhment of the church of England in particular, " or by not being quiet with the preſent limits of their to- " leration, or by affecting poſts of authority, and thereby " breaking down the fences of the church, and placing them- " ſelves on a level with it."† But whether this would remain a point of *prudence* with his lordſhip, if the boundaries of his epiſcopal power were enlarged, is not very difficult to determine.

The diſſenters have no envy nor ill-will to the churches of England or Scotland, eſtabliſhed by law, (attended with a toleration of all peaceable diſſenters,) any further than they encroach on the natural or ſocial rights of mankind; nor are they ſo weak as not to diſtinguiſh between high dignities, great authority, and large revenues ſecured by law, and a poor maintenance ariſing from the voluntary contributions of the people, that is, between an *eſtabliſhment* and a *toleration*.

But I am to attend to the charge of inconſiſtency brought againſt myſelf: I had obſerved, upon the reign of the bloody queen *Mary*,* that *an abſolute ſupremacy over the conſciences of men, lodged with a ſingle perſon, might as well be prejudicial as ſerviceable to true religion*: And in the beginning of the reign of queen *Elizabeth*,‖ that *the powers then claimed by the kings and queens of England, were in a manner the ſame with thoſe claimed by the popes in the times preceding the reformation, except the adminiſtration of the ſpiritual offices of the church*. This was THAT SUPREMACY, which was the ground-work of the reformation; of which I ſay, let the reader judge how far theſe HIGH POWERS are agreeable or conſiſtent with the natural rights of mankind. His lordſhip calls this a profeſſed expoſing the royal ſupremacy, and the rather, becauſe " THAT SUPREMACY was acknowledged, " and ſworn to by the old puritans themſelves, though now " inconſiſtently enough diſowned and condemned by their hiſ-

† Charge, p. 46. * Hiſt. Pur. vol. i. p. 55. ‖ Ibid. p. 85, 86.

" torian."

" torian." But ſurely his lordſhip ſhould have informed his clergy at the ſame time, in what ſenſe the *puritans* took the oath, when it was before his eyes, in the ſame page; and my words are theſe: " The whole body of the papiſts re-
" fuſed the oath of ſupremacy, as inconſiſtent with their al-
" legiance to the pope; but the puritans took it under all
" theſe diſadvantages, with the queen's explication in her
" injunctions, that is, that no more was intended, than that
" her majeſty, under God, had the ſovereignty and rule over
" all perſons born in her realm, either eccleſiaſtical or tem-
" poral, ſo as no foreign power had, or ought to have any
" ſuperiority over them."* Where is the inconſiſtency of this conduct of the old puritans, or their new hiſtorian? Or, where is the diſſenter in England, who is not ready to ſwear to it with this explication?

But his lordſhip is pleaſed to reaſon upon this head, and in order to ſupport *that abſolute ſupremacy*, which was the ground-work of the reformation, affirms, that " *all chriſtian*
" *kings and emperors have the ſame power of reforming re-*
" *ligion, and are under the ſame obligations, as the Jewiſh*
" *kings were in caſes of the like nature*,"† without producing the leaſt evidence or proof; whereas his lordſhip knows, that the government of the Jews was a *theocracy*; that God himſelf was their king, and the laws of that nation ſtrictly and properly the laws of God, who is Lord of conſcience, and may annex what ſanctions he pleaſes; their *judges* and *kings* were choſen and appointed by God, not to make a new *codex* or book of laws, either for church or ſtate, but to keep the people to the ſtrict obſervation of thoſe laws and ſtatutes that he himſelf had given them by the hand of *Moſes*.

His lordſhip is pleaſed to aſk, " *if any high pretender to*
" *ſpiritual liberty, and the rights of conſcience, ſhould enquire*
" *what authority the reſpective Jewiſh and Chriſtian powers*
" *had to interpoſe in matters that regarded the rights of con-*
" *ſcience; ſince in fact their aſſumed ſupremacy was an uſur-*

* Hiſt. Pur. p. 88. See Strype's Ann. vol. i. p. 159.

† Charge, p. 20.

" *pation*

" *pation of thoſe natural rights?*"§——I anſwer, that with regard to the Jews, it was no uſurpation, for the reaſons before-mentioned; and when his lordſhip ſhall prove a *transfer* of the ſame power to all chriſtian princes, the controverſy will be brought to a ſhort iſſue: " —*But will it not be re-*
" *plied (ſays the biſhop) that thoſe kings and emperors were*
" *intruſted by God with the care of the eccleſiaſtical, as well*
" *as civil conſtitution?*—"‖ If, by the *care of the conſtitution*, be meant no more than the preſerving their ſubjects in the enjoyment of their unalienable rights, nobody denies it; but if, under this pretence, they aſſume a ſovereign and arbitrary power of modelling the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, according to their pleaſure, and of enforcing their ſubjects' obedience by canons and penal laws, I ſhould doubt whether they are obliged to comply, even *in things not abſolutely ſinful in themſelves*, becauſe it may derogate from the *kingly office* of Chriſt, who is ſole king and lawgiver in his own kingdom, and has not delegated this branch of his authority to any *vicar-general* upon earth. But I readily agree with his lordſhip, that if any *high pretender to the rights of conſcience*, ſhould have aſked the FIRST CHRISTIAN EMPERORS, by what authority they took on themſelves the alteration or change of religion? THEY would have thought the queſtion unreaſonable, and worthy of cenſure; they would have affirmed their own ſovereignty, and have taught the bold enquirers, as *Gideon* did the men of Succoth, with briars and thorns of the wilderneſs.

The biſhop goes on; " *Let us now transfer this power of*
" *Jewiſh kings and Chriſtian emperors to our own kings, and*
" *the caſe will admit of an eaſy deciſion.*—"* If indeed an abſolute ſupremacy in matters of religion, be the natural and unalienable right of every chriſtian king and emperor, the diſpute is at an end; but if it depend upon a *transfer*, we muſt beg pardon, if we deſire his lordſhip to produce his commiſſion for transferring the *ſame powers*, that Almighty God gave the Jewiſh kings of his own appointment, to the firſt *Chriſtian emperors*, who were neither choſen by God, nor the people, nor the ſenate of Rome, but uſurped the

§ Charge, p. 21. ‖ Ibid. p. 22. * Ibid. p. 22.

ſupreme

ſupreme authority, by the aſſiſtance of the military arm, and were ſome of them the greateſt tyrants and ſcourges of mankind.

His lordſhip adds, "*Have not the Engliſh kings, ſince the "reformation, actually been inveſted with the* SAME SUPRE-"MACY, *as the Jewiſh kings and Chriſtian emperors were?*"† I anſwer, *ſuch a ſupremacy* is, in my judgment, inconſiſtent with our preſent conſtitution, and the laws in being. *The ſupremacy* claimed by king *Henry* VIII. and his ſucceſſors, at the reformation, was found by experience too exceſſive, and therefore abridged in the reigns of king *Charles* I. and king *William* III. No one doubts but the kings of England are obliged to protect religion, and defend the *eſtabliſhment*, as long as the legiſlature think fit to continue it; but as they may not ſuſpend or change it by their ſovereign pleaſure, ſo neither may they publiſh edicts of their own to enforce it, as was the caſe of the firſt chriſtian emperors. The reader will excuſe this digreſſion, as neceſſary to ſupport a principal fact of my hiſtory.

I am ſufficiently aware of the delicacy of the affairs treated of in this volume, and of the tenderneſs of the ground I go over; and though I have been very careful of my temper and language, and have endeavoured to look into the myſterious conduct of the ſeveral parties, with all the indifference of a ſpectator, I find it very difficult to form an exact judgment of the moſt important events, or to ſpeak freely without offence; therefore if any paſſionate or angry writer ſhould appear againſt this, or any of the former volumes, I humbly requeſt the reader to pay no regard to perſonal reflections, or to inſinuations of any ill deſigns againſt the eſtabliſhed religion, or the publick peace; which are entirely groundleſs. I am as far from vindicating the ſpirit and conduct of the warmer puritans, as of the governing prelates of thoſe times; there was *hard meaſure* on both ſides, though, if we ſeparate politicks from principles of pure religion, the balance will be very much in favour of the puritans. In hiſtorical debates, nothing is to be received upon *truſt*, but *facts* are to be examined, and a judgment formed

† Charge, p. 22.

upon

upon the authority by which *thoſe* facts are ſupported; by this method we ſhall arrive at truth; and if it ſhall appear, that in the courſe of this long hiſtory, there are any conſiderable miſtakes, the world may be aſſured, I will take the firſt opportunity to retract or amend them; having no private or party views, no proſpect of preferment, or other reward for my labours, than the ſatisfaction of doing ſome ſervice to truth, and to the religious and civil liberties of mankind; and yet, after all, I muſt beſpeak the indulgence and candour of my readers, which *thoſe*, who are ſenſible of the labour and toil of collecting ſo many materials, and ranging them in their proper order, will readily allow to *one*, who ſincerely wiſhes the proſperity and welfare of all good men, and that the violence and outrage of theſe unhappy times, which brought ſuch confuſion and miſery both on king and people, may never be imitated by the preſent, or any future age.

DANIEL NEAL.

London,
Nov. 4, 1735.

THE

EDITOR's ADVERTISEMENT.

FROM the two volumes of this edition of Mr. *Neal*'s Hiſtory of the Puritans, which are already before the publick, it ſufficiently appears in what manner it hath been conducted, ſo as to preclude any further explanation of the Editor's deſign and method. This volume will ſhew, that he has continued to examine the ſtrictures of Biſhop *Warburton* and Dr. *Grey*. He is not conſcious of having been backward to meet the ſevereſt animadverſions of thoſe writers. The reader will judge with what care he has inveſtigated, and with what ſucceſs he has attempted to obviate, their objections.

The chief thing, which the Editor has now to obſerve is, that in this volume he has purſued the Hiſtory of ſome Sectaries, who ſprang up among the *Puritans*, nore fully than in the preceding ones; particularly that of the Engliſh *Baptiſts*; whoſe hiſtory has been written by Mr. *Croſby*, in four volumes octavo; a performance which is ſcarce; and, though not judiciouſly compoſed, it contains materials which, it is hoped, will form an acceptable addition to Mr. *Neal*'s work, and render this edition of it more complete and valuable: as it will contain an abſtract and the ſubſtance of the former to the period of time with which the latter concludes.

Taunton, 11*th February*, 1795.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PURITANS.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

From the Demiſe of Queen ELIZABETH *to the Death of Archbiſhop* BANCROFT.

THE Royal Houſe of the STUARTS has not been more calamitous to the Engliſh church and nation, in the male deſcendants, than ſucceſsful and glorious in the female: The four Kings of this line, while in power, were declared enemies of our civil conſtitution; they governed without law, levied taxes by the prerogative, and endeavoured to put an end to the very being of parliaments. With regard to religion; the two firſt were neither ſound proteſtants nor good catholicks, but were for reconciling the two religions, and meeting the papiſts half way; but the two laſt went over entirely to the church of Rome, and died profeſſedly in her communion. The female branches of this family being married among foreign proteſtants, were of a different ſtamp, being more inclined to puritaniſm than popery; one of them [*Mary*, eldeſt daughter of King *Charles* I.] was mother of the great King WILLIAM III. the glorious DELIVERER of theſe kingdoms from popery and ſlavery; and another [*Elizabeth* daughter of King *James* I.] was grand-

mother of his late majeſty King GEORGE I. in whom the proteſtant ſucceſſion took place, and whoſe numerous deſcendants in the perſon and offspring of his preſent majeſty, are the defence and glory of the whole proteſtant intereſt in Europe.

King *James* was thirty-ſix years of age when he came to the Engliſh throne, having reigned in Scotland from his infancy. In the year 1589, he married the Princeſs ANNE, ſiſter to the King of Denmark, by whom he had three children living at this time, HENRY Prince of Wales, who died before he was nineteen years of age, [1612] ELIZABETH married to the Elector *Palatine* 1613; and CHARLES, who ſucceeded his father in his kingdoms. His majeſty's behaviour in Scotland raiſed the expectations and hopes of all parties; the puritans relied upon his majeſty's education; upon his ſubſcribing the ſolemn league and covenant; and upon various ſolemn repeated declarations, in particular one made in the general aſſembly at Edinburgh 1590; when ſtanding with his bonnet off, and his hands lifted up to heaven, "He praiſed GOD that he was born in "the time of the light of the goſpel, and in ſuch a place, "as to be king of ſuch a church, the ſincereſt [pureſt] "kirk in the world. The church of Geneva (ſays he) "keep Paſche and Yule, [Eaſter and Chriſtmas] what "have they for them? They have no inſtitution. As for "our neighbour kirk of England, their ſervice is an evil-"ſaid maſs in Engliſh; they want nothing of the maſs "but the liftings. I charge you, my good miniſters, doc-"tors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to ſtand to "your purity, and to exhort the people to do the ſame; "and I, forſooth, as long as I brook my life, ſhall maintain "the ſame."* In his ſpeech to the Parliament 1598, he "tells them, "That he minded not to bring in papiſtical "or anglicane biſhops."† Nay, upon his leaving Scotland, to

* Calderwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 256. † Ibid. p. 418.

† *James*, when ſettled on the Engliſh throne, talked a different language. Dr. *Grey* quotes different paſſages to this purport, with a view to invalidate Mr. *Neal*'s authority. The fact is not, that *Calderwood* falſified, and Mr. *Neal*, through prejudice, adopted his repreſentations: but that *James*

to take poſſeſſion of the crown of England, he gave publick thanks to God in the kirk of Edinburgh, "That he had "left both kirk and kingdom in that ſtate which he in-"tended not to alter any ways, his ſubjects living in peace."‡ But all this was *kingcraft*, or elſe his majeſty changed his principles with the climate. The Scots miniſters did not approach him with the diſtant ſubmiſſion and reverence of the Engliſh biſhops, and therefore within nine months after he aſcended the throne of England, he renounced preſbytery, and eſtabliſhed it for a maxim, *No Biſhop, no King*. So ſoon did this pious monarch renounce his principles (if he had any) and break through the moſt ſolemn vows and obligations! When the long parliament addreſſed king *Charles* I. to ſet up preſbytery in the room of epiſcopacy, his majeſty objected his coronation oath, in which he had ſworn to maintain the clergy in their rights and privileges; but King *James* had no ſuch ſcruples of conſcience; for without ſo much as aſking the conſent of parliament, general aſſembly, or people, he entered upon the moſt effectual meaſures to ſubvert the *kirk diſcipline* which he had ſworn to maintain with hands lifted up to heaven, at his coronation, and had afterwards ſolemnly ſubſcribed with his Queen and family, in the years 1581 and 1590.†

The papiſts put the king in remembrance, that he was born of Roman-catholick parents, and had been baptized according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of Rome; that his mother, of whom he uſually ſpoke with reverence, was a martyr

James was a diſſembler; and, when he wrote what Dr. *Grey* produces from his works, had thrown off the maſk he wore in Scotland. See Harris's Life of James I. p. 25—29. ED.

‡ Calderwood, p. 473.

† Biſhop *Warburton* cenſures Mr. *Neal* for not giving, here, the provocation which the King had received from—what he ſtiles "the villain-"ous and tyrannical uſage of the kirk of Scotland to him." On this cenſure it may be obſerved, that had Mr. *Neal* gone into the detail of the treatment the King had met with from the Scots clergy, beſides the long digreſſion into which it would have led him, it would not have eventually ſaved the reputation of the King. For Mr. *Neal* muſt have related the *cauſes* of that behaviour. It aroſe from their jealouſy, and their fears of his diſpoſition to cruſh them and their religion: founded on facts delivered to them by the Engliſh miniſtry, and from his favouring and employing known papiſts. The violation of his ſolemn *reiterated* declarations, when

a martyr for that church; and that he himſelf, upon ſundry occaſions, had expreſſed no diſlike to her doctrines, though he diſallowed of the uſurpations of the court of Rome over foreign princes; that he had called the church of Rome *his mother* church; and therefore they preſumed to welcome his majeſty into England with a petition for an open toleration.§

But the biſhops of the church of England made the earlieſt application for his majeſty's protection and favour. As ſoon as the queen was dead, archbiſhop *Whitgift* ſent Dr. *Nevil*, dean of Canterbury, expreſs into Scotland, in the name of all the biſhops and clergy of England, to give his majeſty aſſurance of their unfeigned duty and loyalty; to know what commands he had for them with reſpect to the *eccleſiaſtical courts*, and to recommend the church of England to his countenance and favour.* The king replied, that he would uphold the government of the church as the queen left it; which comforted the timorous archbiſhop, who had ſometimes ſpoke with great uneaſineſs of the Scotch *miſt*.

Upon his majeſty's arrival all parties addreſſed him, and among others the Dutch and French churches, and the Engliſh puritans; to the former his majeſty gave this anſwer, "I need not uſe many words to declare my good-will to you, "who have taken ſanctuary here for the ſake of religion; I "am ſenſible you have enriched this kingdom with ſeveral "arts and manufactures; and I ſwear to you, that if any one

he became King of England, ſhewed how juſt were thoſe ſuſpicions; and proved him to have been a diſſembler. To theſe remarks it may be added, what provocation conſtrained him to give the publick thanks and promiſe, with which he left Scotland? See Dr. Harris's life of James I. p. 25—31, and Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, vol. i. p. 5, Edinburgh edition in 12mo. Ed.

§ That the expectations of the papiſts were not diſappointed, though Dr. *Grey* controverts Mr. *Neal*'s repreſentation, there is ample proof given by Dr. *Harris* in his life of *James* I. p. 219, 226. "It is certain," ſays Dr. *Warner*, "that he had on ſeveral occaſions given great room to ſuſpect, "that he was far from being an enemy to the Roman Catholics. Amidſt "all their hopes," he adds, "each ſide had their fears: whilſt *James* himſelf "had, properly ſpeaking, no other religion, than what flowed from a prin-"ciple which he called kingcraft."

Warner's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 476, 77. Ed.

* Life of Whitgift, p. 559.

"ſhall

" ſhall give you diſturbance in your churches, upon your " application to me, I will revenge your cauſe; and though " you are none of my proper ſubjects, I will maintain and " cheriſh you as much as any prince in the world." But the latter, whatever they had reaſon to expect, met with very different uſage.

Notwithſtanding all the precautions that were taken to ſecure the elections of members for the next parliament, the archbiſhop wiſhed he might not live to ſee it, for fear of ſome alteration in the church; for the puritans were preparing petitions, and printing pamphlets in their own vindication, though by the archbiſhop's vigilance (ſays Mr. *Strype**) not a petition or a pamphlet eſcaped without a ſpeedy and effectual anſwer.

While the king was in his progreſs to London [April, 1603] the puritans preſented their *millenary petition*, ſo called, becauſe it was ſaid to be ſubſcribed by a thouſand hands, though there were not more than eight hundred out of twenty-five counties.† It is entitled, *The humble petition of the miniſters of the church of* England, *deſiring reformation of certain ceremonies and abuſes of the church*; the preamble ſets forth, " That neither as factious men affecting a popular " parity in the church, nor as ſchiſmaticks aiming at the " diſſolution of the ſtate eccleſiaſtical, but as the faithful " miniſters of Chriſt, and loyal ſubjects to his majeſty, they " humbly deſired the redreſs of ſome abuſes. And though " divers of them had formerly ſubſcribed to the *ſervice-book*, " ſome upon *proteſtation*, ſome upon an *expoſition given*, " and ſome with *condition*; yet now they, to the number of " more than a thouſand miniſters, groaned under the burden " of human rites and ceremonies, and with one conſent threw " themſelves down at his royal feet for relief in the follow- " ing particulars:

1. *In the church ſervice.* " That the croſs in baptiſm, the " interrogatories to infants, baptiſm by women, and confir- " mation, may be taken away; that the cap and ſurplice may " not be urged; that examination may go before the com-

* Strype's Ann. vol. ult. p. 187.

† Clark's Life of Hilderſham, p. 116, annexed to his General Martyrology.

munion;

" munion; that the ring in marriage may be diſpenſed with; " that the ſervice may be abridged; church-ſongs, and mu- " ſick, moderated to better edification; that the Lord's day " may not be profaned, nor the obſervation of other holi- " days ſtrictly enjoined; that miniſters may not be charged " to teach their people to bow at the name of *Jeſus*; and " that none but canonical ſcriptures be read in the church.

2. *Concerning miniſters.* " That none may be admitted " but able men; that they be obliged to preach on the " Lord's day; that ſuch as are not capable of preaching may " be removed or obliged to maintain preachers; that non- " reſidency be not permitted; that king *Edward*'s ſtatute " for the lawfulneſs of the marriage of the clergy be revived; " and that miniſters be not obliged to ſubſcribe but according " to law, to the Articles of Religion, and the King's ſupre- " macy only.

3. *For church livings.* " That biſhops leave their com- " mendams; that impropriations annexed to biſhopricks and " colleges be given to preaching incumbents only, and that " lay-impropriations be charged with a ſixth or ſeventh part " for the maintenance of a preacher.

4. *For church diſcipline.* " That excommunication, and " cenſures, be not in the name of lay-chancellors, &c.; that " men be not excommunicated for twelve-penny matters, nor " without conſent of their paſtors; that regiſter's places, and " others having juriſdiction, do not put them out to farm; " that ſundry popiſh canons be reviſed; that the length of " ſuits in eccleſiaſtical courts may be reſtrained; that the oath " *ex officio* be more ſparingly uſed; and licences for marriages " without banns be more ſparingly granted.

" Theſe things, ſay they, we are able to ſhew not to be " agreeable to the word of God, if it ſhall pleaſe your ma- " jeſty to hear us, or by writing to be informed, or by con- " ference among the learned to be reſolved."

The king met with ſundry other petitions of the like nature, from moſt of the counties he paſſed through; but the heads of the two univerſities having taken offence at the *millenary petition*, for demiſing away the impropriations annexed to biſhopricks and colleges, which (ſays *Fuller*) would cut off more than the nipples of the breaſts of both univerſities

univerſities in point of maintenance,* expreſſed their reſentment different ways: thoſe of Cambridge paſſed a grace, June 9th, 1603, "That whoſoever in the univerſity ſhould openly "oppoſe by word or writing, or any other way, the doctrine "or diſcipline of the church of England eſtabliſhed by law, "or any part thereof, ſhould be ſuſpended *ipſo facto* from "any degree already taken, and be diſabled from taking any "degree for the future." About the ſame time the univerſity of Oxford publiſhed an anſwer to the miniſters' petition, entitled, *An anſwer of the vice-chancellor, doctors, proctors, and other heads of houſes in the univerſity of Oxford, to the petition of the miniſters of the church of England, deſiring reformation*; dedicated to the king, with a preface to the archbiſhop, the chancellors of both univerſities, and the two ſecretaries of ſtate.† The anſwer ſhews the *high ſpirit* of the univerſity; it reproaches the miniſters in very ſevere language for *ſubſcribing* and then *complaining*; it reflects upon them as *factious men*, for affecting a parity in the church, and then falls ſeverely on the Scots reformation, which his majeſty had ſo publickly commended before he left that kingdom. It throws an odium upon the petitioners, as being for a limited monarchy, and for ſubjecting the titles of kings to the approbation of the people. It then goes on to vindicate all the grievances complained of, and concludes with beſeeching his Majeſty not to ſuffer the peace of the ſtate to be diſturbed, by allowing theſe men to diſturb its polity. "Look upon the reformed churches abroad, (ſay "they) and whereſoever the deſire of the petitioners takes "place, how ill it ſuits with the ſtate of *monarchy*; does it "become the ſupereminent authority and regal perſon of a "King, to ſubject his ſovereign power to the overſwaying "and all-commanding power of a preſbytery? that his meek "and humble clergy ſhould have power to *bind their king* "*in chains, and their prince in links of iron?* that is, to cenſure him, and, if they ſee cauſe, to proceed againſt him as "a tyrant. That the *ſupreme magiſtrate* ſhould only be a "*maintainer* of their proceedings, but not a *commander* in "them; theſe are but petty abridgments of the prerogative

* Fuller's Church Hiſtory, b. x. p. 23. † Life of Whitgift, p. 567.

"royal,

" royal, while the King ſubmits his ſceptre to the ſceptre of " Chriſt, and licks the duſt of the church's feet." They then commend the preſent church government as the great ſupport of the crown, and calculated to promote unlimited ſubjection; and aver, " That there are at this day more " learned men in this land, in this one kingdom, than are " to be found among all the miniſters of religion in France, " Flanders, Germany, Poland, Denmark, Geneva, Scotland, " or (to ſpeak in a word) all Europe beſides."* Such a vainglorious piece of ſelf-applauſe is hardly to be met with. They muſt have a mean opinion of the king's acquaintance with the learned world, to uſe him in this manner, at a time, when, though there were ſome very conſiderable divines among ourſelves, there were as many learned men in the foreign univerſities, as had been known ſince the reformation, witneſs the *Beza's*, *Scaliger's*, *Caſaubon's*, &c. whoſe works have tranſmitted their great names down to poſterity.

And that the divines of Cambridge might not come behind their brethren of Oxford, the heads of that univerſity wrote a letter of thanks to the *Oxonians*, for their anſwer to the petition, in which " they applaud and commend their " weighty arguments, and threaten to battle the puritans " with numbers; for *if* Saul *has his thouſands*, (ſay they) " David *has his ten thouſands*. They acquaint them with " their decree of June 9, and bid the poor pitiful puritans " [*homunciones miſerrimi*] anſwer their almoſt a thouſand " books in defence of the hierarchy, before they pretend to " diſpute before ſo learned and wiſe a king."§ A mean and pitiful triumph over honeſt and virtuous men, who aimed at nothing more than to bring the diſcipline of the church a little nearer the ſtandard of ſcripture!

But that his majeſty might part with his old friends with ſome decency, and ſeem to anſwer the requeſt of the petitioners,† he agreed to have a *conference* with the two

† Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 137.

§ Dr. Warner, with reaſon and judgment, ſuppoſes that what determined James, more than any thing elſe, to appoint the Hampton-Court conference, of which he would be the moderator, was, that he might give his new ſubjects a taſte of his talents for diſputation, of which he was always extremely fond and conceited.——Eccles. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 478. Ed.

parties at Hampton-Court,* for which purpoſe he publiſhed a proclamation from Wilton, October 24th, 1603, *Touching a meeting for the hearing, and for the determining things pretended to be amiſs in the church.* In which he declares, "That he was already perſuaded, that the conſtitution of "the church of England was agreeable to God's word, and "near to the condition of the primitive church; yet becauſe "he had received information, that ſome things in it were "ſcandalous, and gave offence, he had appointed a meeting "to be had before himſelf and council, of divers biſhops "and other learned men, at which conſultation he hoped to "be better informed of the ſtate of the church, and whether "there were any ſuch enormities in it; in the mean time he "commanded all his ſubjects not to publiſh any thing againſt "the ſtate eccleſiaſtical, or to gather ſubſcriptions, or make "ſupplications, being reſolved to make it appear by their "chaſtiſement, how far ſuch a manner of proceeding was "diſpleaſing to him, for he *was determined to preſerve the* "*eccleſiaſtical ſtate in ſuch form as he found it eſtabliſhed by* "*the law, only to reform ſuch abuſes as he ſhould find appa-*"*rently proved.*"†

The archbiſhop and his brethren had been indefatigable† in poſſeſſing the king with the excellency of the Engliſh hierarchy, as coming near the practice of the primitive church, and beſt ſuited to a monarchical government; they repreſented the puritans as turbulent and factious, inconſiderable in number, and aiming at confuſion both in church and ſtate; and yet, after all, the old archbiſhop was doubtful of the event, for in one of his letters to *Cecil*, afterwards earl of Shrewſbury, he writes, "Though our humorous "and contentious brethren have made many petitions and "motions, correſpondent to their natures, yet to my com-"fort they have not much prevailed. Your lordſhip, I am "ſure, does imagine, that I have not all this while been "idle, nor greatly quiet in mind; for who can promiſe him-"ſel reſt among ſo many vipers?"§

The place of conference was the *drawing-room*, within the privy chamber at Hampton-Court; the diſputants on

* Life of Whitgift, b. iv. c. 31, p. 568. † Ib. p. 570.

§ Life of Whitgift, Append. b. iv. No. 43. both

both ſides were nominated by the king. For the church, there were nine biſhops, and about as many dignitaries, viz. Dr. *Whitgift* archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr. *Bancroft* biſhop of London, Dr. *Mathew* biſhop of Durham, *Bilſon* biſhop of Wincheſter, *Babington* biſhop of Worceſter, *Rudd* biſhop of St. David's, *Watſon* biſhop of Chicheſter, *Robinſon* biſhop of Carliſle, and *Dove* biſhop of Peterborough;— Dr. *Andrews* dean of the Chapel, *Overal* dean of St. Paul's, *Barlow* dean of Cheſter, *Bridges* dean of Saliſbury, *Field* dean of Glouceſter, and *King* archdeacon of Nottingham; beſides the deans of Worceſter and Windſor.

For the puritans were only four miniſters, Dr. *John Raynolds*, Dr. *Thos. Sparks*, profeſſors of divinity in Oxford, Mr. *Chadderton*, and Mr. *Knewſtubs*, of Cambridge. The divines of the church appeared in the habits of their reſpective diſtinctions; but thoſe for the puritans in fur gowns, like the Turkey merchants, or the profeſſors in foreign univerſities. When the king conferred with the biſhops he behaved with ſoftneſs, and a great regard to their character; but when the puritan miniſters ſtood before him, inſtead of being moderator, he took upon him the place of *reſpondent*, and bore them down with his majeſtick frowns and threatnings, in the midſt of a numerous crowd of courtiers, all the Lords of the Privy Council being preſent; while the biſhops ſtood by, and were little more than ſpectators of the triumph.

The account of this conference was publiſhed at large only by Dr. *Barlow*, who, being a party, (ſays *Fuller**) *ſet a ſharp edge on his own, and a blunt one on his adverſaries weapons.* Dr. *Sparks* and *Raynolds* complained, that they were wronged by that relation;† and Dr. *Jackſon* declared, that *Barlow* himſelf repented, upon his death-bed, of the injury he had done the puritan miniſters in his relation of the Hamtonp-Court conference.§ Mr. *Strype* has lately publiſhed a letter of

* Church Hiſt. b. x. p. 21. † Pierce, p. 153, 154.

§ "The puritans," Dr. *Harris* obſerves, "needed not to have com-"plained ſo much as they have done of *Barlow*. If he has not repreſented "their arguments in as juſt a light, nor related what was done by the mini-"ſters as advantageouſly as truth required, he has abundantly made it up "to them by ſhewing, that the biſhops, their adverſaries, were groſs flat-"terers,

of the biſhop of Durham to *Hutton* archbiſhop of York, which agrees pretty much which *Barlow*;* but Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, a Scotſman, has ſet things in a different light; from all theſe, and from the king's own letter to Mr. *Blake* a Scotſman, we muſt form the beſt judgment of it that we can.

The conference continued three days, (viz.) Jan. 14th, 16th, and 18th; the firſt was with the biſhops and deans alone, Jan. 14th, the puritan miniſters not being preſent; when the King made a ſpeech in commendation of the hierarchy of the church of England, and congratulated himſelf that "he was now come into the *promiſed land*; that he ſat "among grave and reverend men, and was not a king, as "formerly, without ſtate; nor in a place where beardleſs "boys would brave him to his face. He aſſured them, he "had not called this aſſembly for any innovation, for he ac- "knowledged the government eccleſiaſtical, as now it is, to "have been approved by manifold bleſſings from God him- "ſelf; but becauſe he had received ſome complaints of diſ- "orders, he was willing to remove them if ſcandalous, and "to take notice of them if but trifling; that the reaſon "of his conſulting them by *themſelves*, was to receive ſatis- "faction from them, (1.) About ſome things in the common "prayer-book. (2.) Concerning excommunication in the "eccleſiaſtical courts. (3.) About providing ſome well "qualified miniſters for Ireland; that if any thing ſhould be "found meet to be redreſſed, it might be done without their "being confronted by their opponents."†

In the common prayer-book his Majeſty had ſome ſcruples about the *confirmation* of children, as if it imported a confirmation of baptiſm. But the archbiſhop on his knees replied, that the church did not hold baptiſm imperfect without *confirmation*. *Bancroft* ſaid it was of apoſtolical inſtitution,

"terers, and had no regard to their ſacred characters; and that their mortal "foe *James* had but a low underſtanding, and was undeſerving of the rank "he aſſumed in the republick of learning. This he has done effectually, "and therefore, whatever was his *intention*, the puritans ſhould have ap- "plauded his *performance*, and appealed to it for proof of the inſufficiency "of him, who ſet himſelf up as a decider of their controverſies."

Harris's Life of James I. p. 87. Ed.

* Life of Whitg. Append. b. iv. No. 45. † Fuller, b. x. p. 8.

Heb.

Heb. vi. 2, where it is called the doctrine of the laying on of hands. But to ſatisfy the king, it was agreed that the words *examination of children* ſhould be added to *confirmation*.

His Majeſty excepted to the *abſolution of the church*, as too nearly reſembling the Pope's pardon. But the archbiſhop is ſaid to clear it up to the king's ſatisfaction, only to the rubrick of the general abſolution theſe words were to be added for explanation ſake, *remiſſion of ſins*.

He further objected to *private baptiſm*, and *baptiſm by women*. It had been cuſtomary till this time for biſhops to licenſe midwives to their office, and to allow their right to baptize in caſes of neceſſity, under the following oath:

"I *Eleanor* —— admitted to the office and occupation of "a midwife, will faithfully and diligently exerciſe the ſaid "office, according to ſuch cunning and knowledge as God "has given me, and that I will be ready to help and aid as "well poor as rich women, being in labour and travail with "child, and will always be ready to execute my ſaid office. "Alſo, I will not permit or ſuffer, that any woman, being in "labour or travail, ſhall name any other to be the father of "the child, than only he who is the right and true father "thereof; and that I will not ſuffer any other body's child "to be ſet, brought, or laid before any woman delivered of "child, in the place of her natural child, ſo far forth as I "can know or underſtand. Alſo, I will not uſe any kind "of ſorcery or incantation in the time of travail of any wo-"man; and I will not deſtroy the child born of any wo-"man, nor cut, nor pull off the head thereof, or otherwiſe "diſmember or hurt the ſame, or ſuffer it to be ſo hurt, &c. "Alſo, that in the miniſtration of the ſacrament of baptiſm, "in the time of neceſſity, I will uſe the accuſtomed words of "the ſame ſacrament; that is to ſay, theſe words following, or "to the like effect, *I chriſten thee in the name of the Father, the "Son, and the Holy Ghoſt;* and none other profane words. "And that in baptizing any infant born, and pouring water "on the head of the ſaid infant, I will uſe pureand clean wa-"ter, and not any roſe or damaſk water, or water made of "any confection or mixture. And that I will certify the "curate of the pariſh church of every ſuch baptizing."*

* Strype's Annals, vol. I, p. 537.

Notwithſtanding this oath, *Whitgift* aſſured the king, that baptiſm by women and lay-perſons was not allowed by the church. Others ſaid it was a reaſonable practice, the miniſter not being of the eſſence of the ſacrament. But the king not being ſatisfied, it was referred to conſideration, whether the word *curate*, or *lawful miniſter*, might not be inſerted into the rubrick for private baptiſm.

Concerning *excommunication for leſſer crimes* in eccleſiaſtical courts, it was agreed, That the *name* ſhould be changed, but the ſame cenſure retained, or an equivalent thereunto appointed. Theſe were all the alterations that were agreed upon beween the king and biſhops in the firſt day's conference.

Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, who was preſent at the conference, gives this account of it to the preſbytery of Edinburgh. "That on Jan. 12th the king commanded the biſhops, as "they would anſwer it to God in conſcience, and to himſelf "upon their obedience, to adviſe among themſelves, of the "corruptions of the church in doctrine, ceremonies, and "diſcipline; who after conſultation reported, that *all was* "*well*; but when his Majeſty with great fervency brought "inſtances to the contrary, the biſhops on their knees craved "with great earneſtneſs, *That nothing might be altered, leſt* "*popiſh recuſants, puniſhed by penal ſtatutes for their diſobedi-* "*ence, and the puritans puniſhed by deprivation from their call-* "*ings and livings for non-conformity, ſhould ſay, they had juſt* "*cauſe to inſult upon them, as men who had travailed to bind* "*them to that which by their own mouths now was confeſſed to* "*be erroneous.*"* Mr. *Strype* calls this an aſperſion; but I am apt to think him miſtaken, becauſe Mr. *Galloway* adds theſe words, "When ſundry perſons gave out copies of "theſe actions, I myſelf took occaſion, as I was an ear and "eye-witneſs, to ſet them down, and preſented them to his "Majeſty, who with his own hand mended ſome things, and "eked others that I had omitted." It is very certain, that Biſhop *Barlow* has cut off and concealed all the ſpeeches that his Majeſty made againſt the corruptions of the church, and the practices of the prelates, for five hours together,

* Calderwood's Hiſt. Ch. of Scotland, p. 474.

according

according to the teſtimony of Dr. *Andrews* dean of the chapel, who ſaid, That *his Majeſty did that day wonderfully play the puritan.*

The ſecond day's conference was on Monday, Jan. 16, when the four miniſters were called in, with Mr. *Galloway* miniſter of Perth in Scotland, on the one part, and two biſhops and ſix or eight deans on the other, the reſt being ſecluded. The King being ſeated in his chair, with his nobles and privy counſellors around him, let them know, he was now ready to hear their objections againſt the eſtabliſhment. Whereupon Dr. *Raynolds*, in the name of his brethren, humbly requeſted,

1. That the doctrine of the church might be preſerved pure, according to God's word.

2. That good paſtors might be planted in all churches, to preach the ſame.

3. That the book of common-prayer might be fitted to more increaſe of piety.

4. That church government might be ſincerely miniſtered according to God's word.

1. With regard to the doctrine of the church, he requeſted, that to thoſe words in the 16th article, *We may depart from grace*, may be added, *neither totally nor finally*, to make them conſiſtent with the doctrine of *predeſtination* in the 17th article; and that (if his majeſty pleaſed) the nine articles of *Lambeth* might be inſerted.—That in the 23d article theſe words, *In the congregation*, might be omitted, as implying a liberty for men to preach out of the congregation without a lawful call.—That in the 25th article the ground for *confirmation* might be examined; one paſſage confeſſing it to be a depraved imitation of the Apoſtles, and another grounding it on their example; beſides, that it was too much work for a biſhop——

Here *Bancroft*, no longer able to contain himſelf, falling upon his knees, begged the king with great earneſtneſs to ſtop the doctor's mouth, according to an ancient canon, that SCHISMATICKS *are not to be heard againſt their biſhops.* It is not reaſonable (ſays he) that men who have ſubſcribed to theſe articles, ſhould be allowed to plead againſt their own act, contrary to the ſtatute 1ſt *Eliz.* The king, perceiving the

the biſhop in a heat, ſaid, 'My *Lord*, you ought not to interrupt the doctor, but either let him proceed, or anſwer what he has objected.' Upon which he replied, "That as to Dr. "*Raynolds*'s firſt objection, the doctrine of *predeſtination* was "a *deſperate doctrine;* and had many people *libertines*, who "were apt to ſay, *If I ſhall be ſaved, I ſhall be ſaved;* he "therefore deſired it might be left at large. That his ſe-"cond objection was trifling, becauſe, by the practice of the "church, none but *licenſed miniſters* might preach or admini-"ſter the ſacrament. And as to the doctor's third objection "he ſaid, that the biſhops had their chaplains and curates to "examine ſuch as were to be confirmed; and that in ancient "time, *none confirmed but biſhops.*" To which *Raynolds* replied in the words of *St. Jerom*, *That it was rather a compliment to the order, than from any reaſon or neceſſity of the thing.* And whereas the biſhop had called him a SCHISMATICK, he deſired his majeſty, that that imputation might not lie upon him; which occaſioned a great deal of mirth and raillery between the king and his nobles, about the *unhappy puritans.* In concluſion the king ſaid, he was againſt increaſing the number of articles, or ſtuffing them with theological niceties; becauſe, were they never ſo explicit, there will be no preventing contrary opinions. As to *confirmation*, he thought it not decent to refer the ſolemnity to a pariſh prieſt, and cloſed his remarks with this maxim, *No Biſhop, no King.*

After a long interruption the doctor went on, and deſired a *new catechiſm*, to which the king conſented, provided there might be no curious queſtions in it, and that our agreement with the Roman-catholicks in ſome points might not be eſteemed *heterodoxy.* He further deſired *a new tranſlation of the bible*, to which his Majeſty agreed, provided it were without marginal notes, ſaying, that of all the tranſlations, the Geneva was the worſt, becauſe of the marginal notes, which allowed diſobedience to kings. The doctor complained *of the printing and diſperſing popiſh pamphlets*, which reflecting on *Bancroft*'s character, the king ſaid, "What "was done of this kind was by warrant from the Court, to "to nouriſh the ſchiſm between the ſeculars and jeſuits, "which was of great ſervice. Doctor, you are a better "college-man than ſtates-man." To which *Raynolds* replied, That

That he did not intend ſuch books as were printed in England, but ſuch as were imported from beyond ſea; and this ſeveral of the privy-council owned to be a grievance. The doctor having prayed that ſome effectual remedy might be provided againſt the profanation of the Lord's day, declared he had no more to add on the firſt head.

2. With regard to *preaching*, the doctor complained of pluralities in the church; and prayed, that all pariſhes might be furniſhed with preaching miniſters. Upon which *Bancroft* fell upon his knees, and petitioned his majeſty, that all pariſhes might have a *praying miniſtry*; for preaching is grown ſo much in faſhion, (ſays he) that the *ſervice of the church* is neglected. Beſides, *pulpit harangues* are very dangerous; he therefore humbly moved, that the number of homilies might be increaſed, and that the clergy might be obliged to read them inſtead of ſermons, in which many vented their ſpleen againſt their ſuperiors. The king aſked the plaintiffs their opinion of the biſhop's motion; who replied, That a preaching miniſtry was certainly beſt and moſt uſeful, though they allowed, where preaching could not be had, godly prayers, homilies, and exhortations, might do much good. The lord chancellor [*Egerton*] ſaid, There were more livings that wanted learned men, than learned men livings; let all therefore have ſingle coats before others have *doublets*. Upon which *Bancroft* replied merrily, but a *doublet* is good in cold weather. The king put an end to the debate, by ſaying, he would conſult the biſhops upon this head.

3. But the doctor's chief objections were to the *ſervice-book* and *church-government:* Here he complained of the late *ſubſcriptions*, by which many were deprived of their miniſtry, who were willing to ſubſcribe to the doctrinal articles of the church, to the king's ſupremacy, and to the ſtatutes of the realm. He excepted to *the reading the* Apocrypha; *to the interrogatories in baptiſm, and to the ſign of the croſs; to the ſurplice, and other ſuperſtitious habits; to the ring in marriage; to the churching of women by the name of* PURIFICATION. He urged, that moſt of theſe things were reliques of popery; that they had been abuſed to idolatry, and therefore ought, like the *brazen ſerpent*, to be aboliſhed. Mr. *Knewſtubs* ſaid, theſe rites and ceremonies were at beſt but indifferent, and therefore

therefore doubted, whether the power of the church could bind the conſcience without impeaching chriſtian liberty.

Here his Majeſty interrupted them, and ſaid, that he apprehended the *ſurplice* to be a very comely garment; that the *croſs* was as old as *Conſtantine*, and muſt we charge him with popery? beſides, it was no more a ſignificant ſign than impoſition of hands, which the petitioners allowed in ordination; and as for their *other* exceptions, they were capable of being underſtood in a ſober ſenſe; "but as to the *power of* "*the church* in things indifferent, (ſays his Majeſty) I will "not argue that point with you, but anſwer as kings in "parliament, *Le Roy s'aviſera.* This is like Mr. *John* "*Black*, a beardleſs boy, who told me the laſt conference in "Scotland, that he would hold conformity with me in doc-"trine, but that every man as to ceremonies was to be left "to his own liberty, but I will have none of that; *I will have* "*one doctrine, one diſcipline, one religion in ſubſtance and cere-*"*mony: Never ſpeak more to that point, how far you are* "*bound to obey.*"

4. Dr. *Raynolds* was going on, to complain of *excommunication* by *lay-chancellors;* but the king having ſaid that he ſhould conſult the biſhops on that head, the doctor deſired that the clergy might have aſſemblies once in three weeks; that in rural deaneries they might have the liberty of *prophe-ſyings*, as in archbiſhop *Grindal*'s time; that thoſe caſes which could not be reſolved there, might be referred to the *archdeacon's viſitation*, and from thence to the *dioceſan ſynod*, where the biſhop with his preſbyters ſhould determine ſuch points as were too difficult for the other meetings.——Here the king broke out into a flame, and inſtead of hearing the doctor's reaſons, or commanding his biſhops to anſwer them, told the *miniſters*, that he found they were aiming at a Scots preſbytery, "which (ſays he) agrees with mo-"narchy as well as God and the devil; then *Jack* and "*Tom*, *Will* and *Dick*, ſhall meet, and at their pleaſure cen-"ſure both me and my council. Therefore, pray ſtay one "ſeven years before you demand that of me, and if then you "find me purſy and fat, and my windpipe ſtuffed, I will "perhaps hearken to you; for let that government be up, "and I am ſure I ſhall be kept in breath; but till you find I

" grow lazy, pray let that alone. I remember how they " uſed the poor lady my mother in Scotland, and me in my " minority." Then turning to the biſhops, he put his hand to his hat and ſaid, " *My Lords*, I may thank you that theſe " puritans plead for my ſupremacy, for if once you are out " and they in place, I know what would become of my ſu- " premacy, for, *No Biſhop, no King*. Well, doctor, have " you any thing elſe to offer?" Dr. *Raynolds*, ' *No more, if* ' *it pleaſe your Majeſty.*' Then riſing from his chair, the king ſaid, " *If this be all your party have to ſay, I will make* " *them conform, or I will hurry them out of this land, or elſe* " *worſe*;" and he was as good as his word.

Thus ended the ſecond day's conference, after four hours' diſcourſe, with a perfect triumph on the ſide of the church; the puritan miniſters were inſulted, ridiculed, and laughed to ſcorn, without either wit or good manners. One of the council ſaid, he now ſaw that a *puritan was a proteſtant frighted out of his wits*. Another, that *the miniſters looked more like Turks than Chriſtians, as appeared by their habits*. Sir *Edward Peyton* confeſſed, that Dr. *Raynolds* and his brethren had not freedom of ſpeech; but finding it to no purpoſe to reply, they held their peace. On the other hand, the biſhops and courtiers flattered the king's wiſdom and learning beyond meaſure, calling him the *Solomon* of the age. *Bancroft* fell upon his knees, and ſaid, " I proteſt my heart " melteth for joy, that Almighty God, of his ſingular mercy, " has given us ſuch a king, as ſince Chriſt's time has not " been." Chancellor *Egerton* ſaid, " He had never ſeen " the king and prieſt ſo fully united in one perſon.§" His majeſty was no leſs ſatisfied with his own conduct; for in his letter to Mr. *Blake* a Scotſman, he told him, That he had ſoundly peppered off the puritans, that they had fled before him, and that their petitions had turned him more earneſtly againſt them. " It were no reaſon, (ſays his ma- " jeſty) that thoſe who refuſe the airy ſign of the croſs after " baptiſm, ſhould have their purſes ſtuffed with any more

§ A modern prelate has ſaid, " Sancho Pancha never made a better " ſpeech, nor more to the purpoſe, during his government."

Bp. Warburton's notes on Neal. Ed.

" ſolid

" ſolid and ſubſtantial croſſes.——They fled me ſo from " argument to argument, without ever anſwering me directly, " (*ut eſt eorum moris*) that I was forced to tell them, that if " any of them, when boys, had diſputed thus in the college, " the moderator would have fetched them up, and applied " the rod to their buttocks.——I have a book of theirs that " may convert infidels, but ſhall never convert me, except " by turning me more earneſtly againſt them."——This was the language of the *Solomon* of the age. I leave the reader to judge, how much ſuperior this wiſe monarch was in the knowledge of antiquity, or the art of ſyllogiſm, to Dr. *Raynolds*, who was the oracle of his time for acquaintance with eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, councils and fathers, and had lived in a college all his days.

The third day's conference was on Wedneſday Jan. 18th, when the biſhops and deans, were firſt called into the privy chamber with the civilians, to ſatisfy the king about the *high commiſſion* and the oath *ex officio*, which they might eaſily do, as being principal branches of his prerogative. When the king ſaid he approved of the wiſdom of the law in making the oath *ex officio*, the old arcbiſhop was ſo tranſported, as to cry out, *Undoubtedly your Majeſty ſpeaks by the ſpecial aſſiſtance of God's ſpirit.* A committee of biſhops and privy counſellors was then appointed to conſider of leſſening the charges in the high commiſſion, and for planting ſchools, and proper miniſters in the kingdom of Ireland, and on the borders of England and Scotland. After which Dr. *Raynolds* and his brethren were called in, not to diſpute, but only to hear the few alterations or explanations in the common-prayer-book already mentioned; which not anſwering their expectations, Mr. *Chadderton* fell on his knees, and humbly prayed, that the ſurplice and croſs might not be urged on ſome godly miniſters in Lancaſhire; and Mr. *Knewſtubs* deſired the ſame favour for ſome Suffolk miniſters; which the biſhops were going to oppoſe, but the king replied with a ſtern countenance, " We have taken pains " here to conclude in a reſolution for uniformity, and you " will undo all by preferring the credit of a few private men " to the peace of the church; this is the Scots way, but I " will have none of this arguing, therefore let them con-

" form, and that quickly too, or they ſhall hear of it; the " biſhops will give them ſome time, but if any are of an " obſtinate and turbulent ſpirit, I will have them enforced " to conformity."*

Thus ended this *mock conference*, for it deſerves no better name, all things being previouſly concluded between the king and the biſhops, before the puritans were brought upon the ſtage, to be made a ſpectacle to their enemies, and borne down not with calm reaſon and argument, but with the royal authority, *I approve* or *I diſſent*; the king making himſelf both judge and party.§ No wonder, therefore, if Dr. *Raynolds* fell below himſelf, and loſt ſome part of his eſteem with the puritans, being overawed by the place and company, and the arbitrary dictates of his ſovereign opponent. The puritans refuſed to be concluded by this conference, for the following reaſons, becauſe,

1. " The miniſters appointed to ſpeak for them were not " of their nomination or chooſing, nor of one judgment in " the points of controverſy; for being deſired by their bre- " thren to argue againſt the *corruptions of the church* as *ſimply* " *evil*, they replied, they were not ſo perſuaded. Being " further deſired to acquaint the king, that ſome of their " brethren thought them *ſinful*, they refuſed that alſo.

* " In this manner ended this conference; which," obſerves Dr. Warner, " convinced the puritans they were miſtaken in depending on the King's " protection; which convinced the King that they were not be won by " a few inſignificant conceſſions; and which, if it did not convince the " Privy Council, and the biſhops, that they had got a SOLOMON for their " King, yet they ſpoke of him as though it did." Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 482.

" This conference," ſays another writer, " was but a blind to introduce " epiſcopacy in Scotland; all the Scotch noblemen then at court being de- " ſigned to be preſent, and others, both noblemen and miniſters, being called " up from Scotland by the King's letter to aſſiſt at it. Dr. Welwood, as quoted by Croſby. Hiſt. of Engl. Baptiſts, vol. i. p. 85. ED.

§ The concluſion of his addreſs to the puritan miniſters, at this conference, as it was a curious ſpecimen of the King's logick, ſo it was a proof of the inſolent and tyrannical ſpirit, with which he aimed to bear down all oppoſition. " If," ſaid he, " this be all your party hath to ſay, I will make " them conform themſelves, or elſe I will *harrie* them out of the land, or " elſe do worſe, *only hang them, that's all.*" It is very evident, from this, that he truſted more, as it has been obſerved by a modern writer, to the power of HANGING than of CONVINCING his adverſaries.

Secret Hiſtory of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. i. Introduction, p 23. the note. ED.

" Laſtly, being deſired to give their reaſons in writing, why " they thought the ceremonies only *indifferent*; or to anſwer " the reaſons they had to offer to prove them *ſinful*, they " would do neither one nor other.

2. " Becauſe the points in controverſy were not tho- " roughly debated, but nakedly propounded, and ſome not " at all touched. Neither was there any one argument to " the purpoſe purſued and followed.

3. " Becauſe the prelates took the liberty of interrupting " at their pleaſure thoſe of the other ſide, inſomuch that they " were checked for it by the king himſelf."

They objected alſo to the account of the conference by Dean *Barlow*, as publiſhed without the knowledge, advice or conſent of the other ſide, and therefore deſerving no credit; they ſaid that Dr. *Moreton* had called ſome part of it in queſtion, and rectified ſome ſpeeches fathered on the king: beſides, that the prelates only were preſent at the firſt day's conference, when the principal matters were determined.

" Therefore the *puritan miniſters* offer (if his majeſty will " give them leave) in one week's ſpace to deliver his ma- " jeſty in writing, a full anſwer to any argument or aſſertion " propounded in that conference by any prelate; and in " the mean time they do aver them to be moſt vain and " frivolous."

If the biſhops had been men of moderation, or if the king had diſcovered any part of that wiſdom he was flattered with, all parties might have been made eaſy at this time; for the biſhops, in ſuch a criſis, would have complied with any thing his majeſty had inſiſted on; but the king's cowardice, his love of flattery, his high and arbitrary principles, and his mortal hatred of the puritans, loſt one of the faireſt opportunities, that had ever offered, to heal the diviſions of the church.

On the 5th of March the king publiſhed a proclamation, in which he ſays, " That though the doctrine and diſcipline " of the eſtabliſhed church were unexceptionable, and agree- " able to primitive antiquity, nevertheleſs he had given way " to a conference, to hear the exceptions of the non-con- " formiſts, which he had found very ſlender; but that ſome " few explanations of paſſages had been yielded to for their " ſatisfaction; therefore he now requires and enjoins all his

" ſubjects

"ſubjects to conform to it, as *the only publick form eſtab-*
"*liſhed in this realm*; and admoniſhes them not to expect any
"further alterations, for that his reſolutions were abſolutely
"ſettled." The common-prayer-book was accordingly printed with the amendments, and the proclamation prefixed.

It was a high ſtrain of the prerogative, to alter a form of worſhip *eſtabliſhed by law*, merely by a royal proclamation, without conſent of parliament or convocation; for by the ſame power that his majeſty altered one article in the liturgy, he might ſet aſide the whole, every ſentence being equally eſtabliſhed by act of parliament; but this wiſe monarch made no ſcruple of diſpenſing with the laws. However, the force of all proclamations determining with the king's life, and there being no ſubſequent act of parliament to eſtabliſh theſe amendments, it was argued very juſtly in the next reign, that this was not the liturgy of the church of *England eſtabliſhed by law*, and conſequently not binding upon the clergy.

A fortnight before this conference was held died the learned and reverend Mr. *Thomas Cartwright*, one of the chief of the puritans, and a great ſufferer for non-conformity. He was born in Hertfordſhire, 1535, and entered into St. John's college, Cambridge, 1550, where he became a hard ſtudent, never ſleeping above five hours in a night. During the reign of queen *Mary* he left the univerſity, and became a lawyer's clerk; but upon the acceſſion of queen *Elizabeth* he reſumed his theological ſtudies, and was choſen fellow of Trinity college in the year 1563. The year following he bore a part in the philoſophy act before the queen. In the year 1567, he commenced bachelor of divinity, and three years after was choſen *Lady Margaret*'s profeſſor. He was ſuch a popular preacher, that when his turn came at St. Mary's, the ſexton was obliged to take down the windows. But Mr. *Cartwright* venturing in ſome of his lectures to ſhew the defects of the diſcipline of the church, as it then ſtood, was queſtioned for it before the Vice-Chancellor, denied his doctor's degree, and expelled the univerſity, as has been related. He then travelled to Geneva, and afterwards became preacher to the Engliſh merchants at Antwerp. King *James* invited him to be profeſſor in his univerſity of St. Andrews', which

which he declined. After his return from Antwerp he was often in trouble by ſuſpenſions, deprivations, and long impriſonment; at length the great Earl of *Leiceſter*, who knew his worth, made him governor of his hoſpital in Warwick, where he ended his days, Dec. 27th, 1603. He was certainly one of the moſt learned and acute diſputants of his age, but very ill uſed by the governing clergy. He wrote ſeveral books beſides his controverſy with archbiſhop *Whitgift*, as, his Latin comment on Eccleſiaſtes, dedicated to king *James*, in which he thankfully acknowledges his being appointed profeſſor to a Scots univerſity: his celebrated confutation of the Rhemiſt tranſlation of the New-Teſtament, to which work he was ſolicited not only by Sir *Francis Walſingham*, but by letter under the hands of the principal divines of Cambridge, as *Roger Goad*, *Wm. Whitaker*, *Thomas Crooke*, *John Ireton*, *Wm. Fulke*, *John Field*, *Nicholas Crane*, *Gibs Seinthe*, *Rich. Gardiner*, *Wm. Clarke*, &c. Such an opinion had theſe great men of his learning and abilities. He was a perſon of uncommon induſtry and piety, fervent in prayer, a frequent preacher, and of a meek and humble ſpirit. In his old age he was ſo troubled with the ſtone and gout by frequent lying in priſons, that he was obliged always to ſtudy on his knees. His laſt ſermon was on Eccleſ. xii. 7. *Then ſhall the duſt return to the earth, and the ſpirit ſhall return to God who gave it.* The Tueſday following he was two hours on his knees in private prayer, and a few hours after quietly reſigned his ſpirit to God, in the 68th year of his age, and was buried in his own hoſpital. The famous Mr. *Dod* preached his funeral ſermon.*

Six weeks after died his great antagoniſt Dr. *John Whitgift*, archbiſhop of Canterbury; who was born at Great-Grimſby in Lincolnſhire in the year 1530, and educated in Pembroke-hall, and was fellow of Peter-houſe, Cambridge. He complied with the changes in Queen *Mary*'s reign, though he diſapproved of her religion. He commenced doctor of divinity 1569; and was afterwards *Margaret* and *Queen*'s profeſſor,§

* CLARKE's Lives annexed to his GENERAL MARTYROLOGY, p. 16.

§ For his ſake the ſalary of *Lady Margaret*'s profeſſorſhip was raiſed from 20 marks to 20l. And it is obſerved to his honour, that this prelate was the great reſtorer of order and diſcipline in the univerſity of Cambridge, when deeply wounded and almoſt ſunk.

Granger's Hiſt. of England, 8vo. vol. i. p. 206. ED.

and maſter of Trinity college. Having been a celebrated champion for the hierarchy, the queen advanced him firſt to the biſhoprick of Worceſter, and then to the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury. He was a ſevere governor of the church, preſſing conformity with the utmoſt rigour,‖ in which her majeſty always gave him her countenance and ſupport. He regarded neither the intreaties of poor miniſters, nor the interceſſions of courtiers, being ſteady to the laws, and even out-going them in the cauſe of uniformity. Mr. *Fuller* ſays, he would give fair words and good language, but would abate nothing. Sir *G. Paul*, the writer of his life, ſays, that CHOLER was his chief infirmity,† which has ſufficiently appeared by the account already given of the many perſecutions, oppreſſions, and unjuſtifiable hardſhips the puritans ſuffered under his adminiſtration; notwithſtanding which they increaſed prodigiouſly, inſomuch, that towards the latter end of his life his *Grace* grew weary of the invidious employment; and being afraid of king *James*'s firſt parliament,* died (as it is ſaid) with grief before it met, *deſiring rather to give an account of his biſhoprick to God than exerciſe it among men.*§ He had been at court the firſt Sunday in Lent, and as he was going to the council-chamber to dinner, was ſeized with the dead palſy on the right ſide, and with the loſs of his ſpeech; upon which he was carried firſt to the lord treaſurer's chamber, and afterwards to Lambeth, where the king viſited him on Tueſday, but not being able to converſe, he lifted up his eyes and hand, and ſaid, *pro Eccleſiâ Dei*, which were his laſt words. He would have written ſomething, but could not hold his pen. His diſeaſe encreaſing he expired the next day, being the 29th of Feb. 1603, ætat. 73, and was buried at Croydon on the 27th of March following, where he has a fair monument, with his effigies at length upon it. He was an hoſpitable man, and uſually travelled with a great retinue; in the year 1589, he came into Canterbury with a train of five hundred horſe, of which one hundred were his own ſervants. He founded an

‖ "Even ſometimes it may be," ſays Dr. Warner, "beyond all other "law, but that of her Majeſty's pleaſure." ED.

† Life of Whitgift, p. 108. * Fuller's Church Hiſt. b. x. p. 25.

§ Strype's words, Dr. Grey ſays, are, Et nunc Domine exaltata eſt mea anima, quod in eo tempore ſuccubui, quando mallem epiſcopatûs mei reddere rationem, quam inter homines exercere. ED.

hoſpital

hoſpital and free ſchool at Croydon, and though he was a cruel perſecutor of the puritans, yet, compared with his ſucceſſor *Bancroft*, he was a valuable prelate.

Before the meeting of the parliament the king iſſued out two proclamations, one commanding all jeſuits and prieſts in orders to depart the kingdom, [Feb. 22, 1603] wherein he was very careful to let the world know, that he did not baniſh them out of hatred to the catholick religion; but only for maintaining the Pope's temporal power over princes.* The other was againſt the puritans, in which there was no indulgence for tender conſciences;—all muſt conform, or ſuffer the extremities of the law.†

The king opened his firſt ſeſſion of parliament with a long ſpeech, in which there are many ſtrokes in favour of tyranny and arbitrary power: "His majeſty acknowledges the "Roman church to be his *mother church, though defiled with "ſome infirmities and corruptions.* That his mind was ever "free from perſecution for matters of conſcience, as he hopes "thoſe of that religion have proved ſince his firſt coming. "He pities the laity among them, and would indulge their "*clergy* if they would but renounce the *Pope's ſupremacy*, "and his pretended power to diſpenſe with the murder of "kings. He wiſhes that he might be a means of uniting "the two religions, for if they would but abandon their "late corruptions, *he would meet them in the mid-way*, as "having a great veneration for antiquity in the points of "eccleſiaſtical policy. But then as to the *puritans* or *noveliſts* "who do not differ from us ſo much in points of religion, "as in their confuſed form of policy and purity; thoſe (ſays

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 163, folio ed.

† "The puritans about this time" (ſays Mrs. Macaulay) "ſuffered ſo ſevere a perſecution, that they were driven to offer a petition for relief to the King, whilſt he was taking the diverſion of hunting. James was ſomething ſtartled at this unexpected intruſion, and very graciouſly directed them to depute ten of their members to declare their grievances to the council. Theſe deputies no ſooner made their appearance before the council, than they were ſent to jail; and Sir *Francis Haſtings*, Sir *Edward Montague*, and Sir *Valentine Knightly*, under whoſe protection they had thus acted, were turned out of the lieutenancy of the county and the commiſſion of the peace."

Winwood's Memorials quoted by Mrs. *Macaulay*, Hiſtory of England, vol. 1. p. 7. note, 8vo. Ed.

"he)

" he) are diſcontented with the preſent church govern-
" ment; they are impatient to ſuffer any ſuperiority, which
" makes their ſect inſufferable in any well-governed com-
" monwealth."*

The biſhops and their adherents were pleaſed with this ſpeech, becauſe the king ſeemed reſolved not to indulge the puritans at any rate; the catholicks did not like his majeſty's diſtinction between the *laicks* and *clericks;* but the puritans had moſt reaſon to complain, to ſee ſo much charity expreſſed towards papiſts, and ſo little for themſelves.† All proteſtants in general heard with concern the king's offer to meet the papiſts half-way. What does he mean? ſay they; is there no difference between popery and proteſtantiſm, but the Pope's authority over princes? Are all other doctrines to be given up? Are the religions the ſame? And, is this the only point upon which we ſeparated from the church of Rome? Thus unhappily did this pretended proteſtant prince ſet out, with laying the foundation of diſcontent among all ranks of his people.

His majeſty made frequent mention in his ſpeech of his hereditary right to the crown, and of his lineal deſcent. That he was accountable to none but God; and that the only difference between a rightful king and a tyrant is, that the *one is ordained for preſerving the proſperity of his people, the other thinks his kingdom and people are ordained to ſatisfy his unreaſonable appetites.*‡ Further, his majeſty altered the writs for electing members, and took upon him to deſcribe, what ſort of repreſentatives ſhould be elected, not by way of exhortation but of command, and as indiſpenſible conditions of their being admitted into the houſe, and which were to be judged of and determined in the court of chancery.§ He threatened to fine and diſfranchiſe thoſe corporations that did not chooſe to his mind; and to fine and impriſon their repreſentatives if they preſumed to ſit in the houſe. When the houſe of commons met he interrupted their examinations of elec-

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 165, 166, folio. ed.——† Ibid. p. 167, 168, folio ed.
‡ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 252. Coke, p. 51.

§ " This" (as *Dr. Warner* well obſerves,) " was directly ſtriking at
" the privileges of the Commons." ED.

tions,

tions, and commanded the return of Sir *Fran. Goodwin*, whoſe election they had ſet aſide, to be brought before him and his judges. Moſt of thoſe who approached the king's perſon laboured to inſpire him with the deſign of making himſelf abſolute; or rather, to confirm him in that reſolution.* The biſhops were of this number; and from this time there has appeared among the clergy a party of men, who have carried the obedience of the ſubject, and the authority of the crown, as high as in the moſt arbitrary monarchies.

But though the court and biſhops were ſo well agreed, the parliament paſſed ſome acts which gave them uneaſineſs; as the revival of the ſtatute of *Edward* VI. which enacts, That all proceſſes, citations, judgments, &c. in any eccleſiaſtical courts, ſhall be iſſued in the king's name, and under the king's ſeal of arms. The biſhops were ſaid to be aſleep when they ſuffered this clauſe to paſs; but the *Laudæan* clergy broke through it afterwards, as they did through every thing elſe that ſtood in the way of their ſovereignty. It was further enacted, That all leaſes or grants of church lands to the king, or his heirs, &c. for more than twenty-one years for the future, ſhould be made void; which put an effectual ſtop to the alienation of the church's revenues. The marriages of the clergy were alſo legitimated, by reviving the ſtatute of King *Edward* VI. for that purpoſe.†

The convocation which ſat with the parliament was very active againſt the puritans. The ſee of Canterbury being vacant, *Bancroft* biſhop of London preſided, and produced the king's licence to make canons.‡ May 2d, 1603, he delivered a book of canons of his own preparing to the lower houſe for their approbation. About the ſame time Mr. *Egerton*, *Fleetwood*, *Wotton*, *Clark*, and other puritan divines, preſented

* We are told, in particular, that *Cecil* aſſured *James*, on his coming to the crown, "That he ſhould find his Engliſh ſubjects like aſſes, on whom he might lay any burden, and ſhould need neither bit nor bridle but their aſſes' ears." "His reign, however, affords ſufficient proof," obſerves a late writer, "that the king himſelf was the only aſs, and that the Engliſh lions were not to be intimidated by by his ſilly braying."

Secret Hiſtory of the Court and Reign of *Charles* II. vol. i. Introduction, p. 30, the note. Ed.

† Heylin's Hiſt. Preſb. p. 375. ‡ Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 396.

a petition

a petition for reformation of the book of common-prayer; but inſtead of receiving it, they admoniſhed them and their adherents to be obedient and conform, before *Midſummer-Day*, or elſe they ſhould undergo the cenſures of the church. In the mean time the canons were reviſing. May 23d, there was a debate in the upper houſe upon the *croſs in baptiſm*, when *Bancroft* and ſome others ſpoke vehemently for it; but Dr. *Rudd*, biſhop of St. David's, ſtood up, and made the following ſpeech for charity and moderation:

— "For my part, I acknowledge the antiquity of the uſe "of the *croſs*, as mentioned in *Tertullian*, and after him in "St. *Cyprian*, St. *Chryſoſtom*, *Auſtin*, and others. I alſo "confeſs the original of the ceremony to have ſprung by "occaſion of the pagans, who reproached the ancient chriſ-"tians for believing in Chriſt crucified; and that in popery "it has been ſuperſtitiouſly abuſed; and I affirm, that it is in "the church of England now admitted and entertained by "us, and reſtored to its ancient integrity, all ſuperſtition "abandoned.

"Likewiſe I wiſh, that if the king's highneſs ſhall perſiſt "in impoſing it, all would ſubmit to it (as we do) rather "than forego the miniſtry in that behalf. But I greatly "fear, by the report that I hear, that very many learned "preachers, whoſe conſciences are not in our cuſtody, nor "to be diſpoſed of at our devotion, will not eaſily be drawn "thereunto; of which number, if any ſhall come in my walk, "I deſire to be furniſhed before hand, by thoſe that be pre-"ſent, with ſufficient reaſons to ſatisfy them (if it be poſſible) "concerning ſome points which have been now delivered.

Firſt, "Whereas ſundry paſſages of ſcripture have been "alledged for the croſs; as, *God forbid that I ſhould rejoice "ſave in the* CROSS *of Chriſt*; and divers others of the like "ſenſe; if any of the adverſe opinion fall into my company, "and ſay, that theſe ſcriptures are figurative, implying the "death and paſſion of our Saviour Chriſt; and that to draw "an argument from them to juſtify the *ſign of the croſs in the "forehead*, is an inſufficient kind of reaſoning, and a fallacy; "what anſwer ſhall I make unto them?

Secondly, "Whereas I have obſerved upon preſent rela-"tion, that the impugners of this ceremony were heard at

"large

" large in the conference at Hampton-court, and having " objected the example of *Hezekiah*, who broke in pieces " the brazen ſerpent, after it had been abuſed to idolatry, " and therefore the *ſign of the croſs* (which was not brought " into the church by God's expreſs command, as the brazen " ſerpent was, but was from the beginning a mere invention " of men) ought now to be taken away by reaſon of the " ſuperſtitious abuſe which is ſuſtained in popery; they re- " ceived anſwer, That King *Hezekiah* might have preſerved " it, abandoning the abuſe of it, if it had pleaſed him, and " conſequently it is in the King's Majeſty's power to aboliſh " this ceremony, having been abuſed, or to retain it in " manner aforeſaid. Hereunto I ſay, that I was one of the " conference, yet I was not at that part of the conference, " where thoſe that ſtood for reformation had acceſs to the " King's Majeſty's preſence, and liberty to ſpeak for them- " ſelves; *for that I, and ſome other of my brethren the biſhops, " were ſecluded from that day's aſſembly;* but I ſuppoſe it to " be true, as it has formerly been reported, and I for my " own particular admit the conſequence put down above. " Now, becauſe I wiſh all others abroad as well ſatisfied " herein as ourſelves that be here preſent, if any of the " contrary opinion ſhall come to me, and ſay, that the afore- " ſaid anſwer does not ſatisfy them, becauſe they think there " to be as great reaſon now, to move them to become peti- " tioners to his Majeſty for aboliſhing *the croſs in baptiſm*, " as there was to move the *godly zealous* in *Hezekiah*'s time " to be petitioners for defacing the *brazen ſerpent*, becauſe " the church-going papiſts now among us do ſuperſtitiouſly " abuſe the one, as the Iſraelites did the other; what ſound " anſwer ſhall I make to them for their better ſatisfaction?

Thirdly, " Whereas it has been this day alledged, that it " is convenient and neceſſary to preſerve the memory of the " *croſs* of Chriſt by this means; if haply any of the other ſide " ſhall come to me, and ſay, that the memory of the croſs " of Chriſt might be ſufficiently, and more ſafely preſerved " by preaching the doctrine of the goſpel, the ſum whereof " is *Chriſt crucified*; which was ſo lively preached to the Ga- " latians, as if his bodily image had been crucified among " them; and yet we know not of any material or ſignal

" croſs

" croſs that was in uſe in the church at that time; I deſire " to know what ſatisfaction or anſwer muſt be given to them.

" Moreover, I proteſt, that all my ſpeeches now are uttered " by way of *propoſition*, not by way of *oppoſition*, and that " they all tend to work pacification in the church; for I put " great difference between what is lawful and what is expe- " dient, and between them that are ſchiſmatical, and them " that are ſcrupulous only upon ſome ceremonies, being " otherwiſe learned, ſtudious, grave, and honeſt men.

" Concerning theſe laſt, I ſuppoſe, if upon the urging them " to abſolute ſubſcription, they ſhould be ſtiff, and chooſe " rather to forego their livings, and the exerciſe of their " miniſtry, though I do not juſtify their doings herein, yet " ſurely their ſervice will be miſſed at ſuch a time, as need " ſhall require us and them to give the right hand of fellow- " ſhip one to another, and to go arm in arm againſt the " common adverſary ——

" Likewiſe conſider who muſt be the executioners of their " deprivation? Even *we ourſelves* the biſhops, againſt whom " there will be a great clamour of them and their dependents, " and many others who are well affected towards them, " whereby our perſons will be in hazard to be brought into " extreme diſlike or hatred.

" Alſo remember, that when the Benjamites were all de- " ſtroyed, ſaving ſix hundred, and the men of Iſrael ſware in " their fury that none of them would give his daughter to the " Benjamites to wife, though they ſuffered for their juſt " deſerts, yet their brethren afterwards lamented and ſaid, " There is one tribe cut off from Iſrael this day; and they " uſed all their wits, to the uttermoſt of their policy, to re- " ſtore that tribe again.

" In like ſort, if theſe our brethren aforeſaid ſhall be " deprived of their places for the matter premiſed, I think " we ſhould find cauſe to bend our wits to the utmoſt extent " of our ſkill, to provide ſome cure of ſouls for them, that " they may exerciſe their talents.

" Furthermore, if theſe men, *being divers hundreds*, ſhould " ſhould forſake their charges, who, I pray you, ſhould ſuc- " ceed them? Verily, I know not where to find ſo many able " preachers in this realm unprovided for; but ſuppoſe there

" were

" were, yet they might more conveniently be ſettled in the " ſeats of unpreaching miniſters. But if they are put in the " places of theſe men that are diſpoſſeſſed, thereupon it will " follow, 1. That the number of preaching miniſters will " not be multiplied. 2. The church cannot be ſo well " furniſhed on a ſudden; for though the new ſupply may be " of learned men from the univerſities, yet will they not be " ſuch ready preachers for a time, nor ſo experienced in " paſtoral government, nor ſo well acquainted with the man- " ners of the people, nor ſo diſcreet in their carriage, as " thoſe who have already ſpent many years in their mi- " niſterial charge.

" Beſides, foraſmuch as in the time of the late Archbiſhop " of Canterbury theſe things were not ſo extremely urged, " but that many learned preachers enjoyed their liberty " conditionally, that they did not by word or deed openly " diſturb the ſtate eſtabliſhed, I would know a reaſon why " they ſhould now be ſo generally and exceeding ſtraitly " called upon, eſpecially ſince there is a greater increaſe of "papiſts lately than heretofore.

" To conclude, I wiſh, that if by petition to the King's " Majeſty there cannot be obtained a quite remove of the " premiſes, nor yet a toleration for them that are of more " ſtaid and temperate carriage, yet at leaſt there might be " procured a mitigation of the penalty."*

The biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Ely and Lincoln, anſwered the biſhop of St. David; but when his Lordſhip would have replied, *he was forbid by the Preſident, and ſubmitted;* affirming, that as nothing was more dear to him than the peace of the church, he was determined to uſe the beſt means he could to draw others to unity and conformity with himſelf, and the reſt of his reverend brethren. And thus the debate ended.

The book of *Canons* found an eaſy paſſage through both houſes of convocation, and was afterwards ratified by the

* Dr. *Grey* alſo gives this ſpeech of Bp. *Rudd* at length, inſerting in bracket ſome words and clauſes both from Mr. *Peirce* and Mr, *Thomas Baker*'s MSS, omitted by Mr. *Neal*, in order to convict himſelf of inaccuracy: but from the nature of them it ſhould ſeem, that theſe omiſſions proceeded not from negligence, but deſign, as not eſſential to Biſhop *Rudd*'s rgument. ED.

king's

king's letters patent under his great ſeal; but not being confirmed by act of parliament, it has ſeveral times been adjudged *in the courts of Weſtminſter-hall*, that they bind only the clergy, the laity not being *repreſented* in convocation. The book contains one hundred forty-one articles, collected out of the injunctions, and other epiſcopal and ſynodical acts of the reigns of king *Edward* VI. and queen *Elizabeth*, and are the ſame that are now in force. By theſe we diſcern the ſpirit of the church at this time, and how freely ſhe diſpenſed her *anathema's* againſt thoſe who attempted a further reformation. The *canons* that relate to the puritans deſerve a particular mention, becauſe (however illegally) they ſufferd ſeverely under them.

" *Canon* III. ſays, That whoſoever ſhall affirm, that the " church of England by law eſtabliſhed is not a true and " APOSTOLICAL church, let him be excommunicated *ipſo* " *facto*, and not reſtored but only by the archbiſhop, after " his repentance and publick revocation of his wicked error.

" *Canon* IV. Whoſoever ſhall affirm the form of God's " worſhip in the church of England eſtabliſhed by law, and " contained in the book of common-prayer, and adminiſtra- " tion of ſacraments, is a corrupt, ſuperſtitious, and unlawful " worſhip, or contains any thing repugnant to ſcripture, let " him be excommunicated *ipſo facto* and not reſtored *&c.*

" *Canon* V. Whoſoever ſhall affirm, that any of the thirty " nine articles of the church, agreed upon in the year 1562, " *for avoiding diverſity of opinions, and for eſtabliſhing conſent* " *touching true religion*, are in any part ſuperſtitious or erro- " neous, or ſuch as he may not with a good conſcience " ſubſcribe to, let him be excommunicated *ipſo facto*, and " not reſtored, *&c.*

Canon VI. Whoſoever ſhall affirm, that the rites and " ceremonies of the church of England by law eſtabliſhed, " are wicked, anti-chriſtian, ſuperſtitious, or ſuch as, being " commanded by lawful authority, good men may not with a " good conſcience approve, uſe, or, as occaſion requires, " ſubſcribe, let him be excommunicated *ipſo facto*, and not " reſtored, *&c.*

" *Canon* VII. Whoſoever ſhall affirm, the government of " the church of England, by archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, " and archdeacons, and the reſt that bear office in the ſame.

" is

" is anti-chriſtian, or repugnant to the word of God, let him " be excommunicated *ipſo facto*, and not reſtored, *&c.*

" *Canon* VIII. Whoſoever ſhall affirm, that the form and " manner of making and conſecrating biſhops, prieſts, or " deacons, contains any thing repugnant to the word of " God; or that perſons ſo made and conſecrated are not " lawfully made, or need any other calling or ordination to " their divine offices, let him be excommunicated, *ipſo facto*, " and not reſtored, *&c.*

" *Canon* IX. Whoſoever ſhall ſeparate from the commu- " nion of the church of England, as it is approved by the " Apoſtles' rules, and combine together in a new brother- " hood, accounting thoſe who conform to the doctrines, " rites and ceremonies of the church unmeet for their com- " munion, let them be excommunicated *ipſo facto*, and not " reſtored, *&c.*

" *Canon* X. Whoſoever ſhall affirm that ſuch miniſters as " refuſe to ſubſcribe to the form and manner of God's " worſhip in the church of England, and their adherents, " may truely take to themſelves the name of another church " not eſtabliſhed by law, and ſhall publiſh, that their pre- " tended church has groaned under the burden of certain " grievances, impoſed on them by the church of England, let " them be excommunicated *ipſo facto*, and not reſtored, *&c.*

" *Canon* XI. Whoſoever ſhall affirm, that there are within " this realm, other meetings, aſſemblies or congregations of " the King's born ſubjects, than ſuch as are eſtabliſhed by " law, which may rightly challenge to themſelves the name " of true and lawful churches, let him be excommunicated " *ipſo facto*, and not reſtored, *&c.*

" *Canon* XII. Whoſoever ſhall affirm that it is lawful for " any ſort of miniſters or lay-perſons to make rules, orders " and conſtitutions, in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, without the King's " authority, and ſhall ſubmit to be ruled and governed by " them, let him be excommunicated *ipſo facto*, and not " reſtored, *&c.*

" *Canon* XCVIII. We decree and appoint, that after any " judge eccleſiaſtical hath proceeded judicially againſt obſti- " nate and factious perſons, for not obſerving the rites and " ceremonies of the church, or for contempt of publick

" prayer, no judge *ad quem* ſhall admit, or allow of an *ap-*
" *peal*, unleſs he having firſt ſeen the *original appeal*, the
" party appellant do firſt perſonally promiſe and vow, that
" he will faithfully keep and obſerve all the rites and cere-
" monies of the church of England, as alſo the preſcript
" form of common prayer; and do likewiſe ſubſcribe the
" three articles formerly by us ſpecified and declared."

They who are acquainted with the terrible conſequences of an *excommunication* in the ſpiritual courts, muſt be ſenſible of the new hardſhips put upon the *puritans* by theſe canons; ſuſpenſions and deprivations from their livings, were not now thought ſufficient puniſhments for the ſin of non-conformity; but the puritans, both clergy and laity, muſt be turned out of the congregation of the faithful; they muſt be rendered incapable of ſueing for their lawful debts; they muſt be impriſoned for life by proceſs out of the civil courts, or until they make ſatisfaction to the church; and when they die, they muſt be denied chriſtian burial; and, ſo far as lies in the power of the court, be excluded the kingdom of heaven. O uncharitableneſs! papiſts excommunicate proteſtants, becauſe, by renouncing the *catholick faith*, they apprehend them guilty of *hereſy;* but for proteſtants of the ſame faith to excommunicate their fellow-chriſtians and ſubjects, and deprive them of their liberties, properties, and eſtates, for a few ceremonies, or becauſe they have not the ſame veneration for the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution with themſelves, is hardly to be paralleled.

To take notice of a few more of the canons: *Canon* XIV forbids the miniſter to add to, or leave out, any part of the prayers. *Canon* XVIII. enjoins bowing at the name of JESUS. *Canons* XVII, XXIV, XXV, LVIII, LXXIV, enjoin the wearing the habits in colleges, cathedrals, *&c.* as copes, ſurplices, hoods. *Canon* XXVII. forbids giving the ſacrament to SCHISMATICKS, or to any but ſuch as kneel, and allow of the rites, ceremonies, and orders of the church. *Canon* XXVIII ſays, that none ſhall be admitted to the ſacrament but in their own pariſh. *Canon* XXIX, That no parent ſhall be urged to be preſent, nor be admitted to anſwer as a godfather for his own child in baptim. *Canon*

XXX

XXX declares the ſign of the croſs to be no part of the ſubſtance of the ſacrament of baptiſm, but that the ordinance is perfect without it. *Canon* XXXIII prohibits ordination without a preſentation, and ſays, that if any biſhop ordain without a title, he ſhall maintain the perſon till he be provided with a living. *Canon* XXXVI, and XXXVII, ſay, that no perſon ſhall be ordained, or ſuffered to preach, or catechiſe in any place as a lecturer, or otherwiſe, unleſs he firſt ſubſcribe the three articles following; 1. *That the king's majeſty is the ſupreme head and governor of this realm, as well in all ſpiritual and eccleſiaſtical, as temporal cauſes.* 2. *That the book of common-prayer*, &c. *contains nothing contrary to the word of God, and that he will uſe it and none other.* 3. *That he alloweth the thirty-nine articles of* 1562, *to be all and every one of them agreeable to the word of God.* To theſe he ſhall ſubſcribe in the following form of words:

I *N. N.* do willingly, and *ex animo*, ſubſcribe to theſe three articles abovementioned, and to all things that are contained in them.

Canon XXXVIII ſays, that if any miniſter, after ſubſcription, ſhall diſuſe the ceremonies, he ſhall firſt be ſuſpended; then after a month be excommunicated, and after another month depoſed from his miniſtry. *Canon* LV contains the form of bidding prayer before ſermon; *ye ſhall pray for Chriſt's holy catholick church*, &c. the original of which I have accounted for. *Canon* LXXXII appoints, "that convenient "and decent tables ſhall be provided in all churches for the "celebration of the holy communion, and the ſame tables "ſhall be covered in time of divine ſervice with a carpet of "ſilk, or other convenient ſtuff; and with a fair linen cloth "at the time of the adminiſtration, as becometh that table, "and ſo ſtand, ſaving when the ſaid holy communion is to "be adminiſtered; at which time the ſame ſhall be placed "in ſo good ſort within the church or chancel, as thereby "the miniſter may be more conveniently heard of the com-"municants in his prayer and adminiſtration; and the com-"municants alſo more conveniently, and in more numbers, "may communicate with the ſaid miniſter; and a convenient "ſeat ſhall be made for the miniſter to read ſervice in."

The other canons relate to the particular duties of *miniſters, lecturers, church-wardens, pariſh clerks;* to the juriſdiction and buſineſs of *eccleſiaſtical courts*, with their proper officers, as *judges eccleſiaſtical, ſurrogates, proctors, regiſters, apparitors*, &c. The book concludes with denouncing the ſentence of excommucation, 1. Againſt ſuch as ſhall affirm, that this ſynod thus aſſembled, is not the true church of England by repreſentation. 2. Againſt ſuch as ſhall affirm, that perſons not particularly aſſembled in this ſynod, either clergy or laity, are not ſubject to the decrees thereof, as not having given their voices to them. 3. Againſt ſuch as ſhall affirm, this ſacred ſynod was a company of ſuch perſons as did conſpire againſt godly and religious profeſſors of the goſpel, and therefore that they and their proceedings ought to be deſpiſed and contemned, though ratified and confirmed by the royal ſupremacy and authority.

The king, in his ratification of theſe canons, commands them to be diligently obſerved and executed; and for the better obſervation of the ſame, that every pariſh miniſter ſhall read them over once every year in his church, on a Sunday or holiday, before divine ſervice; and all archbiſhops, biſhops and others, having eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, are commanded to ſee all and every the ſame put in execution, and not ſpare to execute the penalties in them ſeverally mentioned on thoſe that wilfully break or neglect them. I ſhall leave the reader to make his own comment on the proceedings of this ſynod, only obſerving, that when they had finiſhed their decrees, they were prorogued to January, $160\frac{5}{6}$, when, Dr. *Overal* being prolocutor, they gave the king four ſubſidies, but did no more church buſineſs till the time of their diſſolution, in the year 1610.

Dr. *Bancroft* biſhop of London, being tranſlated to the ſee of Canterbury, [*December* 1604] was ſucceeded by *Vaughan* biſhop of Cheſter, a corpulent man, and of little activity; upon his advancement the Dutch and French miniſters within his dioceſe preſented him with an addreſs for his protection and favour, wherein they ſet forth, "that their churches "were granted them by charter from pious king Edward VI. "in the year 1550; and that, though they were again diſ-"perſed by the *Marian* perſecution, they were reſtored to "their

"their churches and privileges by queen *Elizabeth*, in the "year 1558, from which time they have been in the uninter- "rupted poſſeſſion of them. It appears from our records "(ſay they) how kind and friendly the pious *Grindal* was "to us; and what pains the prudent biſhop *Sandys* took in "compoſing our differences. We promiſe ourſelves the like "favour from your lordſhip, &c. — for whom we ſhall "always pray, &c. —"* Monſieur *de la Fontain* delivered the addreſs, with a ſhort *Latin* ſpeech, to whom the biſhop replied, "I thank you, moſt dear brethren, for your kind "addreſs; I am ſenſible of the merits of *John Alaſco*, "*Utenhovius*, and *Edmund Grindal* biſhop of London;† "ſuperintendents of your churches; and of the reſt of my "predeceſſors in this biſhoprick, who had reaſon to take "your churches, which are of the ſame faith with our own, "under their patronage, which I alſo am ready to do. I "have known your churches twenty-five years to have been "beneficial to the kingdom, and ſerviceable to the church of "England, in which the devil, the author of diſcord, has "kindled the fire of diſſention, into which I pray you not to "pour oil, but to endeavour by your counſels and prayers, "to extinguiſh."‡ Thus the foreign churches enjoyed full peace, while his majeſty's own ſubjects, of the ſame faith and diſcipline with them, were harraſſed out of the kingdom.

BANCROFT was a divine of a rough temper, a perfect creature of the prerogative, and a declared enemy of the religious and civil liberties of his country. He was for advancing the prerogative above law, and for enlarging the juriſdiction of the ſpiritual courts, by adviſing his majeſty to take from the courts of *Weſtminſter-hall*, to himſelf, the whole right of granting *prohibitions;* for this purpoſe he framed twenty-five grievances of the clergy, which he called *articuli cleri*, and preſented them to the king for his approbation; but the judges having declared them to be contrary to law, they were ſet aſide.

* Addreſs of the French and Dutch churches to the Bp. of London. Strype's Ann. vol. iv. p. 390.

† *Utenhovius* and *Edmund Grindal*, as Dr. *Grey* obſerves, are not mentioned in the biſhop's anſwer, though they are in *Fontain*'s ſpeech. ED.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. v. p. 395.

His

His *grace* revived the perſecution of the puritans, by enforcing the ſtrict obſervance of all the feſtivals of the church; reviving the uſe of copes, ſurplices, caps, hoods, &c. according to the firſt ſervice-book of king *Edward*; obliging the clergy to ſubſcribe over again to the three articles of *Whitgift*, which by the late *canon* [N° XXXVI.] they were to declare they did *willingly, and from the heart.* By theſe methods of ſeverity above three hundred puritan miniſters* were ſilenced or deprived; ſome of whom were excommunicated and caſt into priſon, others were forced to leave their native country and livelihood, and go into baniſhment, to preſerve their conſciences. *I ſay* (ſays Mr. *Collier*) *to preſerve their conſciences, for it is a hard thing to bring every body's underſtanding to the common ſtandard, and to make all honeſt men of the ſame mind.*†

To countenance and ſupport the archbiſhop's proceedings the king ſummoned the twelve judges into the ſtar chamber, and demanded their judgments upon three queſtions; there were preſent the biſhops of Canterbury and London, and about twelve lords of the privy council.

The lord chancellor opened the aſſembly with a ſharp ſpeech againſt the puritans, as diſturbers of the peace, declaring, that the king intended to ſuppreſs them, by having the laws put in execution;‡ and then demanded, in his majeſty's name, the opinion of the judges in three things:

Q. 1. "Whether the deprivation of puritan miniſters by "the high commiſſioners, for refuſing to conform to the "ceremonies appointed by the laſt canons, was lawful?

The judges replied, "that they had conferred thereof "before, and held it to be lawful, becauſe the king had the "ſupreme eccleſiaſtical power, which he has delegated to "the commiſſioners, whereby they have the power of depri-"vation, by the canon law of the realm, and the ſtatute firſt

* This account is controverted by Dr. *Grey*, on the authority of *Heylyn*'s Aer. Rediviv. p. 376; who ſays, "that by the rolls brought in by Biſhop "*Bancroft* before his death it appears, that there had been but forty-five "deprived on all occaſions; which, in a realm containing 9000 pariſhes, "could be no great matter. But it was, that by the puniſhment of ſome "of the principals, he ſtruck ſuch a general terror into all the reſt, that "in-conformity grew out of faſhion in leſs time than could be eaſily "imagined." Ed. † Eccleſ. Hiſt. p. 687.

‡ Crook's Reports, Mich. term, 2 Jac. part 2d, p. 37, parag. 13.

" *Eliz.* which appoints commiſſioners to be made by the " queen, but does not confer any *new power*, but explain " and declare the *ancient power;* and therefore they held it " clear, *that the king without parliament might make orders* " *and conſtitutions for the government of the clergy, and might* " *deprive them if they obeyed not; and ſo the commiſſioners* " *might deprive them*; but that the commiſſioners could not " make any new conſtitutions without the king. And the " divulging ſuch ordinances by proclamation is a moſt graci- " ous admonition. And foraſmuch as they [the puritans] " have refuſed to obey, they are lawfully deprived by the " commiſſioners *ex officio*, without libel, *& ore tenus convocati.*

Q. 2. " Whether a *prohibition* be grantable againſt the " commiſſioners upon the ſtatute of 2 *Henry* V. if they do " not deliver the copy of the libel to the party?"

The judges replied, " that that ſtatute was intended " where the eccleſiaſtical judge proceeds *ex officio, & ore* " *tenus.*"

Q. 3. " Whether it be an offence puniſhable, and what " puniſhment they deſerved, who framed petitions, and col- " lected a multitude of hands thereto, to prefer to the king " in a publick cauſe, as the puritans had done, with an inti- " mation to the king, that if he denied their ſuit many thou- " ſands of his ſubjects would be diſcontented?"

The judges replied, " that it was an offence fineable at " diſcretion, and very near to treaſon and felony in the pu- " niſhment, for it tended to the raiſing ſedition, rebellion and " diſcontent among the people." To which unaccountable reſolution all the lords agreed.

By theſe determinations the whole body of the clergy are excluded the benefit of the common and ſtatute law; for the king *without parliament* may make what conſtitutions he pleaſes: his majeſty's high commiſſioners may proceed upon theſe *conſtitutions ex officio;* and the ſubject may not open his complaints to the king, or petition for relief, without being fineable at pleaſure, and coming within danger of treaſon or felony.*

* " This," as Dr. *Warner* well obſerves, " was making the king abſo- " lute in all eccleſiaſtical affairs, without any limitation or redreſs: and it " was intended probably as a ſtep to make him ſo in the ſtate." ED.

Before

Before the breaking up of the aſſembly, ſome of the lords declared, that the puritans had raiſed a falſe rumour of the king, as intending to grant a toleration to papiſts; which offence the judges conceived to be heinouſly fineable by the rules of common law, either in the King's-bench, or by the king in council; or now, ſince the ſtatute of 3 *Henry* VIIth, in the ſtar-chamber. And the lords ſeverally declared, that the king was diſcontented with the ſaid falſe rumour, and had made but the day before a proteſtation to them, *That he never intended it, and that he would ſpend the laſt drop of blood in his body before he would do it; and prayed, that before any of his iſſue ſhould maintain any other religion than what he truly profeſſed and maintained, that God would take them out of the world.* The reader will remember this ſolemn proteſtation hereafter.

After theſe determinations the archbiſhop reſumed freſh courage, and purſued the puritans without the leaſt compaſſion. A more grevious perſecution of the orthodox faith (ſays my author) is not to be met with in any prince's reign. Dr. *John Burges*, rector of Sutton-Colefield, in one of his letters to king *James*, ſays, the number of non-conformiſts in the counties he mentions, were ſix or ſeven hundred, agreeable to the addreſs of the Lincolnſhire miniſters, hereafter mentioned.*

The whole clergy of London being ſummoned to Lambeth, in order to ſubſcribe over again, many abſconded, and

* The number of non-ſubſcribers in

Oxfordſhire were	9	Staffordſhire	14
Dorſetſhire	17	Hertfordſhire	17
Nottinghamſhire	20	Surry	21
Norfolk	28	Wiltſhire	31
Buckinghamſhire	33	Suſſex	47
Leiceſterſhire	57	Cheſhire	12
Bedfordſhire	16	Somerſetſhire	17
Derbyſhire	20	Lancaſhire	21
Kent	23	London	30
Lincolnſhire	33	Warwickſhire	44
Devon and Cornwall	51	Northamptonſhire	57
Suffolk	71	Eſſex	57

In the twenty-four counties abovementioned - - 746

From whence it is reaſonable to conclude, that in the fifty-two counties of England and Wales there were more than double the number.

ſuch numbers refuſed, that the church was in danger of being diſfurniſhed, which awakened the court, who had been told that the non-conformiſts were an inconſiderable body of men. Upon this ſurpriſing appearance the biſhops were obliged to relax the rigour of the canons for a while; and to accept of a promiſe from ſome, to uſe the croſs and ſurplice; from others to uſe the ſurplice only; and from others a verbal promiſe that they *might* be uſed, not obliging themſelves to the uſe of them at all; the deſign of which was to ſerve the church by them at preſent, till the univerſities could ſupply them with new men; for they had a ſtrict eye upon thoſe ſeminaries of learning, and would admit no young ſcholar into *orders* without an abſolute and full ſubſcription to all the articles and canons.

Bancroft, in a letter to his brethren the biſhops, dated December 18th, 1604, gives the following directions: "As "to ſuch miniſters as are not already placed in the church, "the 36th and 37th canons are to be obſerved; and none "are to be admitted to execute any eccleſiaſtical function without ſubſcription. Such as are already placed in the church "are of two ſorts: 1. Some promiſe conformity, but are unwilling to ſubſcribe again. Of theſe, foraſmuch as the "near affinity between conformity and ſubſcription gives "apparent hopes, that being men of ſincerity, they will in "a ſhort time frame themſelves to a more conſtant courſe, "and ſubſcribe to that again, which by their practice they "teſtify not to be repugnant to the word of God; your "lordſhip may (an act remaining upon record of ſuch their "offer and promiſe) reſpite their ſubſcription for ſome ſhort "time. 2. Others in their obſtinacy will yield neither to "ſubſcription, nor promiſe of conformity; theſe are either "ſtipendary curates, or ſtipendary lecturers, or men benefi-"ced; the two firſt are to be ſilenced, and the third deprived." He adds, "that the king's proclamation of July 16, 1604, "admoniſhes them to conform to the church, and obey the "ſame, or elſe to diſpoſe of themſelves and their families "ſome other way, as being men unfit, for their obſtinacy "and contempt, to occupy ſuch places; and beſides, they "are within the compaſs of ſeveral laws."

The

The puritans who ſeparated from the church, or inclined that way, were treated with yet greater rigour, Mr. *Maunſel*, miniſter of Yarmouth, and Mr. *Lad*, a merchant of that town, were impriſoned by the high commiſſion, for a ſuppoſed conventicle, becauſe that on the Lord's day, after ſermon, they joined with Mr. *Jackler*, their late miniſter, in repeating the heads of the ſermon preached on that day in the church. Mr. *Lad* was obliged to anſwer upon oath certain articles, without being able to obtain a ſight of them beforehand; and after he had anſwered before the chancellor, was cited up to Lambeth to anſwer them again before the high commiſſioners upon a new oath, which he refuſing, without a ſight of his former anſwer, was thrown into priſon, where he continued a long time, without being admitted to bail. Mr. *Maunſel* the miniſter was charged further, with ſigning a complaint to the lower houſe of parliament, and for refuſing the oath *ex officio*; for which he alſo was ſhut up in priſon without bail. At length being brought to the bar upon a writ of *habeas corpus*, and having prevailed with *Nic. Fuller*, eſq; a bencher of Gray's-Inn, and a learned man in his profeſſion, to be their counſel; he moved, that the priſoners might be diſcharged, becauſe the high commiſſioners were not empowered by law to impriſon, or to adminiſter the oath *ex officio*, or to fine any of his majeſty's ſubjects. This was reckoned an unpardonable crime, and, inſtead of ſerving his clients, brought the indignation of the commiſſioners upon himſelf. *Bancroft* told the king, that he was the champion of the non-conformiſts, and ought therefore to be made an example, to terrify others from appearing for them; accordingly he was ſhut up in cloſe priſon, from whence neither the interceſſion of his friends, nor his own moſt humble petitions, could obtain his releaſe to the day of his death.*

This high abuſe of *church power* obliged many learned miniſters and their followers, to leave the kingdom, and retire to Amſterdam, Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden, Utrecht, and other places of the Low Countries, where Engliſh churches were erected after the preſbyterian model, and maintained by the States according to treaty with queen

* Pierce's Vindication, p. 174.

Elizabeth,

Elizabeth, as the French and Dutch churches were in England. Beſides, the Engliſh being yet in poſſeſſion of the *cautionary towns*, many went over as chaplains to regiments, which, together with the merchants that reſided in the trading cities, made a conſiderable body. The reverend and learned Dr. *William Ames*, one of the moſt acute controverſial writers of his age, ſettled with the Engliſh church at the Hague; the learned Mr. *Robert Parker*, a Wiltſhire divine, and author of the *eccleſiaſtical policy*, being diſturbed by the high commiſſion, retired to Amſterdam, and afterwards became chaplain to the Engliſh regiment at Doeſburg, where he died. The learned Mr. *Forbes*, a Scots divine, ſettled with the Engliſh church at Rotterdam; as Mr. *Pots*, Mr. *Paget*, and others did at Amſterdam and other places.

But the greateſt number of thoſe who left their native country for religion were BROWNISTS,* or rigid ſeparatiſts, of whom Mr. *Johnſon*, *Ainſworth*, *Smith*, and *Robinſon*, were the leaders. Mr. *Johnſon* erected a church at Amſterdam,

* Theſe conſcientious exiles, driven from their own country by perſecution, inſtead of meeting with an hoſpitable reception or even a quiet refuge in Holland, were there "loaded with reproaches, deſpiſed and "afflicted by all, and almoſt conſumed with deep poverty." The learned *Ainſworth*, we are told, lived upon nine-pence a week and ſome boiled roots, and was reduced to the neceſſity of hiring himſelf as a porter to a bookſeller, who firſt of all diſcovered his ſkill in the Hebrew language, and made it known to his countrymen. The Dutch themſelves, juſt emerged from civil and religious oppreſſion, looked with a jealous eye on theſe ſuffering refugees. And though the civil power, commonly in every ſtate more friendly than the eccleſiaſtic to toleration, does not appear to have oppreſſed them, the clergy would not afford them an opportunity to refute the unfavourable reports generally circulated againſt them, on the authority of letters from England; nor receive their confeſſion of faith; nor give them an audience on ſome points, on which they deſired to lay their ſentiments before them. But with a man at their head, of no leſs eminence than *James Arminius*, judged that they ought to petition the magiſtrate for leave to hold their aſſemblies for the worſhip of God, and informed againſt them in ſuch a way as might have rendered them the objects of ſuſpicion. "They ſeemed "evidently," it has been remarked, "to have conſidered them in the ſame "light, in which ſerious and conſcientious diſſenters from the religious pro-"feſſion of the majority will ever be viewed, as a ſet of diſcontented, factious "and conceited men, with whom it would be ſafeſt for them to have no connection."

Ainſworth's Two Treatiſes on 'The Communion of Saints,' and 'An Arrow againſt Idolatry,' printed at Edinburgh, 1789, pref. p. 15, 16, 17. ED.

after

after the model of the *Browniſts*, having the learned Mr. *Ainſworth* for doctor or teacher. Theſe two publiſhed to the world a confeſſion of faith of the people called BROWNISTS, in the year 1602, not much different in doctrine from the harmony of confeſſions; but being men of warm ſpirits, they fell to pieces about points of diſcipline;* *Johnſon* excommunicated his own father and brother for trifling matters, after having rejected the mediation of the preſbytery of

* A late writer, who appears to have accurately inveſtigated the hiſtory of the Browniſts, repreſents Mr. *Neal* as incorrect in his account of the debates, which aroſe amongſt them. The principal leaders of this party were the two brothers *Francis* and *George Johnſon*, Mr. *Ainſworth*, and Mr. *John Smith*, who had been a clergyman in England. Three principal ſubjects of controverſy occaſioned diſſentions in the Browniſt churches. The firſt ground of diſſention was the marriage of *Francis Johnſon* with a widow of a taſte for living and dreſs; particularly unſuitable to times of perſecution; his father and his brother oppoſed this connection. This occaſioned ſuch a difference, that the latter proceeded from admonitions and reproofs, to bitter revilings and reproaches: and *Francis Johnſon*, his colleague *Ainſworth*, and the church, at length, paſſed a ſentence of excommunication againſt the father and brother. Mr. *Neal*, it ſeems, confounds this unhappy controverſy with another that ſucceeded to it, but diſtinct from it, between *Francis Johnſon* and *Ainſworth*. It turned upon a queſtion of diſcipline. The former placing the government of the church in the elderſhip alone, the latter in the church, of which the elders are a part. This diſpute was carried to an unchriſtian height, but, according to Mr. *John Cotton* of New-England, who was the contemporary of *Johnſon* and *Ainſworth*, and had lived amidſt the partiſans of each ſide, they did not, as Mr. *Neal* repreſents the matter, mutually excommunicate each other; but *Ainſworth* and his company withdrew and worſhipped by themſelves, after *Johnſon* and thoſe with him had denied them communion. In the interim of theſe debates, a ſchiſm had taken place in the church, headed by Mr. *John Smith*, who advanced and maintained opinions ſimilar to thoſe afterwards eſpouſed by *Arminius*; and beſides his ſentiments concerning baptiſm, to which Mr. *Neal* refers in the next paragraph, ſeveral ſingular opinions were aſcribed to him: as, that no tranſlation of the bible could be properly the word of God, but the original only was ſo: that ſinging ſet words or verſes to God was without any proper authority: that flight in time of perſecution was unlawful: that the new creature needed not the ſupport of ſcriptures and ordinances, but is above them: that perfection is attainable in this life, &c. There aroſe againſt him a whole hoſt of opponents; *Johnſon, Robinſon, Cliſton, Ainſworth, and Jeſſop.* His character as well as his ſentiments were attacked with a virulence of ſpirit and an abuſive language, that diſcredit the charges and expoſe the ſpirit of the writers.

See ſome account of Mr. *Ainſworth*, prefixed to a new edition of his two treatiſes, p. 27—42; and *Croſby*'s Hiſtory of Engliſh Baptiſts, vol. 1. p. 3, &c. and p. 265, &c. ED.

Amſterdam.

Amſterdam. This divided the congregation, inſomuch that Mr. *Ainſworth* and half the congregation excommunicated *Johnſon*, who after ſome time returned the ſame compliment to *Ainſworth*. At length the conteſt grew ſo hot, that Amſterdam could not hold them; *Johnſon* and his followers removed to Embden, where ſoon after dying, his congregation diſſolved. Nor did Mr. *Ainſworth* and his followers live long in peace, upon which he left them and retired to Ireland, where he continued ſome time; but when the ſpirits of his people were quieted he returned to Amſterdam, and continued with them to the day of his death. This Mr. *Ainſworth* was author of an excellent little treatiſe, entitled, *an Arrow againſt Idolatry*, and of a moſt learned commentary on the five books of *Moſes*, by which he appears to have been a great maſter of the oriental languages and of *Jewiſh* antiquities. His death was ſudden, and not without ſuſpicion of violence; for it is reported, that having found a diamond of very great value in the ſtreets of Amſterdam, he advertiſed it in print, and when the owner, who was a *Jew*, came to demand it, he offered him any acknowledgment he would deſire; but *Ainſworth*, though poor, would accept of nothing but a conference with ſome of his Rabbies upon the prophecies of the old teſtament relating to the Meſſias, which the other promiſed; but not having intereſt enough to obtain it, and *Ainſworth* being reſolute, it is thought he was poiſoned.* His congregation remained without a paſtor for ſome years after his death, and then choſe Mr. *Canne*, author of the marginal references to the bible, and ſundry other treatiſes.

Mr. *Smith* was a learned man, and of good abilities, but of an unſettled head, as appears by the preface to one of his books, in which he deſires that his laſt writings may always be taken for his preſent judgment. He was for refining upon the *Browniſts* ſcheme, and at laſt declared for the principles of the Baptiſts; upon this he left Amſterdam, and

* Others ſay, that he obained this conference, and ſo confounded the Jews, that from pique and malice they in this manner put an end to his life. He died in 1622 or 1623, leaving an exemplary character for humility, ſobriety, diſcretion, and unblameable virtue. See an account prefixed to his two Treatiſes, p. 60, 62. ED.

ſettled

ſettled with his diſciples at Ley; where, being at a loſs for a proper adminiſtrator of the ordinance of baptiſm, he plunged himſelf, and then performed the ceremony upon others, which gained him the name of a SE-BAPTIST.* He afterwards embraced the tenets of *Arminius*, and publiſhed certain concluſions upon thoſe points in the year 1611, which Mr. *Robinſon* anſwered; but *Smith* died ſoon after, and his congregation diſſolved.

Mr. *John Robinſon* was a Norfolk divine, beneficed about Yarmouth, where being often moleſted by the biſhop's officers, and his friends almoſt ruined in the eccleſiaſtical courts, he removed to Leyden, and erected a congregation upon the model of the *Browniſts*.† He ſet out upon the moſt rigid principles, but by converſing with Dr. *Ames*, and other learned men, he became more moderate; and though he always maintained the lawfulneſs and neceſſity of ſeparating from thoſe reformed churches among which he lived, yet he did not deny them to be *true churches*, and admitted their

* This is ſaid on the authority of his opponents only, who, from the acrimony with which they wrote againſt him, it may be reaſonably concluded, might be ready to take up a report againſt him upon ſlender evidence. His defences of himſelf and his opinions have not been, for many years, to be met with: but the large quotations from them in the writings of his opponents afforded not the leaſt intimation, either in the way of conceſſion or juſtification, of his having done ſuch a thing; the contrary may be rather concluded from them. The firſt ground of his ſeparation from the eſtabliſhed church, was a diſlike of its ceremonies and preſcribed forms of prayer, he afterwards doubted concerning the validity of baptiſm adminiſtered in a national church; this paved the way for his rejecting the baptiſm of infants altogether, and adopting *immerſion* as the true and only meaning of the word *baptiſm*. His judgment on doctrinal points underwent ſimilar changes. Hence Mr. *Neal* has called him a man "of an unſettled head." This language ſeems to inſinuate a reflection on Mr. *Smith*: whereas it is an honour to any man; it ſhews candor, ingenuouſneſs, an openneſs to conviction, and ſincerity, for one to change his ſentiments on further enquiry, and to avow it. A lover of truth, eſpecially who has imbibed in early life the principles of the corrupt eſtabliſhments of chriſtianity, will continually find it his duty to recede from his firſt ſentiments. Biſhop *Tillotſon* juſtly commended his friend Dr. *Whichcot*; becauſe, while it is cuſtomary; with learned men at a certain age to *make their underſtandings*, the *Doctor* was *ſo wiſe as to be willing to learn to the laſt*; i. e. He was of an unſettled head.

Croſby's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Baptiſts, vol. 1. p.65, &c. Account of Mr. *Ainſworth* prefixed to his Two Treatiſes p. 41. ED.

† Bayle's Diſſuaſive, p. 177.

members to occaſional communion, allowing his own to join with the Dutch churches in prayer and hearing the word, but not in the ſacraments and diſcipline, which gained him the character of a SEMI-SEPARIST; his words are theſe,* "*We* "*profeſs, before God and men, that we agree ſo entirely with* "*the reformed Dutch churches in matters of religion, that we* "*are willing to ſubſcribe to all and every one of their articles,* "*as they are ſet down in the harmony of confeſſions.——We ac-* "*knowledge theſe reformed churches for true and genuine; we* "*hold communion with them as far as we can; thoſe among us* "*that underſtand the Dutch language frequent their ſermons;* "*and we adminiſter the Lord's ſupper to ſuch of their members* "*as are known to us, and deſire it occaſionally.*" This Mr. *Robinſon* was the father of the INDEPENDENTS.

Mr. *Henry Jacob* was born in Kent, and educated in St. Mary Hall, where he took the degrees in arts, entered into holy orders, and became precentor of Chriſt-Church college, and afterwards beneficed in his own country at Cheriton.‡ He was a perſon thoroughly verſed in theological authors, but withal a moſt zealous puritan. He wrote two treatiſes againſt *Fr. Johnſon* the Browniſt, in defence of the church of England's being a true church, printed at Middleburgh, 1599, and afterwards publiſhed *Reaſons taken out of God's word, and the beſt human teſtimonies, proving a neceſſity of reforming our churches of England*, &c. 1604.† But going to Leyden, and converſing with Mr. *Robinſon*, he embraced his ſentiments of diſcipline and government, and tranſplanted it into England in the year 1616, as will be ſeen in its proper place.

This difference among the puritans engaged them in a warm controverſy among themſelves, about the *lawfulneſs and neceſſity of ſeparating from the church of England*, while

* "Profitemur coram Deo & hominibus adeo nobis convenire cum ec-
"cleſiis reformatis *Belgicis* in re religionis ut omnibus & ſingulis earundum
"eccleſiarum fidei articulis, prout habentur in harmonia confeſſionum fidei,
"parati ſumus ſubſcribere.—Eccleſias reformatas pro veris & genuinis habe-
"mus, cum iiſdem in ſacris Dei communionem profitemur, & quantum in
"nobis eſt, colimus. Conciones publicas ab illarum paſtoribus habitas, ex
"noſtris qui norunt linguam Belgicam frequentant: ſacram cænam earum
"membris, ſi qua forte noſtris cœtibus interſint nobis cognita, participamus."

‡ Life of Whitgift, p. 566. † Ath. Ox. vol. i. p. 394.

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the conforming clergy ſtood by as ſpectators of the combat. Moſt of the puritans were for keeping within the pale of the church, apprehending it to be a true church in its doctrines and ſacraments, though defective in diſcipline, and corrupt in ceremonies, but being a *true church* they thought it not lawful to ſeparate, though they could hardly continue in it with a good conſcience. They ſubmitted to ſuſpenſions and deprivations; and when they were driven out of one dioceſe, took ſanctuary in another, being afraid of incurring the guilt of SCHISM by forming themſelves into ſeparate communions. Whereas the Browniſts maintained, that the church of England, in its preſent conſtitution, was no true church of Chriſt, but a limb of Antichriſt, or at beſt a mere creature of the ſtate; that their miniſters were not rightly called and ordained, nor the ſacraments duly adminiſtered; or ſuppoſing it to be a true church, yet as it was owned by their adverſaries [the conforming puritans] to be a very corrupt one; it muſt be as lawful to ſeparate from it, as for the church of England to ſeparate from Rome. The conforming puritans evaded this conſequence, by denying the church of Rome to be a true church; nay, they affirmed it to be the very antichriſt; but the argument remained in full force againſt the biſhops, and that part of the clergy who acknowledged the church of Rome to be a true church.

It is certainly as lawful to ſeparate from the corruptions of one church as of another; and it is neceſſary to do ſo, when thoſe corruptions are impoſed as terms of communion. Let us hear archbiſhop *Laud*, in his conference with the Jeſuit *Fiſher*. "Another church (ſays his grace) may ſeparate "from Rome, if Rome will ſeparate from Chriſt; and ſo far "as it ſeparates from him, and the faith, ſo far may another "church ſeparate from it. I grant the church of Rome "to be a true church in eſſence, though corrupt in manners "and doctrine. And corruption of manners, attended with "errors in the doctrines of faith, is a juſt cauſe for one par-"ticular church to ſeparate from another." His grace then adds, with regard to the church of Rome; "the cauſe "of the ſeparation is *yours*, for you thruſt us from you, be-"cauſe we called for truth and redreſs of abuſes; for a "ſchiſm muſt needs be theirs whoſe the cauſe of it is; the

"woe

"woe runs full out of the mouth of Chriſt, even againſt "him that gives the offence, not againſt him that takes it. "It was ill done of thoſe, whoever they were, who firſt "made the ſeparation [from Rome]; I mean not actual but "cauſal, for as I ſaid before, the ſchiſm is theirs whoſe the "cauſe of it is; and he makes the ſeparation who gives the "firſt juſt cauſe of it, not he that makes an actual ſepa-"ration upon a juſt cauſe preceding." Let the reader carefully conſider theſe conceſſions, and then judge how far they will juſtify the ſeparation of the *Browniſts*, or the *proteſtant non-conformiſts* at this day.

This year [1605] was famous for the diſcovery of the GUNPOWDER-PLOT, which was a contrivance of the papiſts to blow up the king and the whole royal family, with the chief of the proteſtant nobility and gentry, November 5th, the firſt day of their aſſembling in parliament; for this purpoſe a cellar was hired under the houſe of lords, and ſtored with thirty-ſix barrels of gun-powder, covered over with coals and faggots. But the plot was diſcovered the night before, by means of a letter ſent to the Lord *Monteagle*, adviſing him to abſent himſelf from the houſe, becauſe *they were to receive a terrible blow, and not to know who hurt them.* *Monteagle* carrying the letter to court, the king ordered the apartments about the parliament-houſe to be ſearched; the powder was found under the houſe of lords, and *Guy Vaux* with a dark lanthorn in the cellar, waiting to ſet fire to the train when the king ſhould come to the houſe the next morning. *Vaux* being apprehended confeſſed the plot, and impeached ſeveral of his accomplices, eight of whom were tried and executed, and among them *Garnet*, provincial of the Engliſh jeſuits, whom the pope afterwards canonized.

The diſcovery of this murderous conſpiracy was aſcribed to the royal penetration;* but Mr. *Oſborne* †and others, with great probability, ſay, that the firſt notice of it came from *Henry* IV. king of France, who heard of it from the jeſuits; and, that the letter to *Monteagle* was an artifice of *Cecil*'s, who was acquainted beforehand with the proceedings of the conſpirators, and ſuffered them to go their full

* Rapin, vol. ii. p, 171. † Oſborne, p. 438.

length. Even *Heylin* ſays, *that the king and his council mined with them, and undermined them, and by ſo doing blew up their whole invention.*† But it is agreed on all hands, that if the plot had taken place it was to have been fathered upon the puritans; and, as if the king was in the ſecret, his majeſty in his ſpeech to the parliament, November 9th, takes particular care to bring them into reproach; for after having cleared the Roman catholick religion from encouraging ſuch murderous practices, he adds, *The cruelty of the puritans was worthy of fire, that would not allow ſalvation to any papiſts.* So that if theſe unhappy people had been blown up, his majeſty thinks they would have had their deſerts. Strange! that a puritan ſhould be ſo much worſe than a papiſt, or deſerve to be burnt for uncharitableneſs, when his majeſty knew, that the papiſts were ſo much more criminal in this reſpect than they, not only denying ſalvation to the puritans, but to all who are without the pale of their own church. But what was all this to the plot? except it was to turn off the indignation of the people from the papiſts, whom the king both feared and loved, to the *puritans*, who in a courſe of forty years ſufferings had never moved the leaſt ſedition againſt the ſtate, but who would not be the advocates or dupes of an unbounded prerogative!

The diſcovery of this plot occaſioned the drawing up the OATH OF ALLEGIANCE, or *of ſubmiſſion and obedience to the king as a* TEMPORAL SOVEREIGN *independent of any other power upon earth;* which quickly paſſed both houſes, and was appointed to be taken by all the king's ſubjects; this oath is diſtinct from the oath of ſupremacy, which obliges the ſubject to acknowledge his majeſty *to be ſupreme head of the church as well as the ſtate*, and might therefore be taken by all ſuch Roman-catholicks as did not believe the *pope had power to depoſe kings, and give away their dominions.* Accordingly *Blackwell* their ſuperior, and moſt of the Engliſh catholicks, ſubmitted to the oath, though the pope abſolutely forbad them on pain of damnation; which occaſioned a new debate, concerning the extent of the pope's power in *temporals*, between the learned of both religions. Cardinal *Bellarmine*, under the feigned name of *Tortus*, wrote

† Hiſtory Preſbytery, p. 378. againſt

againſt the oath, which gave occaſion to king *James*'s apology to all chriſtian princes; wherein, after clearing himſelf from the charge of perſecuting the papiſts, he reproaches his holineſs with ingratitude, *conſidering the free liberty of religion that he had granted the papiſts, the honours he had conferred on them, the free acceſs they had to his perſon at all times; the general gaol delivery of all jeſuits and papiſts convict, and the ſtrict orders he had given his judges not to put the laws in execution againſt them for the future.** All which was true, while the *unhappy puritans* were impriſoned and fined, or forced into baniſhment. The parliament, on occaſion of this plot, appointed an annual thankſgiving on the 5th of November, and paſſed another law, *obliging all perſons to come to church under the penalty of twelve-pence every Sunday they were abſent*, unleſs they gave ſuch reaſons as ſhould be ſatisfactory to a juſtice of peace. This, like a two-edged ſword, cut down all *ſeparatiſts*, whether proteſtants or papiſts.

To return to the puritans; the more moderate of whom, being willing to ſteer a middle courſe, between a total ſeparation and abſolute conformity, were attacked by ſome of the biſhops with this argument:

"All thoſe who wilfully refuſe to obey the king in all things "indifferent, and to conform themſelves to the orders of "the church authoriſed by him, not contrary to the word "of GOD, are *ſchiſmaticks*, enemies to the king's ſupremacy, and the ſtate, and not to be tolerated in church or "commonwealth.

"But you do ſo——

"Therefore you are not to be tolerated in church or "commonwealth."

The puritans denied the charge, and returned this argument upon their accuſers:

"All thoſe who freely and willingly perform to the king "and ſtate all obedience, not only in things neceſſary, but "indifferent, *commanded by law*, and that have been always "ready to conform themſelves to every order of the church "authoriſed by him, *not contrary to the word of* GOD, are

* King James's Apol. p. 253.

" free from all ſchiſm, friends to the king's ſupremacy, and " to the ſtate, and unworthy in this manner to be moleſted " in church or commonwealth.

" But there are none of us that are deprived or ſuſpended " from our miniſtry, but have been ever ready to do all " this; therefore we are free from ſchiſm, friends to the " king's ſupremacy, and moſt unworthy of ſuch moleſtation " as we ſuſtain."

This being the point of difference, the puritans offered a publick diſputation upon the *lawfulneſs of impoſing ceremonies in general;* and in particular upon the *ſurplice, the croſs in baptiſm*, and *kneeling at the communion;* but were refuſed. Upon which the Lincolnſhire miniſters drew up *an apology for thoſe miniſters who are troubled for refuſing of ſubſcription and conformity*, and preſented it to the king, December 1ſt, 1604, the ABRIDGMENT of which is now before me, and begins with a declaration of their readineſs to ſubſcribe the firſt of the three articles required by the 36th canon, concerning the king's ſupremacy; but to the other two (ſay they) we cannot ſubſcribe, becauſe we are perſuaded, that both the book of common-prayer, and the other book [of articles] to be ſubſcribed by this canon (which yet, in ſome reſpects, we reverently eſteem) contain in them ſundry things which are not *agreeable*, but *contrary to the word of* GOD.

They object to the book of common-prayer in general, *That it appoints that order for reading the holy ſcriptures, which in many reſpects is contrary to the word of* GOD. As,

1. " The greateſt part of the canonical ſcripture is left " out in the publick reading; whereas *all ſcripture is given* " *by inſpiration, and is profitable*, &c. and ſundry chapters " that are, in their opinion, more edifying than ſome others " that are read, are omitted——.

2. " It does too much honour to the *Apocryphal writings*, " commanding many of them to be read for firſt leſſons, " and under the name of holy ſcripture, and in as great a " proportion; for of the canonical chapters of the Old " Teſtament (being in all ſeven hundred ſeventy-nine) are " read only five hundred ninety-two, and of the Apocryphal " books (being one hundred ſeventy-two chapters) are read " one

" one hundred and four. This they apprehend to be con-
" trary to the word of GOD, forasmuch as the apocryphal
" books contain sundry and manifest errors, divers of which
" are here produced.

3, 4, 5, 6, 7. " The book of common-prayer appoints
" such a translation of the holy scriptures to be read in the
" churches as in some places is absurd, and in others, takes
" from, perverts, obscures, and falsifies the word of GOD;
" examples of which are produced, with the authorities of
" the most considerable reformers."

Their next general objection against subscribing the book of common-prayer is, *because it enjoins the use of such ceremonies as they apprehend contrary to the word of God.*

To make good this assertion they say,* " It is contrary to
" the word of GOD to use (much more to command the use
" of) such ceremonies in the worship of GOD, as man hath
" devised, if they be notoriously known to be abused to ido-
" latry and superstition by the papists, and are of no necessary
" use in the church. Here they cite such passages of scrip-
" ture as command the Jews to abolish all instruments of
" idolatry; and even to cast away such things as had a good
" original, when once they are known to have been abused
" to idolatry; as *images*, *groves*, and the *brazen serpent:*
" 2 Kings xviii. 11. They produce further the testimonies
" of sundry fathers, as *Eusebius*, *St. Austin*, &c. and of the
" most considerable moderns, as *Calvin*, *Bucer*, *Musculus*,
" *Peter Martyr*, *Beza*, *Zanchy*; bishop *Jewel*, *Pilkington*,
" *Bilson*; Dr. *Humphrys*, *Fulk*, *Andrews*, *Sutcliffe*, and
" others, against conformity with idolaters."

With regard to the three ceremonies in question, they alledge, they have all been abused by the papists to superstition and idolatry.

1. " The *surplice*† has been thus abused, for 'tis one of
" those vestments without which nothing can be consecrated;
" all priests that are present at mass must wear it, and there-
" fore the use of it in the church has been condemned, not
" only by foreign divines, but by bishop *Hooper*, *Farrar*,
" *Jewel*, *Pilkington*, *Rogers*, and others among ourselves."

* Abridgment, p. 17. † Ibid. p. 28.

2. "The *croſs* has been alſo abuſed to ſuperſtition and ido-
"latry, to drive away devils, to expel diſeaſes, to break the
"force of witchcraft, &c. It is one of the images to which
"the papiſts give religious adoration. The water in bap-
"tiſm has no ſpiritual virtue in it without the *croſs*, nor is
"any one rightly baptized (according to the papiſts) with-
"out it."

3. "*Kneeling at the ſacrament* has been no leſs abuſed;
"it aroſe from the notion of the *tranſubſtantiation of the*
"*elements*, and is ſtill uſed by the papiſts in the worſhip of
"their *breaden God*; who admit they ſhould be guilty of
"idolatry in kneeling before the elements, if they did not
"believe them to be the real body and blood of Chriſt. This
"ceremony was not introduced into the church till antichriſt
"was at his full height; and there is no action in the whole
"ſervice that looks ſo much like idolatry as this."

Their ſecond argument* for the unlawfulneſs of the ceremonies, is taken from their *myſtical ſignification*, which gives them the nature of a ſacrament. Now, no ſacrament ought to be of man's deviſing; the ceremonies therefore, being affirmed in the book of common-prayer *to be ſignificant*, are unlawful.

Their third argument† is taken from the *unlawfulneſs of impoſing them as parts of God's worſhip*, which they prove from hence, "That GOD is the only appointer of his own
"worſhip, and condemns all human inventions, ſo far forth
"as they are made parts of it. Now all the ceremonies in
"queſtion are thus impoſed; for divine ſervice is ſuppoſed
"not to be rightly performed without the *ſurplice*, nor
"baptiſm rightly adminiſtered without the *croſs*, nor the
"Lord's ſupper but to ſuch as kneel; and therefore they
"are unlawful."

Their fourth is taken from hence, *That no rites or eccleſiaſtical orders ſhould be ordained or uſed, but ſuch as are needful and profitable, and for edification; and eſpecially, that none ſhould be ordained or uſed that cauſe offence, and hinder edification*,‡ Rom. xiv. 21. 1 Cor. x. 23, 32. "Now, the
"ceremonies in queſtion are neither needful nor profitable,

* Abridgment, p. 31. † Ibid. p. 37. ‡ Ibid. p. 45.

nor

" nor do they tend to edification; but on the contrary, have " given great offence, as appears from hence, that very many " of the learned and beſt experienced miniſters in the land " have choſen rather to ſuffer any trouble than yield to the " uſe of them; and we doubt not to affirm, *that the greateſt* " *number of reſident, able, and godly miniſters in the land at* " *this day, do in their conſciences diſlike them, and judge them* " *needleſs and unfit*; as appears by the liſt of non-ſubſcribers " already mentioned, [p. 44.] beſides many more, who, " though unwilling in ſome other reſpects to join in the pe- " tition, did profeſs their hearty deſire to have them re- " moved.* And if the reſt of the ſhires be eſteemed accord- " ing to this proportion, it will eaſily appear, that the " greateſt number of the reſident, preaching, and fruitful " miniſters of the land do diſlike them. This may yet fur- " ther appear, by their ſeldom uſing them for many years " paſt, and their great unwillingneſs to yield to the uſe of " them now. If they thought them needful or profitable, " why do they neglect them in their publick miniſtry, being " commanded by lawful authority? Beſides, thoſe very " biſhops that have been moſt hot in urging the ceremonies " have declared, that the church might well be without " them, and have wiſhed them taken away; as, archbiſhop " *Whitgift*, in his defence of the anſwer to *Cartwright*'s ad- " monition, p. 259; Dr. *Chadderton*, biſhop of Lincoln, in " his ſpeech before all the miniſters, convened before him at " Huntingdon, Nov. 30th, 1604, and others in eccleſiaſtical " dignities have ſpoken vehemently againſt them, as things " that do not edify, nor have any tendency to promote de- " cency or order.

" With regard to the *ſurplice*, they produce the teſtimo- " nies of the learned *Bucer*, *Peter Martyr*, *Beza*, *Cranmer*, " *Ridley*, *Hooper*, and others, for the inexpediency of it, " even though they ſubmitted to wear it. *Bucer* ſays, he " could be content to ſuffer ſome grievous loſs or pain in his " body, upon condition the ſurplice might be aboliſhed.

" The like authorities are brought againſt the *croſs*, and " againſt *kneeling at the communion*, the former being a mere

* Abridgment, p. 52.

invention

" invention of man, neither taught by Chriſt nor his apoſtles, " and the latter being apparently different from the firſt in- " ſtitution, they receiving it in a table-poſture; and it is groſs " hypocriſy (ſay they) for us to pretend more holineſs, re- " verence and devotion, in receiving the ſacrament, than the " apoſtles, who received it from the immediate hand and " perſon of Chriſt himſelf. They (to be ſure) had the cor- " poral preſence of Chriſt, and yet did not *kneel*; why then " ſhould it be enjoined the church, when the corporal pre- " ſence of Chriſt is withdrawn? This has been thought an " argument of great force by our chief divines, as *Calvin*, " *Bullinger*, *Beza*, *Chemnitius*, biſhop *Pilkington*, *Willet*, and " others, who declare ſtrongly for the poſture of ſitting, or " at moſt ſtanding at the communion.

" Beſides, *kneeling at the ſacrament* is of very late anti- " quity, and was not introduced into the church till anti- " chriſt was in his full height; the primitive chriſtians " (according to *Tertullian*) thought it unlawful to *kneel at* " *prayer* on the Lord's day; and the firſt council of Nice, " *ann. Dom.* 327, made a ſolemn decree, that none might " *pray* kneeling, but only ſtanding, on the Lord's day, be- " cauſe on that day is celebrated the joyful remembrance of " our Lord's reſurrection. To *kneel* is a geſture of ſorrow " and humiliation; whereas he that prays *ſtanding* ſhews " himſelf thankful for the obtaining ſome mercy or favour. " So that either the primitive church uſed a geſture of " greater reverence and humility *at the ſacrament*, which is " a feaſt, and a joyful remembrance of the death of Chriſt, " than they did at *prayer*, or elſe they received it in another " poſture. Beſides, it is ſaid,* that the ancient councils " commanded, that *no man ſhould kneel down at the commu-* " *nion, fearing it ſhould be an occaſion of idolatry.* Mr. *Fox*,† " ſpeaking of the uſage of the primitive church ſays, they " had the communion not at an altar, but at a plain table of " boards, when the whole congregation together did com- " municate, with reverence and thankſgiving; not lifting " over the prieſt's head, nor worſhipping, nor kneeling, nor " knocking their breaſts, but either ſitting at ſupper, or

* Abridgment, p. 59. † Acts and Mon. p. 19.

" ſtanding

" ſtanding after ſupper. *Euſebius*,* ſpeaking of a man that " had been admitted to the communion, ſays, *he ſtood* at the " table, and put forth his hand to receive the holy food. " And biſhop *Jewel* ſays, that in St. *Baſil*'s days [*ann.* " 380] the communion-table was of boards, and ſo placed, " that men might *ſtand* round it, and that every man was " bound by an apoſtolical tradition to *ſtand upright* at the " communion.

" Beſides, *the geſture of kneeling* is contrary to the very " nature of the Lord's ſupper, which is ordained to be a " banquet and ſign of that ſweet familiarity that is between " the faithful and him, and of that ſpiritual nouriſhment we " are to receive by feeding on his body and blood by faith; " and in what nation is it thought decent to *kneel* at ban- " quets? Where do men eat and drink upon their knees? " Further, the diſpoſition of mind at the Lord's table is not " ſo much *humility*, as *aſſurance of faith, and cheerful thank-* " *fulneſs for the benefits of Chriſt's death.* For theſe rea- " ſons, and becauſe kneeling at the ſacrament had an idola- " trous original, and has a tendency to lead men into that ſin, " they think it unlawful, and to be laid aſide."

The abridgment concludes with a ſhort table of ſundry other exceptions againſt the three books whereunto they " are required to ſubſcribe, which they purpoſe to juſ- tify and confirm in the ſame manner as they have done in reſpect of thoſe contained in this book; a ſummary whereof we ſhall meet with hereafter.

The abridgment was anſwered by biſhop *Moreton* and Dr. *Burges*, who, after having ſuffered himſelf to be deprived for non-conformity, *June* 19, 1604, was perſuaded by king *James* to conform, and write in defence of his preſent con- duct againſt his former arguments. Biſhop *Moreton* endea- vours to defend the *innocency* of the three ceremonies from ſcripture, antiquity, the teſtimony of proteſtant divines, and the practice of the non-conformiſts themſelves in other caſes, and has ſaid as much as can be ſaid in favour of them; though it is hard to defend the *impoſing* them upon thoſe who eſteem them unlawful, or who apprehend things indifferent

* Hiſt. Eccl. lib. vii. cap. 8.

ought

ought to be left in the ſtate that Chriſt left them. Dr. *Downham*, *Sparkes*, *Covel*, *Hutton*, *Rogers*, and *Ball*, wrote for theſe ceremonies; and were anſwered by Mr. *Bradſhaw*, Mr. *Paul Baynes*, Dr. *Ames*, and others.

From the arguments of theſe divines it appears, that the puritans were removing to a greater diſtance from the church; for whereas (ſays Dr. *Burges*) Mr. *Cartwright* and his brethren wrote ſharply againſt the ceremonies as *inconvenient*, now they are oppoſed as *abſolutely unlawful*, neither to be impoſed nor uſed. The cruel ſeverities of *Bancroft* and the high commiſſioners were the occaſion of this; for being puſhed upon one of theſe extremes, either to a conſtant and full conformity, or to lay down their miniſtry in the church, many of them, at one of their conferences, came to this concluſion, that *if they could not enjoy their livings without ſubſcribing over again the three articles above-mentioned, and declaring at the ſame time, they did it* WILLINGLY AND FROM THEIR HEARTS, *it was their duty to reſign.* Theſe were called *brethren of the ſecond ſeparation*, who were content to join with the church in her doctrines and ſacraments, though they apprehended it *unlawful* to declare their hearty approbation of the ceremonies; and if their conduct was grounded on a conviction that it was their duty as chriſtians to bear their teſtimony againſt all unſcriptural impoſitions in the worſhip of GOD, it muſt deſerve the commendation of all impartial and conſiſtent proteſtants. No men could go greater lengths for the ſake of peace than they were willing to do; for in their *defence of the miniſters reaſons for refuſal of ſubſcription to the book of common-prayer againſt the cavils of* F. Hutton, B. D. *Dr.* Covel, *and Dr.* Sparkes, publiſhed 1607, they begin thus, "We proteſt be-
"fore the almighty GOD, that we acknowledge the churches
"of *England* as they be eſtabliſhed by publick authority, to
"be true viſible churches of Chriſt; that we deſire the con-
"tinuance of our miniſtry in them above all earthly things,
"as that without which our whole life would be weariſome
"and bitter to us; that we diſlike not a ſet form of prayer
"to be uſed in our churches; nor do we write with an evil
"mind to deprave the book of common-prayer, ordination,
"or book of homilies; but to ſhew our reaſons why we
"cannot ſubſcribe to all things contained in them."

Theſe extreme proceedings of the biſhops ſtrengthened the hands of the BROWNISTS in Holland, who with great advantage declared againſt the lawfulneſs of holding communion with the church of England at that time, not only becauſe it was a *corrupt church*, but a *perſecuting one*. On the other hand, the younger divines in the church, who preached for preferment, painted the *ſeparatiſts* in the moſt odious colours, as *hereticks*, *ſchiſmaticks*, *fanaticks*, *preciſians*, *enemies to* GOD *and the king*, and of *unſtable minds*. The very ſame language which the papiſts had uſed againſt the firſt reformers.

To remove theſe reproaches, and to inform the world of the real principles of the puritans of theſe times, the reverend Mr. *Bradſhaw* publiſhed a ſmall treatiſe, entitled ENGLISH PURITANISM, *containing the main opinions of the rigideſt ſort of thoſe that went by that name in the realm of* England, which the learned Dr. *Ames* tranſlated into *Latin* for the benefit of foreigners. The reader will learn by the followiug abſtract of it, the true ſtate of their caſe, as well as the near affinity between the principles of the ancient and modern non-conformiſts.*

CHAP. I.

Concerning Religion in general.

" The puritans hold and maintain the abſolute perfection " of the holy ſcriptures, both as to faith and worſhip; and " that whatſoever is enjoined as a part of divine ſervice, that " cannot be warranted by the ſaid ſcriptures, is unlawful.

2. " That all inventions of men, eſpecially ſuch as have " been abuſed to idolatry, are to be excluded out of the " exerciſes of religion.

3. " That all outward means inſtituted to expreſs and ſet " forth the inward worſhip of GOD, are parts of divine " worſhip, and ought therefore evidently to be preſcribed " by the word of GOD.

* Several things, conſidered as remarkable by Dr. *Grey*, are omitted by Mr. *Neal*. But this doth not impeach Mr. *Neal*'s fairneſs, as he avowedly lays only an abſtract before his readers; and the paſſages, to which Dr. *Grey* alludes, do not convey ſentiments repugnant to the principles exhibited in the above abſtract. ED.

4. " To

4. "To inſtitute and ordain any myſtical rites or ceremonies of religion, and to mingle the ſame with the divine rites and ceremonies of GOD's ordinance, is groſs ſuperſtition."

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Church.

1. "They hold and maintain, that every congregation or aſſembly of men, ordinarily joining together in the true worſhip of GOD, is a true viſible church of Chriſt.

2. "That all ſuch churches are in all eccleſiaſtical matters equal, and by the word of GOD ought to have the ſame officers, adminiſtrations, orders, and forms of worſhip.

3. "That Chriſt has not ſubjected any church or congregation to any other ſuperior eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction than to that which is within itſelf, ſo that if a whole church or congregation ſhould err in any matters of faith or worſhip, no other churches or ſpiritual officers, have power to cenſure or puniſh them, but are only to counſel and adviſe them.

4. "That every church ought to have her own ſpiritual officers and miniſters reſident with her; and thoſe ſuch as are enjoined by Chriſt in the New Teſtament, and no other.

5. "That every church ought to have liberty to chooſe their own ſpiritual officers.

6. "That if particular churches err in this choice, none but the civil magiſtrate has power to controul them, and oblige them to make a better choice.

7. "That eccleſiaſtical officers or miniſters in one church ought not to bear any eccleſiaſtical office in another; and they are not to forſake their calling without juſt cauſe, and ſuch as may be approved by the congregation; but if the congregation will not hearken to reaſon, they are then to appeal to the civil magiſtrate, who is bound to procure them juſtice.

8. "That a church having choſen its ſpiritual governors, ought to live in all canonical obedience to them, agreeable to the word of GOD; and if any of them be ſuſpended, or unjuſtly deprived, by other eccleſiaſtical officers, they are humbly to pray the magiſtrate to reſtore them; and if they

" they cannot obtain it, they are to own them to be their " ſpiritual guides to the death, though they are rigorouſly " deprived of their miniſtry and ſervice.

9. " That the laws and orders of the churches warranted " by the word of GOD are not repugnant to civil govern- " ment, whether monarchical, ariſtocratical or democratical; " and we renounce all juriſdiction that is repugnant or dero- " gatory to any of theſe, eſpecially to the monarchy of this " kingdom."

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Miniſters of the Word.

1. " They hold that the paſtors of particular congrega- " tions are the higheſt ſpiritual officers in the church, over " whom there is no ſuperior paſtor by divine appointment " but Jeſus Chriſt.

2. " That there are not by *divine inſtitution*, in the word, " any ordinary national, provincial, or dioceſan paſtors, to " whom the paſtors of particular churches are to be ſubject.

3. " That no paſtor ought to exerciſe, or accept of any " civil juriſdiction or authority, but ought to be wholly em- " ployed in ſpiritual offices and duties to that congregation " over which he is ſet.

4. " That the ſupreme office of the paſtor is to preach " the word publickly to the congregation; and that the " people of God ought not to acknowledge any for their " paſtors that are not able by preaching to interpret and " apply the word of God to them; and conſequently all " ignorant, and mere reading prieſts, are to be rejected.

5. " That in publick worſhip the paſtor only is to be " the mouth of the congregation to God in prayer; and " that the people are only to teſtify their aſſent by the word " *Amen*.

6. " That the church has no power to impoſe upon her " paſtors or officers, any other ceremonies or injunctions " than what Chriſt has appointed.

7. " That in every church there ſhould alſo be a doctor " to inſtruct and catechize the ignorant in the main princi- " ples of religion."

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Elders.

1. "They hold, that by God's ordinance the congrega-
"tion ſhould chooſe other officers as aſſiſtants to the mini-
"ſters in the government of the church, who are jointly
"with the miniſters to be overſeers of the manners and con-
"verſation of all the congregation.

2. "That theſe are to be choſen ont of the graveſt, and
"moſt diſcreet members, who are alſo of ſome note in the
"world, and able (if poſſible) to maintain themſelves."

CHAP. V.

Of Church Cenſures.

1. "They hold that the ſpiritual keys of the church are
"committed to the aforeſaid ſpiritual officers and governors,
"and to none others.

2. "That by virtue of theſe keys they are not to ex-
"amine and make inquiſition into the hearts of men, nor
"moleſt them upon private ſuſpicions, or uncertain fame,
"but to proceed only upon open and notorious crimes. If
"the offender be convinced, they ought not to ſcorn, de-
"ride, taunt, and revile him with contumelious language,
"nor procure *proctors* to make perſonal invectives againſt
"him; nor make him give attendance from *term* to *term*,
"and from one *court day* to another, after the manner of our
"eccleſiaſtical courts; but to uſe him brotherly, and if poſ-
"ſible to move him to repentance; and if he repent they
"are not to proceed to cenſure, but to accept his hearty
"ſorrow and contrition as a ſufficient ſatisfaction to the
"church, without impoſing any fines, or taking fees, or en-
"joining any outward mark of ſhame, as the *white ſheet*, &c.

"But if the offender be obſtinate, and ſhew no ſigns of
"repentance, and if his crime be fully proved upon him,
"and be of ſuch a high nature as to deſerve a cenſure ac-
"cording to the word of God, then the eccleſiaſtical officers,
"with the free conſent of the whole congregation, (and not
"otherwiſe) are firſt to ſuſpend him from the ſacrament,

"praying

" praying for him at the ſame time, that God would give " him repentance to the acknowledgment of his fault; and " if this does not humble him, they are then to denounce " him to be as yet no member of the kingdom of heaven, " and of that congregation; and ſo are to leave him to God " and the king. And this is all the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction " that any ſpiritual officers are to uſe againſt any man for " the greateſt crime that can be committed.

" If the party offending be a civil ſuperior, they are to " behave towards him with all that reverence and civil ſub- " jection that his honour or high office in the ſtate may re- " quire. They are not to preſume to convene him before " them, but are themſelves to go to him in all civil and " humble manner, to ſtand bare-headed, to bow, to give " him all his *civil-titles*; and if it be a ſupreme governor or " king, to kneel, and in moſt humble manner to acquaint " him with his faults; and if ſuch, or any other offenders " will voluntarily withdraw from the communion, they have " no farther concern with them.

" They hold the *oath ex officio* on the impoſer's part to be " moſt damnable and tyrannous, againſt the very law of na- " ture, deviſed by antichriſt, through the inſpiration of the " devil, to tempt weak Chriſtians to perjure themſelves, or " be drawn in to reveal to the enemies of Chriſtianity thoſe " ſecret religious acts, which, though done for the advance- " ment of the goſpel, may bring on themſelves and their " deareſt friends heavy ſentences of condemnation from the " court."

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Civil Magiſtrate.

1. " They hold, that the civil magiſtrate ought to have " ſupreme civil* power over all the churches within his do- " minions; but that, as he is a Chriſtian, he ought to be a " member of ſome one of them; which is not in the leaſt " derogatory to his civil ſupremacy.

* Dr. *Grey* ſays, that the word, *civil*, is added by Mr. *Neal*, and that he has omitted, after 'dominions,' the clauſe 'in all caſes whatſoever.' ED.

2. " That

2. "That all eccleſiaſtical officers are puniſhable by the "civil magiſtrate, for the abuſe of their eccleſiaſtical offices; "and much more if they intrude upon the rights and prero- "gatives of the civil authority.

3. "They hold the Pope to be *Antichriſt*, becauſe he "uſurps the ſupremacy over kings and princes; and there- "fore all that defend the popiſh faith, and that are for "tolerating that religion, are ſecret enemies of the king's "ſupremacy.

4. "That all archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, officials, &c. "hold their offices and functions at the king's will and plea- "ſure, merely *jure humano*; and whoſoever holdeth that "the king may not remove them, and diſpoſe of them at his "pleaſure, is an enemy to his *ſupremacy*."

Let the reader now judge, whether there was ſufficient ground for the calumny and reproach that was caſt upon the *puritans* of theſe times: But their adverſaries having often charged them with denying the *ſupremacy*, and with claiming a ſort of juriſdiction over the king himſelf, they publiſhed another pamphlet this ſummer, entitled, *a proteſtation of the king's ſupremacy, made in the name of the afflicted miniſters, and oppoſed to the ſhameful calumniations of the prelates.* To which was annexed, an humble petition for liberty of conſcience. In their proteſtation they declare,

1. "We hold and maintain the king's ſupremacy in all "cauſes, and over all perſons civil and eccleſiaſtical, as it "was granted to queen *Elizabeth*, and explained in the book "of injunctions; nor have any of us been unwilling to ſub- "ſcribe and ſwear to it. We believe it to be the king's "natural right without a *ſtatute law*, and that the churches "within his dominions would ſin damnably if they did not "yield it to him. Nay, we believe, that the king cannot "alienate it from his crown, or transfer it to any ſpiritual "potentates or rulers; and that it is not tied to his faith or "chriſtianity, but to his very crown; ſo that if he were an "infidel the ſupremacy is his due.

2. "We hold, that no church officers have power to de- "prive the king of any branch of his royal prerogative, "much leſs of his ſupremacy, which is inſeparable from him.

3. "That

3. "That no eccleſiaſtical officers have power over the "bodies, lives, goods, or liberties, of any perſons within "the king's dominions.

4. "That the king may make laws for the good order- "ing of the churches within his dominions; and that the "churches ought not to be diſobedient, unleſs they appre- "hend them *contrary to the word of God*; and even in ſuch "caſe they are not to reſiſt, but peaceably to forbear obe- "dience, and ſubmit to the puniſhment, if mercy cannot be "obtained.

5. "That the king only hath power, within his dominions, "to convene ſynods or general aſſemblies of miniſters, and "by his authority royal to ratify and give life to their ca- "nons and conſtitutions, without whoſe ratification no man "can force any ſubject to yield obedience to the ſame.

6. "That the king ought not to be ſubject to the cenſures "of any churches, church-officers, or ſynods whatſoever; "but only to that church, and thoſe officers of his own court "and houſhold, with whom he ſhall voluntarily join in com- "munion, where there can be no fear of unjuſt uſage.

7. "If a king, after he has held communion with a Chriſ- "tian church, ſhould turn apoſtate, or live in a courſe of "open defiance to the laws of God and religion, the church "governors are to give over their ſpiritual charge and "tuition of him, which by calling from God and the king, "they did undertake; and more than this they may not do, "for the king ſtill retains his ſupreme authority over the "churches as entirely, and in as ample a manner, as if he "were the moſt Chriſtian prince in the world.

"8. We refuſe no obedience to the king, nor to any of "the canons required by the prelates, but ſuch as we are "willing to take upon our conſciences, and to ſwear (if re- "quired) that we believe *contrary to the word of God.* We "deny no eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction to the king but that which "Chriſt has appropriated to himſelf, who is the ſole doctor "and legiſlator of his church.

9. "We are ſo far from claiming any ſupremacy to our- "ſelves, that we exclude from ourſelves all ſecular pomp and "power, holding it a ſin to puniſh men in their bodies, "goods, liberties or lives, for any merely ſpiritual offence.

10. "We confine all eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within one "congregation, and that juriſdiction is not alone in the mi- "niſters, but alſo in the elders of the church; and their "juriſdiction is merely ſpiritual.

"THEREFORE all that we crave of his majeſty and "the ſtate is, that, with his and their permiſſion, it may be "lawful for us to worſhip God according to his revealed "will; and that we may not be forced to the obſervance of "any human rites and ceremonies. We are ready to make "an open confeſſion of our faith, and form of worſhip, and "deſire that we may not be obliged to worſhip God in "corners, but that our religious and civil behaviour may be "open to the obſervation and cenſure of the civil govern- "ment, to whom we profeſs all due ſubjection. So long as "it ſhall pleaſe the king and parliament to maintain the "hierarchy or prelacy in this kingdom, we are content that "they enjoy their ſtate and dignity; and we will live as bre- "thren among thoſe miniſters that acknowledge ſpiritual "homage to their ſpiritual lordſhips, paying to them all tem- "poral duties of tithes, &c. and joining with them in the "ſervice and worſhip of God, ſo far as we may, without "our own particular communicating in thoſe human tra- "ditions which we judge *unlawful*. Only we pray, that "the prelates and their eccleſiaſtical officers may not be our "judges, but that we may both of us ſtand at the bar of "the civil magiſtrate, and that if we ſhall be openly vilified "and ſlandered, it may be lawful for us, without fear of "puniſhment, to juſtify ourſelves to the world; and then "we ſhall think our lives, and all that we have, too little to "ſpend in the ſervice of our king and country."

Though the principles of ſubmiſſion are here laid down with great latitude, and though the practice of the *puritans* was agreeable to them, yet their enemies did not fail to charge them with diſloyalty, with ſedition, and with diſturb- ing the peace of the ſtate. Upon which the miniſters of Devon and Cornwall publiſhed another ſmall treatiſe, entitled *A removal of certain imputations laid upon the miniſters*, &c. in which they ſay (p. 21.) "Let them [the biſhops] ſift

"well

"well our courſes ſince his majeſty's happy entrance in "among us, and let them name wherein we have done "ought that may juſtly be ſaid ill to become the miniſters "of Jeſus Chriſt. Have we drawn any ſword? Have we "raiſed any tumult? Have we uſed any threats? Hath "the ſtate been put into any fear or hazard through us? "Manifold diſgraces have been caſt upon us, and we have "endured them; the liberty of our miniſtry hath been taken "from us, and (though with bleeding hearts) we have ſuſ-"tained it. We have been caſt out of our houſes, and de-"prived of our ordinary maintenance, yet have we blown "no trumpet of ſedition. Theſe things have gone very "near us, and yet did we never ſo much as entertain a "thought of violence. The truth is, we have petitioned "the king and ſtate; and who hath reaſon to deny us that "liberty? We have craved of the prelates to deal with us "according to law; and is not this the common benefit of "every ſubject? We have beſought them to convince our "conſciences by ſcripture:——Alas! what would they have "us to do? Will they have us content ourſelves with this "only, that they are biſhops, and therefore for their great-"neſs ought to be yielded to? The weight of epiſcopal "power may oppreſs us, but cannot convince us."*

It appears from hence, that the *puritans* were the king's faithful ſubjects; that they complied to the utmoſt limit of their conſciences, and that when they could not obey, they were content to ſuffer. Here are no principles inconſiſtent with the publick ſafety; no marks of hereſy, impiety, or ſedition; no charges of ignorance, or neglect of duty; how unreaſonable then muſt it be, to ſilence and deprive ſuch men? to ſhut them up in priſon, or ſend them with their families a begging, while their pulpit doors were to be ſhut up, and there was a famine in many parts of the country, not of bread, but of the word of the Lord;† yet theſe honeſt men were not only perſecuted at home, but reſtrained from retiring into his majeſty's dominions abroad; for when the eccleſi-

* Epiſcoporum auctoritas opprimere nos poteſt, docere non poteſt. Ed.

† Rapin, vol. ii. p. 176, 185, folio edit.

aſtical courts had driven them from their habitations and livelihoods, and were ſtill hunting them by their informers from one end of the land to the other, ſeveral families croſſed the ocean to Virginia, and invited their friends to follow; but *Bancroft*, being informed that great numbers were preparing to embark, obtained a proclamation prohibiting them to tranſport themſelves to Virginia, without a ſpecial licence from the king; a ſeverity hardly to be paralleled! nor was it ever imitated in this country except by archbiſhop *Laud*.

The iſles of Guernſey and Jerſey having enjoyed the diſcipline of the *French churches* without diſturbance, all the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, upon the acceſſion of the preſent king, addreſſed his Majeſty for a confirmation of it;* which he was pleaſed to grant by a letter under the privy ſeal, in theſe words:

" WHEREAS we have been given to underſtand, " that our dear ſiſter queen *Elizabeth* did permit and allow " to the iſles of Jerſey and Guernſey, parcels of the " dutchy of Normandy, the uſe of the government of the " reformed churches of the ſaid dutchy, whereof they have " ſtood poſſeſſed till our coming to the crown; for this " cauſe, as well as for the edification of the church, we do " will and ordain, that our ſaid iſles ſhall quietly enjoy their " ſaid liberty in the uſe of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline *there now* " *eſtabliſhed;* forbidding any one to give them any trouble

* Dr. *Grey* quotes here *Collier*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 705, in contradiction to Mr. *Neal*, and to charge the puritans as " addreſſing king " *James* with a falſe ſuggeſtion, that the diſcipline had been allowed by " queen *Elizabeth*." Dr. *Grey*'s ſtricture would have been ſuperſeded, if he had attended to Mr. *Neal*'s ſtate of the buſineſs; who ſays only, that " the " diſcipline of the French churches had been enjoyed without diſturbance " all the reign of queen *Elizabeth*;" without aſſerting whether this indulgence were owing to connivance, or to an expreſs grant. *Heylin*, however, ſays, that the " Genevian diſcipline had been ſettled by queen *Eliza-* " *beth*." Hiſt. of Preſb. p. 395. And *Collier* himſelf owns, that though the queen allowed only one church to adopt the model of Geneva, and enjoined the uſe of the Engliſh liturgy in all others; yet it was ſoon laid aſide by all the churches, and the Geneva plan adopted by the decree of ſynods, held under the countenance of the governors of Guernſey and the neighbouring iſles. Theſe authorities fully juſtify Mr. *Neal*'s repreſentation. ED.

" or

" or impeachment, ſo long as they contain themſelves in our " obedience.———"

Given at Hampton-Court, Auguſt 8*th*, *in the firſt year of our reign*, 1603.

But *Bancroft* and ſome of his brethren the biſhops, having poſſeſſed the king with the neceſſity of a general uniformity throughout all his dominions, theſe iſlands were to be included; accordingly Sir *John Peyton*, a zealous churchman, was appointed governor, with ſecret inſtructions to root out the Geneva diſcipline, and plant the Engliſh liturgy and ceremonies.* This gentleman, taking advantage of the ſynod's appointing a miniſter to a vacant living, according to cuſtom, proteſted againſt it, as injurious to the king's prerogative, and complained to court, that the Jerſey miniſters had uſurped the patronage of the benefices of the iſland; that they had admitted men to livings without the form of preſentation, which was a loſs to the crown in its firſt-fruits; that by the connivance or allowance of former governors they exerciſed a kind of arbitrary juriſdiction; and therefore prayed that his majeſty would ſettle the Engliſh diſcipline among them.† The Jerſey miniſters alledged in their own defence, that the preſentation to livings was a branch of their *diſcipline;* and that the payment of *firſt-fruits and tenths* had never been demanded ſince they were diſengaged from the ſee of *Conſtance*. They pleaded his majeſty's royal confirmation of their diſcipline, which was read publickly in a ſynod of both iſlands in the year 1605. But this pious king had very little regard to promiſes, oaths, or charters, when they ſtood in the way of his arbitrary deſigns; he ordered therefore his eccleſiaſtical officers to purſue his inſtructions in the moſt effectual manner. Accordingly they took the preſentations to vacant livings into their own hands, without conſulting the preſbytery; they annulled the oath, whereby all eccleſiaſtical and civil officers were obliged to ſwear to the maintenance of their *diſcipline;* and whereas all who received the holy ſacrament were required to ſubſcribe

* Heylin's Hiſt. Preſb. p. 396, and Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. p. 705.

† Heylin's Hiſt. Preſb. p. 396.

to

to the allowance of the general form of church government in that iſland, the king's attorney-general and his friends now refuſed it. Their elders likewiſe were cited into the temporal courts, and ſtripped of their privileges; nor had they much better quarter in the *conſiſtory*, for the governor and jurats made the decrees of that court ineffectual, by reverſing them in the *Town-hall*.

Complaint being made to the court of theſe innovations, the king ſent them word, that to avoid all diſputes for the future, he was determined to revive the office and authority of a *dean*, and to eſtabliſh the Engliſh common-prayer book among them, which he did accordingly;* and ordered the biſhop of Wincheſter, in whoſe dioceſe they were, to draw up ſome canons for the dean's direction in the exerciſe of his government; which being done, and confirmed by the king, their former privileges were extinguiſhed. Whereupon many left the iſlands and retired into France and Holland: however others made a ſhift to ſupport their diſcipline after a manner, in the iſland of Guernſey, where the epiſcopal regulations could not take place.

Mr. *Robert Parker*, a puritan miniſter already mentioned, publiſhed this year a very learned treatiſe *of the croſs in baptiſm*.† But the biſhops, inſtead of anſwering it, perſuaded the king to iſſue a proclamation, with an offer of a reward for apprehending him, which obliged him to abſcond. A treacherous ſervant of the family having informed the officers where he had retired, they came and ſearched the houſe, but by the ſpecial providence of God he was preſerved, the only room they neglected to ſearch being that in which he was concealed, from whence he heard them quarrelling and ſwearing at one another; one ſaying, they had not ſearched that room, and another confidently aſſerting the contrary, and refuſing to ſuffer it to be ſearched over again. Had he been taken, he had been caſt into priſon, where without doubt (ſays my author) he muſt have died. When he got into Holland, he would have been choſen miniſter of the Engliſh church at Amſterdam, but the magiſtrates being

* Collyer, vol. ii. p. 706. Heylin's Hiſt. Preſb. p. 398-9.

† Pierce, p. 171.

afraid

afraid of diſobliging king *James*, he went to Doeſburgh, and became miniſter of that garriſon, where he departed this life 1630.

This year died the famous Dr. *John Raynolds*, king's profeſſor in Oxford, at firſt a zealous papiſt, while his brother *William* was a proteſtant, but by conference and diſputation the brothers converted each other, *William* dying an inveterate papiſt, and *John* an eminent proteſtant.* He was born in Devonſhire 1549, and educated in Corpus-Chriſti college, Oxford, of which he was afterwards preſident. He was a prodigy for reading, his memory being a living library. Dr. *Hall* uſed to ſay, that his memory and reading were near a miracle. He had turned over all writers profane and eccleſiaſtical, as *councils*, *fathers*, *hiſtories*, &c. He was a critick in the languages;† of a ſharp wit and indefatigable induſtry; his piety and ſanctity of life were ſo eminent and conſpicuous, that the learned *Cracanthorp* uſed to ſay, that to name *Raynolds* was to commend virtue itſelf. He was alſo of great modeſty and humility. In ſhort, ſays the Oxford hiſtorian, *nothing can be ſpoken againſt him, but that he was the pillar of puritaniſm, and the grand favourer of nonconformity.* At length, after a ſevere and mortified life, he died in his college May 21, 1607, ætatis 68, and was buried with great funeral ſolemnity in St. Mary's church.

Soon after died the famous Mr. *Thomas Brightman*, author of a commentary upon the *Song of Solomon*, and the *Revelations:* he was born at Nottingham, and bred in Queen's-college, Cambridge, where he became a champion for nonformity to the ceremonies. He was afterwards preſented by Sir *John Oſbourne* to the rectory of Haunes in Bedfordſhire, where he ſpent the remainder of his days in hard ſtudy, and conſtant application to his charge, as far as his conſcience would admit.‡ His life, ſays Mr. Fuller, was angelical, his learning uncommon; he was a cloſe ſtudent, of little ſtature, and ſuch a maſter of himſelf, that he was never known to be moved with anger. His daily diſcourſe was againſt epiſcopal government, which he propheſied would

* Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p. 477.

† Wood's Ath. vol. i. p. 290. ‡ Church Hiſt. b. x. p. 50.

ſhortly

ſhortly be overthrown,* and the government of the foreign proteſtant churches be erected in its place. He died ſuddenly upon the road, as he was riding with Sir *John Oſbourne* in his coach, by a ſudden obſtruction of the liver or gall, Aug. 24, 1607, ætatis 51.

The king having given the reins of the church into the hands of the prelates and their dependants, theſe in return became zealous champions for the prerogative, both in the pulpit and from the preſs. Two books were publiſhed this year, which maintained the moſt extravagant maxims of arbitrary power; one written by *Cowel*, LL.D. and vicar-general to the archbiſhop, wherein he affirms, 1. That the king is not bound by the laws, or by his coronation oath. 2. That he is not obliged to call parliaments to make laws, but may do it without them. 3. That it is a great favour to admit the conſent of the ſubject in giving ſubſidies. The other, by Dr. *Blackwood*, a clergyman, who maintained that the *Engliſh were all ſlaves from the Norman conqueſt*. The parliament would have brought the authors to juſtice, but the king protected them by proroguing the houſes in diſpleaſure;† and to ſupply his neceſſities began to raiſe money by *monopolies* of divers manufactures, to the unſpeakable prejudice of the trade of the kingdom.

* "How" aſks biſhop *Warburton*, "would the hiſtorian have us underſtand this? As a true prophecy to be fulfilled, or a falſe prophet confuted?" The reply is, Mr. *Neal* is to be underſtood as his author Mr. *Fuller*, from whom he quotes. Neither meant to aſcribe to Mr. *Brightman* a prophetic inſpiration, but only to relate his ſentiments and apprehenſions. To which, however the biſhop may ſneer, the events of the next reign bore a correſpondence. The clauſe—"and the government of the foreign proteſtant "churches, &c." as Dr. *Grey* obſerves, is not in *Fuller*; who, however, ſays, that Mr. *Brightman* gave offence by "reſembling the church of "England to lukewarm Laodicea, praiſing and preferring the purity of "foreign proteſtant churches." He always carried about him a Greek teſtament, which he read through every fortnight. Ed.

† *Rapin* ſays, as Dr. *Grey* obſerves, "the king interpoſed, and fruſtrated "the parliament's deſign, by publiſhing a proclamation, to forbid the read-"ing of theſe books, and to order copies to be delivered to the magiſtrates. "But ſuch proclamations are uſually ill obeyed, eſpecially when it is not "the king's intereſt to ſee them ſtrictly executed." So that by theſe meaſures the king ſcreened the perſons of the authors. Ed.

This

This year died the famous *Jacobus Arminius*, divinity profeſſor in the univerſity of Leyden, who gave birth to the famous ſect ſtill called by his name. He was born at Oudewater, 1560. His parents dying in his infancy, he was educated at the publick expence by the magiſtrates of Amſterdam, and was afterwards choſen one of the miniſters of that city in the year 1588. Being deſired by one of the profeſſors of Franequer to confute a treatiſe of *Beza*'s upon the *ſupralapſarian* ſcheme of *predeſtination*, he fell himſelf into the contrary ſentiment. In the year 1600, he was called to ſucceed *Junius* in the divinity chair of Leyden, and was the firſt who was ſolemnly created doctor of divinity in that univerſity. Here his notions concerning *predeſtination* and *grace*, and the *extent of Chriſt's redemption*, met with a powerful oppoſition from *Gomarus* and others. But though his diſciples increaſed prodigiouſly in a few years, yet the troubles he met with from his adverſaries, and the attacks made upon his character and reputation, broke his ſpirits, ſo that he ſunk into a melancholy diſorder, attended with a complication of diſtempers, which haſtened his end, after he had been profeſſor ſix years, and had lived forty-nine. He is repreſented as a divine of conſiderable learning, piety and modeſty, far from going the lengths of his ſucceſſors, *Vorſtius*, *Epiſcopius*, and *Curcellæus*; yet his doctrines occaſioned ſuch confuſion in that country, as could not be terminated without a national ſynod, and produced great diſtractions in the church of England, as will be ſeen hereafter.

In the parliament which met this ſummer the ſpirit of Engliſh liberty began to revive; one of the members made the following bold ſpeech in the houſe of commons, containing a particular repreſentation of the grievances of the nation, and of the attempts made for the redreſs of them. "It begins with a complaint againſt the biſhops in their "eccleſiaſtical courts, for depriving, diſgracing, ſilencing, "and impriſoning ſuch of God's meſſengers (being learned "and godly preachers) as he has furniſhed with moſt hea-"venly graces to call us to repentance, for no other cauſe, "but for not conforming themſelves further, and otherwiſe "than by the ſubſcription limited in the ſtatute of the 13th "*Elizabeth* they are bound to do, thereby making the laws

"of

" of the church and commonwealth to jar, which to reform, " (ſays he) we made a law for *ſubſcription*, agreeing to the " intent of the aforeſaid ſtatute, which would have eſtabliſhed " the peace both of church and ſtate; and if it had received " the royal aſſent, would have been an occaſion that many " ſubjects might be well taught the means of their ſalva- " tion, who now want ſufficient knowledge of the word of " God to ground their faith upon.——

" And whereas by the laws of God and the land, eccleſi- " aſtical perſons ſhould uſe only the ſpiritual ſword, by *ex-* " *hortation*, *admonition*, and *excommunication*, which are the " keys of the church, to exclude impenitent ſinners, and " leave the temporal ſword to the civil magiſtrate, which " was always ſo uſed in England, till the ſecond year of the " reign of king *Henry* IV. at which time the popiſh pre- " lates got the temporal ſword into their hands; which " ſtatute was ſince by ſeveral acts of parliament made void; " yet by virtue of that temporal authority once for a ſhort " ſpace by them uſed, ſome eccleſiaſtical perſons do uſe both " ſwords, and with thoſe two ſwords the oath *ex officio*, " which began firſt in England by the ſtatute of the ſecond " of king *Henry* IV. being contrary to the laws of England, " and, as I verily think, contrary to the laws of God.

" Wherefore to reform theſe abuſes we made two good " laws, one to abridge the force of the eccleſiaſtical com- " miſſion in many points; the other to abrogate and take " away the power of eccleſiaſtical perſons to adminiſter the " oath *ex officio*, being a very hateful thing and unlawful.

" And foraſmuch as among the canons lately made by the " clergy of England in convocation, it was thought that " ſome of their canons did extend to charge the bodies, " lands, and goods of the ſubjects of this realm, farther than " was lawful and meet, we therefore made a good law to " make void ſuch *canons*, unleſs the ſame canons were con- " firmed by parliament.

" And as we had care of the church, ſo likewiſe of the " commonwealth; and therefore, after ſearching the records " of the *Tower*, and after hearing the opinion of lawyers, " we found it clear, that impoſitions laid upon merchandize " or other goods of the ſubject, by the king, without conſent

" of

" of parliament, was not lawful; and therefore we paſſed a " bill, declaring that no impoſition laid upon goods is law- " ful without conſent of parliament.———

" But God has not permitted theſe and ſundry other " good laws to take effect or paſs into ſtatutes, though we " earneſtly deſired them; if they had, both the king and " his ſubjects would have been more happy than ever; what " would we not then have given to ſupply the king's wants? " But as things now ſtand, and without reformation of the " aforementioned grievances, we cannot give much, becauſe " we have no certainty of that which ſhall remain to us after " our gift."

To put a ſtop to ſuch dangerous ſpeeches, the king ſummoned both houſes to Whitehall, and told them, " that he " did not intend to govern by the abſolute power of a king, " though he knew the power of kings was like the divine " power; for (ſays his majeſty) as God can create and de- " ſtroy, make and unmake at his pleaſure, ſo *kings can give* " *life and death, judge all and be judged by none; they can* " *exalt and abaſe, and like men at cheſs, make a pawn take* " *a biſhop or a knight.*"———After this he tells the houſes, " that as it was *blaſphemy* to diſpute what God might do, " ſo it was ſedition in ſubjects *to diſpute what a king might* " *do in the height of his power.* He commanded them there- " fore not to meddle with the main points of government, " which would be to leſſen his CRAFT, who had been thirty " years at his trade in Scotland, and ſerved an apprentice- " ſhip of ſeven years in England."

The parliament, not terrified with this high language, went on ſteadily in aſſerting their rights; May 24th, 1610, twenty of the lower houſe preſented a *remonſtrance*, in which they declare, " That whereas they had firſt received a meſſage, " and ſince by his majeſty's ſpeech had been commanded to " refrain from debating upon things relating to the chief " points of government; *they do hold it their undoubted right* " *to examine into the grievances of the ſubject, and to enquire* " *into their own rights and properties, as well as his majeſty's* " *prerogative*;* and they moſt humbly and inſtantly beſeech

* Warner's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 495-6.

" his

" his gracious majeſty, that without offence to the ſame, " they may, according to the undoubted right and liberty of " parliament, proceed in their intended courſe againſt the " late new impoſitions.——"

In another petition they beſeech his majeſty to put the laws in execution againſt *papiſts*; and with regard to the *puritans* they ſay, " Whereas divers learned and painful paſtors that " have long travailed in the work of the miniſtry with good " fruit and bleſſing of their labour, who were ever ready to " perform *the legal ſubſcription appointed by the* 13*th of* Eliz- " zabeth, which only concerneth the profeſſion of the true " chriſtian faith and doctrine of the ſacraments, yet for not " conforming in ſome points of ceremonies, and for refuſing " the ſubſcription directed by the late canons, have been " removed from their eccleſiaſtical livings, being their free- " hold, and debarred from all means of maintenance, to the " great grief of your majeſty's ſubjects, ſeeing the whole " people that want inſtruction lie open to the ſeducement of " popiſh and ill-affected perſons; we therefore moſt humbly " beſeech your majeſty, that ſuch deprived and ſilenced " miniſters may by licence, or permiſſion of the *reverend* " *fathers* in their ſeveral dioceſes, inſtruct and preach unto " their people in ſuch pariſhes and places where they may " be employed, ſo as they apply themſelves in their miniſtry " to wholeſome doctrine and exhortation, and live quietly " and peaceably in their callings; and ſhall not by writing " or preaching impugn things eſtabliſhed by publick autho- " rity. They alſo pray that diſpenſations for pluralities of " benefices with cure of ſouls, may be prohibited; and that " toleration of non-reſidency may be reſtrained. And for- " aſmuch as excommunication is exerciſed upon an incredible " number of the common people, by the ſubordinate officers " of the juriſdiction eccleſiaſtical, for ſmall cauſes, by the " ſole information of a baſe *apparitor*, ſo that the poor are " driven to exceſſive expences for matters of ſmall moment, " while the *rich* eſcape that cenſure by *commutation of pe-* " *nance*; they therefore moſt humbly pray for a reformation " in the premiſes."

In another petition they repreſent to his majeſty the great grievance of the COMMISSION ECCLESIASTICAL, and in all humility

humility beſeech his majeſty to ratify the law they had prepared for reducing it within reaſonable and convenient limits; they ſay, "that the *ſtatute* 1 *Eliz. cap.* 1, by which the "*commiſſion* is authorized, has been found dangerous and "inconvenient on many accounts:

Firſt, "Becauſe it enables the making ſuch commiſſion to "one *ſubject born* as well as more.

Secondly, "Becauſe under colour of ſome words in the "ſtatute, whereby the commiſſioners are authorized to act "according to the tenor and effect of your highneſs's letters "patent, and by letters patent grounded thereon, they do "fine and impriſon, and exerciſe other authorities not be-"longing to the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, reſtored to the "crown by this *ſtatute*; for by the ſame rule your highneſs "may by your letters patent authorize them to fine without "ſtint, and impriſon without limitation of time; as alſo ac-"cording to will and diſcretion, without regard to any laws "ſpiritual and temporal; they may impoſe utter confiſca-"tion of goods, forfeiture of lands, yea, and the taking away "of limb and life itſelf, and this for any matter appertain-"ing to *ſpiritual juriſdiction*, which could never be the in-"tent of the law.

Thirdly, "Becauſe the king, by the ſame ſtatute, may ſet "up an eccleſiaſtical commiſſion in every dioceſe, county, "and pariſh of England, and thereby all juriſdiction may be "taken from biſhops and transferred to laymen.

Fourthly, "Becauſe every petty offence appertaining to "ſpiritual juriſdiction is by colour of the ſaid words and "letters patent made ſubject to excommunication, whereby "the ſmalleſt offenders may be obliged to travel from the "moſt remote parts of the kingdom to London, to their "utter ruin.

Fifthly, "Becauſe it is very hard, if not impoſſible, to "know what matters or offences are included within their "commiſſion, as appertaining to ſpiritual and eccleſiaſtical "juriſdiction, it being unknown what ancient canons or laws "ſpiritual are in force.

"As for the *commiſſion eccleſiaſtical* itſelf, grounded on "the *ſtatute* abovementioned, it is a very great grievance, "becauſe

1. "The

1. "The ſame men have both ſpiritual and temporal ju-
"riſdiction, and may force the party by *oath* to accuſe
"himſelf, and alſo enquire thereof by a jury; and *laſtly*,
"may inflict for the ſame offence, and at the ſame time by
"one and the ſame ſentence, both a *ſpiritual* and *temporal*
"puniſhment.

2. "Whereas upon ſentences of deprivation or other
"ſpiritual cenſures, given by force of ordinary juriſdiction,
"an *appeal* lies for the party grieved; this is here excluded
"by expreſs words of the *commiſſion*. Alſo, here is to be a
"a trial by a jury, but no remedy by *traverſe* or *attaint*.
"Nor can a man have any writ of error, though judgment
"be given againſt him, amounting to the taking away all
"his goods, and impriſoning him for life, yea, to the ad-
"judging him in the caſe of *præmunire*, whereby his lands
"are forfeited, and he put out of the protection of the law.

3. "Whereas penal laws, and offences againſt them, can-
"not be determined in other courts, or by other perſons,
"than thoſe entruſted by parliament, yet the execution of
"many ſuch ſtatutes made ſince the firſt *Elizabeth*, are com-
"mitted to the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, who may inflict
"the puniſhments contained in the ſtatutes, being *præmunire*,
"and of other high nature, and ſo inforce a man upon his
"*oath* to accuſe himſelf, or elſe inflict other temporal puniſh-
"ments at pleaſure; and after this, the party ſhall be ſubject
"in the courts mentioned in the acts to puniſhments by the
"ſame acts appointed and inflicted.

4. "The *commiſſion* gives authority to oblige men, not
"only to give recognizance for their appearance from time to
"time, but alſo for performance of whatſoever ſhall be by
"the commiſſioners ordered, and to pay ſuch fees as the
"commiſſioners ſhall think fit.

"The EXECUTION of the *commiſſion* is no leſs grievous to
"the ſubject; for, (1.) Laymen are puniſhed for ſpeaking
"of the *ſimony*, and other miſdemeanors of *ſpiritual men*,
"though the thing ſpoken be true, and tends to the indu-
"cing ſome condign puniſhment. (2.) Theſe commiſſioners
"uſually allot to women, diſcontented, and unwilling to live
"with their huſbands, ſuch portions and maintenance as
"they think fit, to the great encouragement of wives to be
"diſobedient

"diſobedient to their huſbands. And (3.) *Purſuevants* "and other miniſters employed in apprehending ſuſpected "offenders, or in ſearching for ſuppoſed ſcandalous books, "break open men's houſes, cloſets, and deſks, rifling all "corners and private places, as in caſes of high treaſon.

"A further grievance is the *ſtay of writs of prohibition*, "*habeas corpus*, *& de homine replegiando*, which are a conſi- "derable relief to the oppreſſed ſubjects of the kingdom. "His majeſty, in order to ſupport the inferior courts againſt "the principal courts of common law, had ordered things "ſo, that *writs* had been more ſparingly granted, and with "greater caution. They therefore pray his majeſty, to re- "quire his judges in Weſtminſter-hall to grant ſuch writs in "caſes wherein they lie.

"But one of the greateſt and moſt threatening griev- "ances, was the king's granting letters patent for *monopolies*, "as licences for wine, alehouſes, ſelling *ſea-coal*, &c. which "they pray his majeſty to forbear for the future, that the "diſeaſe may be cured, and others of like nature prevented."

The king, inſtead of concurring with his parliament, was ſo diſguſted with their remonſtrance, that he diſſolved them [*Dec.* 3, 1610] without paſſing any one act this ſeſſion,* after they had continued above ſix years; and was ſo out of humour with the ſpirit of Engliſh liberty that was growing in the houſes, that he reſolved (if poſſible) to govern without parliaments for the future. This was done by the advice of *Bancroft*, and other ſervile court flatterers, and was the beginning of that miſchief, (ſays *Wilſon*†) which, when it came to a full ripeneſs, made ſuch a bloody tincture in both kingdoms as never will be got out of the biſhops lawn ſleeves.

From the time that king *James* came to the Engliſh throne, and long before, if we may believe Dr. *Heylin*, his majeſty had projected the reſtoring epiſcopacy in the kirk of Scotland, and reducing the two kingdoms to one uniform government and diſcipline; for this purpoſe archbiſhop *Bancroft* maintained a ſecret correſpondence with him, and corrupted one *Norton*, an Engliſh bookſeller at Edinburgh, [in the year 1589] to betray the Scots affairs to him, as he

* Fuller's Church Hiſt. b. x. p. 56. † Hiſt. of king James, p. 46.

confeſſed

confeſſed with tears at his examination. The many curious articles he employed him to ſearch into are ſet down in *Calderwood*'s hiſtory, p. 246. In the month of January 1591, his letters to Mr. *Patrick Adamſon* were intercepted, wherein he adviſes him, "To give the queen of England "more honourable titles, and to praiſe the church of Eng- "land above all others. He marvelled why he came not to "England, and aſſured him he would be well accepted by "my lord of Canterbury's Grace, and well rewarded if he "came."* This *Adamſon* was afterwards excommunicated, but, repenting of what he had done againſt the kirk, deſired abſolution; part of his confeſſion runs thus, "I grant I was "more buſy with ſome biſhops in England, in prejudice of "the diſcipline of our *kirk*, partly when I was there, and "partly by intelligence ſince, than became a good chriſtian, "much leſs a faithful paſtor; neither is there any thing that "more aſhameth me, than my often deceiving and abuſing "the *kirk* heretofore by confeſſions, ſubſcriptions, and pro- "teſtations."

Upon his majeſty's arrival in England he took all occaſions to diſcover his averſion to the Scots preſbyterians, taxing them with ſaucineſs, ill-manners, and an implacable enmity to kingly power; he nominated biſhops to the thirteen Scots biſhopricks which himſelf had formerly aboliſhed; but their revenues being annexed to the crown, their dignities were little more than titular. In the parliament held at Perth in the year 1606, his majeſty obtained an act to reſtore the biſhops to their temporalities, and to repeal the act of *annexation*; by which they were reſtored to their votes in parliament, and had the title of *lords of parliament*, contrary to the ſenſe both of clergy and laity, as appears by the following proteſt of the general aſſembly:

"IN the name of Chriſt, and in the name of the kirk "in general, whereof the realm hath reaped comfort this "forty-ſix years; alſo in the name of our preſbyteries, from "which we received our commiſſion, and in our own names, "as paſtors and office-bearers within the ſame for the diſ- "charging of our neceſſary duty, and for the diſburdening

* Pierce, p. 166.

"of

" of our conſciences, we except and proteſt againſt the erec-
" tion, confirmation or ratification of the ſaid *biſhopricks* and
" *biſhops* by this preſent parliament, and humbly pray that
" this our proteſtation may be admitted and regiſtered among
" the records."

In the convention at Linlithgow, December 12th, conſiſting of noblemen, ſtateſmen, and ſome court miniſters, it was agreed, that the biſhops ſhould be *perpetual moderators* of the kirk aſſemblies, under certain cautions, and with a declaration that they had no purpoſe to ſubvert the diſcipline of the *kirk*, or to exerciſe any tyrannous or unlawful juriſdiction over their brethren; but the body of the miniſters being uneaſy at this, another convention was held at Linlithgow, 1608, and a committee appointed to compromiſe the difference; the committee conſiſted of two earls, and two lords, as his majeſty's commiſſioners; five new biſhops, two univerſity men, three miniſters on one part, and ten for the other; they met at Falkland, May 4, 1609, and debated, (1.) Whether the moderators of kirk aſſemblies ſhould be conſtant or circular; and (2.) whether the *caveats* ſhould be obſerved. But coming to no agreement they adjourned to Striveling, where the biſhops with great difficulty carried their point. And to increaſe their power, his majeſty was pleaſed next year [in the month of February 1610,] contrary to law, to put the *high commiſſion* into their hands.

Still they wanted the *ſanction of a general aſſembly*, and a *ſpiritual character*; to obtain the former, an aſſembly was held at Glaſgow, June 8th, 1610, means having been uſed by the courtiers to model it to their mind. In that coſtly aſſembly (ſays my author†) the biſhops were declared *moderators* in every dioceſan aſſembly, and they or their deputies moderators in their weekly exerciſes; ordination and deprivation of miniſters, viſitation of kirks, excommunication and abſolution, with preſentation to benefices, were pinned to the lawn ſleeves; and it was farther voted, (1.) That every miniſter at his entry ſhall ſwear obedience to his ordinary. (2.) That no miniſter ſhall preach or ſpeak againſt the acts of this aſſembly. (3.) That the queſtion of the parity or

† Courſe of Scots Conformity, p. 53.

imparity of paſtors ſhall not be mentioned in the pulpit under pain of deprivation. This was a vaſt advance upon the conſtitution of the kirk.

To obtain a *ſpiritual character* ſuperior to the order of *preſbyters*, it was neceſſary that the biſhops elect ſhould be conſecrated by ſome of the ſame order; for this purpoſe the king ſent for three of them into England, (viz. Mr. *Spotſwood*, archbiſhep of Glaſgow, Mr. *Lamb*, biſhop of Brechen, and Mr. *Hamilton*, biſhop of Galloway) and iſſued a commiſſion under the great ſeal to the biſhops of London, Ely, Bath and Wells, and Rocheſter, requiring them to proceed to the conſecration of the abovementioned biſhops according to the Engliſh ordinal: *Andrews*, biſhop of Ely, was of opinion, that before their conſecration they ought to be made *prieſts*, becauſe they had not been ordained by a biſhop. This the Scots divines were unwilling to admit, through fear of the conſequences among their own countrymen; for what muſt they conclude concerning the miniſters of Scotland, if their ordination as preſbyters was not valid? *Bancroft* therefore yielded, that where biſhops could not be had, ordination by preſbyters muſt be valid, otherwiſe the character of the miniſters in moſt of the reformed churches might be queſtioned. *Abbot* biſhop of London,* and others, were of opinion, that there was no neceſſity of paſſing through the inferior orders of deacon and prieſt, but that the epiſcopal character might be conveyed at once, as appears from the example of St. *Ambroſe*, *Nectarius*, *Eucherius*, and others, who from mere lay-men were advanced at once into the epiſcopal chair.† But whether this ſuppoſition does not rather weaken the arguments for biſhops being a diſtinct order from preſbyters, I leave with the reader. However, the Scotch divines were conſecrated in the chapel at Londonhouſe, [October 21, 1610] and upon their return into Scotland conveyed their new character in the ſame manner to their brethren. Thus the king, by an uſurped ſupremacy over the kirk of Scotland, and other violent and indirect

* *Collier*, as Dr. *Grey* obſerves, mentions that as *Bancroft*'s opinion, which Mr. *Neal* aſcribes to biſhop *Abbot*. ED.

† Collyer's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 702. ‡ Calderwood, p. 644.

means,

means, ſubverted their eccleſiaſtical conſtitution; and contrary to the genius of the people, and the proteſtation of the general aſſembly, the biſhops were made *lords of council, lords of parliament*, and *lord commiſſioners in cauſes eccleſiaſtical*; but with all their high titles they ſat uneaſy in their chairs, being generally hated both by the miniſters and people.

About ten days after this conſecration, Dr. *Richard Bancroft*, archbiſhop of Canterbury, departed this life; he was born at Farnworth in Lancaſhire, 1544, and educated in Jeſus college, Cambridge. He was firſt chaplain to *Cox* biſhop of Ely, who gave him the rectory of Teverſham near Cambridge. In the year 1585 he proceeded D. D. and being ambitious of preferment, got into the ſervice of Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, by whoſe recommendation he was made prebendary of Weſtminſter. Here he ſignalized himſelf by preaching againſt the puritans; a ſure way to preferment in thoſe times. He alſo wrote againſt their *diſcipline*; and was the firſt in the church of England who openly maintained the *divine right* of the order of biſhops. While he ſat in the high commiſſion, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an uncommon zeal againſt the *non-conformiſts*, for which he was preferred, firſt to the biſhoprick of London, and upon *Whitgift*'s deceaſe, to the ſee of Canterbury; how he behaved in that high ſtation has been ſufficiently related. This prelate left behind him no extraordinary character for piety, learning, hoſpitality, or any other epiſcopal quality. He was of a rough, inflexible temper, yet a tool of the prerogative, and an enemy to the laws and conſtitution of his country. Some have repreſented him as inclined to popery, becauſe he maintained ſeveral ſecular prieſts in his own houſe; but this was done, (ſay his advocates) to keep up the controverſy between them and the jeſuits. Lord Clarendon ſays,* "That he underſtood the church excellently well, that he "had almoſt reſcued it out of the hands of the Calvinian "party, and very much ſubdued the unruly ſpirit of the "non-conformiſts; and that he countenanced men of learning." His lordſhip might have added, that he was

* Vol. i. p. 88. ed. 1707.

covetous,† paſſionate, ill-natured, and a cruel perſecutor of good men; that he laid aſide the hoſpitality becoming a biſhop, and lived without ſtate or equipage, which gave occaſion to the following ſatire upon his death, which happened November 2, 1610, ætatis 66.

Here lies his grace in cold clay clad,
Who died for want of what he had.

* *Fuller*, and after him Dr. *Grey* and Dr. *Warner*, vindicate the character of archbiſhop *Bancroft* from the charges of cruelty and covetouſneſs; "which, when they are examined into," ſays Dr. *Warner*, "appears not "to deſerve thoſe opprobrious names in the ſtricteſt acceptation." On the other hand, the author of the Confeſſional calls him, the *fiery* Bancroft: and Dr. *Warner* ſums up his account of him in a manner not very honourable to his name. "In ſhort," ſays he, "there have been archbiſhops who have "been much worſe than Bancroft, who by their good-humour and genero- "ſity have been more eſteemed when living, and more lamented at their "death." Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 497. Ed.

CHAP. II.

From the Death of Archbiſhop BANCROFT *to the Death of King* JAMES I.

BANCROFT was ſucceeded by Dr. GEORGE ABBOT, biſhop of London, a divine of a quite different ſpirit from his predeceſſor. A ſound proteſtant, a thorough Calviniſt, an avowed enemy to popery, and even ſuſpected of puritaniſm, becauſe he relaxed the penal laws, whereby he unravelled all that his predeceſſor had been doing for many years; "who, if he had lived a little longer," ſays lord *Clarendon*,* "would have ſubdued the unruly ſpirit of the "non-conformiſts, and extinguiſhed that fire in England "which had been kindled at Geneva; but *Abbot* (ſays his "lordſhip) conſidered the chriſtian religion no otherwiſe "than as it abhorred and reviled popery, and valued thoſe "men moſt who did that moſt furiouſly. He enquired but "little after the ſtrict obſervation of the diſcipline of the "church, or conformity to the articles or canons eſtabliſhed, "and did not think ſo ill of the [preſbyterian] diſcipline as "he ought to have done; but if men prudently forbore a "publick reviling at the hierarchy and eccleſiaſtical govern-"ment, they were ſecure from any inquiſition from him, "and were equally preferred. His houſe was a ſanctuary "to the moſt eminent of the factious party, and he licenſed "their pernicious writings." This is the heavy charge brought by the noble hiſtorian againſt one of the moſt religious and venerable prelates of his age, and a ſteady friend of the conſtitution in church and ſtate. If *Abbot*'s moderate meaſures had been conſtantly purſued, the liberties of England had been ſecured, popery diſcountenanced, and the church prevented from running into thoſe exceſſes, which firſt proved its reproach and afterwards its ruin.

* Book i. p. 88.

The tranſlation of the bible now in uſe, was finiſhed this year [1611;] it was undertaken at the requeſt of the puritan divines in the Hampton-court conference; and being the laſt, it may not be unacceptable to ſet before the reader in one view, the various tranſlations of the bible into the Engliſh language.

The New Teſtament was firſt tranſlated by Dr. *Wickliffe* out of the vulgar *Latin*, about the year 1380, and is entitled, *The New Teſtament, with the leſſons taken out of the Old Law, read in churches according to the uſe of* Sarum.

The next tranſlation was by *William Tyndal*, printed at Antwerp 1526, in octavo, without a name, and without either calendar, references in the margin, or table at the end; it was corrected by the author, and printed in the years 1534 and 1536, having paſſed through five editions in Holland.

In the mean time *Tyndal* was tranſlating ſeveral books of the Old Teſtament, as the *Pentateuch*, and the book of *Jonas*, printed 1531; the books of *Joſhua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, the four *books of Kings*, the two *books of Chronicles*, and *Nehemiah*. About the ſame time *George Joy*, ſometime fellow of Peter college, Cambridge, tranſlated the *Pſalter*, the prophecy of *Jeremiah*, and the *Song of Moſes*, and printed them beyond ſea.

In the year 1535, the whole bible was printed the firſt time in folio, adorned with wooden cuts, and ſcripture references; it was done by ſeveral hands, and dedicated to king *Henry* VIII. by *Miles Coverdale*. In the laſt page it is ſaid to be printed in the year of our Lord 1535, and finiſhed the fourth day of October. This bible was reprinted in quarto 1550, and again with a new title 1553.

Two years after the bible was reprinted in Engliſh, with this title, *The Holy Byble, which is all the Holy Scripture, in which are contayned the Olde and Newe Teſtament, truelye and purelye tranſlated into* Engliſh *by* [a fictitious name] THOMAS MATHEW, 1537. It has a calendar with an almanack; and an exhortation to the ſtudy of the ſcripture, ſigned *J. R. John Rogers*; a table of contents and marriages; marginal notes, a prologue; and in the *Apocalypſe* ſome wooden cuts. At the beginning of the prophets are printed on the top of the page *R. G. Richard Grafton*, and

at

at the bottom *E. W. Edward Whitchurch*, who were the printers. This tranſlation, to the end of the book of *Chronicles*, and the book of *Jonah*, with all the New Teſtament, was *Tyndal*'s; the reſt was *Miles Coverdale*'s and *John Rogers*'s.

In the year 1539 the abovementioned tranſlation, having been reviſed and corrected by archbiſhop *Cranmer*, was reprinted by *Grafton* and *Whitchurch*, *cum privilegio ad imprimendum ſolum*. It has this title, *The Bible in* Engliſhe, *that is to ſay, the Content of the Holy Scripture, both of the Olde and Newe Teſtament, truely tranſlated after the veritie of the* Hebrue *and* Greke *Texts, by the diligent ſtudy of divers excellent learned men, expert in the foreſayde tongues.* In this edition *Tyndal*'s prologue and marginal notes are omitted. It was reprinted the following year in a large folio, proper for churches, begun at Paris, and finiſhed at London. In the year 1541 it was printed again by *Grafton*, with a preface by *Cranmer*, having been reviſed by *Tonſtal* and *Heath*, biſhops of Durham and Rocheſter. But after this time the popiſh party prevailing at court, there were no more editions of the bible in this reign.

Soon after king *Edward*'s acceſſion, [1548-9] the bible of 1541 had been reprinted, with *Cranmer*'s prologue; and the liturgy of the church of England, being firſt compoſed and eſtabliſhed, the tranſlation of the Pſalter, commonly called the *old tranſlation*, in uſe at this day, was taken from this edition. Next year, *Coverdale*'s teſtament of 1535 was reprinted, with *Eraſmus*'s paraphraſe; but there was no new tranſlation.

In the reign of queen *Mary*, [1555] the exiles at Geneva undertook a new tranſlation, commonly called the *Geneva Bible*; the names of the tranſlators were, *Coverdale*, *Goodman*, *Gilby*, *Whittingham*, *Sampſon*, *Cole*, *Knox*, *Bodleigh*, and *Pulain*, who publiſhed the New Teſtament firſt in a ſmall twelves, 1557, by *Conrad Badius*. This is the firſt that was printed with numerical verſes. The whole bible was publiſhed afterwards with marginal notes, 1559, dedicated to queen *Elizabeth*. The tranſlators ſay, "They had been "employed in this work night and day with fear and trem-"bling——and they proteſt from their conſciences, that, in "every

" every point and word, they had faithfully rendered the " text to the beſt of their knowledge." But the marginal notes having given offence, it was not ſuffered to be publiſhed in England† till the death of archbiſhop *Parker*, when it was printed [1576] by *Chriſtopher Barkér*, in quarto, *cum privilegio*, and met with ſuch acceptance, that it paſſed through twenty or thirty editions in this reign.

Cranmer's edition of the bible had been reprinted in the years 1562 and 1566, for the uſe of the churches. But complaint being made of the incorrectneſs of it, archbiſhop *Parker* projected a new tranſlation, and aſſigned the ſeveral books of the Old and New Teſtament to about fourteen dignitaries of the church, moſt of whom being *biſhops*, it was from them called THE BISHOP'S BIBLE, and was printed in an elegant and pompous folio, in the year 1568, with maps and cuts. In the year 1572, it was reprinted with ſome alterations and additions, and ſeveral times afterwards without any amendments.

In the year 1582, the Roman catholick exiles tranſlated the New Teſtament for the uſe of their people, and publiſhed it in quarto, with this title, *The New Teſtament of Jeſus Chriſt, tranſlated faithfully into* Engliſh *out of the authentick* Latin, *according to the beſt corrected copies of the ſame, diligently conferred with the* Greek *and other editions in divers languages; with arguments of books and chapters, annotations, and other neceſſary helps for the better underſtanding of the text, and eſpecially for the diſcovery of the corruptions of divers late tranſlations, and for clearing the controverſies in religion of theſe days.* IN THE ENGLISH COLLEGE OF RHEMES. Printed by *John Fogny*. The Old Teſtament of this tranſlation was firſt publiſhed at Doway in two quarto volumes, the firſt in the year 1609, the other 1610, by *Lawrence Kellam*, at the ſign of the Holy Lamb, with a preface and tables; the authors are ſaid to be cardinal *Allen*, ſometime principal of St. Mary-hall, Oxford, *Richard Briſtow*, fellow of Exeter college, and *Gregory Martyn*, of St. John's college. The

* Here Mr. *Neal*, as Dr. *Grey* obſerves, appears to be miſtaken; as *Lewis* ſays, " that the Geneva bible was printed at London, in folio and quarto, " in 1572." Lewis's Hiſtory of the Tranſlations of the Bible, in 8vo, p. 264, 2d edition, 1739. ED.

annotations

annotations were made by *Thomas Worthington*, B. A. of Oxford; all of them exiles for their religion, and ſettled in popiſh ſeminaries beyond ſea. The miſtakes of this tranſlation, and the falſe gloſſes put upon the text, were expoſed by the learned Dr. *Fulke* and Mr. *Cartwright*.

At the requeſt of the puritans in the Hampton-court conference, king *James* appointed a new tranſlation to be executed by the moſt learned men of both univerſities, under the following regulations, (1.) That they keep as cloſe as poſſible to the *biſhops bible*. (2.) That the names of the *holy writers* be retained according to vulgar uſe. (3.) That the old eccleſiaſtical words be kept, as *church* not to be tranſlated *congregation*, &c. (4.) That when a word has divers ſignifications, that be kept which has been moſt commonly uſed by the fathers.* (5.) That the diviſion of chapters be not altered.† (6.) No marginal notes but for the explication of a *Hebrew* or *Greek* word. (7.) Marginal references may be ſet down. The other regulations relate to the tranſlators comparing notes, and agreeing among themſelves; they were to conſult the modern tranſlations of the French, Dutch, German,‡ &c. but to vary as little as poſſible from the *biſhops bible*.

The king's commiſſion bears date 1604, but the work was not begun till 1606, and finiſhed 1611. Fifty-four of the chief divines of both univerſities were originally nominated; ſome of whom dying ſoon after, the work was undertaken by forty-ſeven, who were divided into ſix companies; the firſt tranſlated from *Geneſis* to the firſt book of *Chronicles*; the ſecond to the prophecy of *Iſaiah*; the third tranſlated the four *greater prophets*, with the *Lamentations* and twelve *ſmaller prophets*; the fourth had the *Apocrypha*; the fifth

* Dr. *Grey* ſtates more fully and accurately theſe rules from *Lewis* and *Fuller*, "uſed by the moſt eminent fathers, being agreeable to the propriety "of the place and the analogie of faith." Ed.

† The diviſion of the chapters to be altered either not at all, or as little as may be, if neceſſity ſo require."
Lewis, p. 317. Fuller's Church Hiſt. b. x. p. 46. Ed.

‡ The tranſlations pointed out by name, as Dr. *Grey* remarks, were thoſe of *Tyndal, Matthew, Coverdale, Whitchurch*, and *Geneva*. Ed.

had

had the four *Goſpels, the Acts, and the Revelations*; and the ſixth the *canonical Epiſtles*. The whole being finiſhed and reviſed by learned men from both univerſities, the publiſhing it was committed to the care of biſhop *Bilſon* and Dr. *Miles Smith*, which laſt wrote the preface that is now prefixed. It was printed in the year 1611, with a dedication to king *James*, and is the ſame that is ſtill read in all the churches.

Upon the death of *Arminius*, the curators of the univerſity of Leyden choſe *Conradus Vorſtius* his ſucceſſor. This divine had publiſhed a very exceptionable treatiſe* concerning the *nature and properties of God*, in which he maintained that *God had a body*; and denied his proper *immenſity* and *omniſcience*, as they are commonly underſtood. He maintained the divine Being to be limited and reſtrained, and aſcribed quantity and magnitude to him. The clergy of Amſterdam remonſtrated to the ſtates againſt his ſettlement at Leyden, the country being already too much divided about the *Arminian tenets*. To ſtrengthen their hands, they applied to the Engliſh ambaſſador to repreſent the caſe to king *James*; and prevailed with the curators to defer his induction into the profeſſorſhip till his majeſty had read over his book;† which having done, he declared *Vorſtius* to be an *arch-heretick*, a *peſt*, a *monſter of blaſphemies*; and to ſhew his deteſtation of his book, ordered it to be burnt publickly in St. Paul's churchyard, and at both univerſities; in the concluſion of his letter to the States on this occaſion he ſays, "as God has honoured us with the title of *Defender of the* "*Faith*, ſo (if you incline to retain *Vorſtius* any longer) we "ſhall be obliged not only to ſeparate and cut ourſelves off "from ſuch falſe and heretical churches, but likewiſe to call

* It may be wiſhed that Mr. *Neal* had rather ſaid "a Treatiſe againſt "which great exceptions were taken." His mode of expreſſion intimates that thoſe exceptions were juſtly grounded; this *Vorſtius* himſelf denied, and ſolemnly declared his belief of the immenſity and omniſcience of the Divine Being, and aſcribed the imputations caſt on him to wreſting his words to a meaning contrary to the ſcope and the connexion of the diſcourſe. His abilities, learning, and virtues, were highly eſteemed by thoſe who differed from him. Præſtantium ac Eruditorum Virorum Epiſtolæ. Amſterdam 1660; p. 350, &c. and p. 385; and the Abridgment of Brandt's Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 727, 728. Ed.

† Brandt's Hiſtory, vol ii. p. 97. or the Abridgment, vol. i. p. 318.

"upon

" upon all the reſt of the reformed churches to enter upon " the ſame common conſultation, how we may beſt extinguiſh " and ſend back to hell theſe curſed [*Arminian*] hereſies " that have newly broken forth. And as for ourſelves, we " ſhall be neceſſitated to forbid all the youth of our ſubjects " to frequent an univerſity that is ſo infected as that of " Leyden."* His majeſty alſo ſent over ſundry other memorials, in which he ſtiles Vorſtius *a wicked Atheiſt*; Arminius *an enemy to God*. And *Bertius* having written that *the ſaints might fall from grace*, he ſaid the author was *worthy of the fire*.

At length [1612] the king publiſhed his royal declaration in ſeveral languages,† containing an account of all that he had done in the affair of *Vorſtius*, with his reaſons; which were, *his zeal for the glory of God, his love for his friends and allies*, [the States] *and fear of the ſame contagion in his own kingdom*; but their High Mightineſſes did not like the king of England's intermeddling ſo far in their affairs. However, *Vorſtius* was diſmiſſed to Gouda, where he lived privately till the ſynod of Dort, when he was baniſhed the ſeven provinces; he then retired to Tonninghen, in the dukedom of Holſtein, where he died a profeſſed *Socinian*, Sept. 19, 1622.‖

* " Nothing," it is well obſerved by Gerard Brandt, " can be leſs edify- " ing, than to ſee a proteſtant prince, who, not contented to perſecute the " heterodox in his own kingdom, exhorts the potentates of the ſame religion " to imitate his conduct." Brandt abridged, vol. i. p. 319. ED.

† It was printed in French, Latin, Dutch, and Engliſh; on which Dr. Harris well remarks, that " conſequently his monſtrous zeal, his un- " princely revilings, and his weak and pitiful reaſonings, were known " throughout Europe." Yet it was not held in any high reputation; for Mr. Norton, who had the printing of it in Latin, ſwore " he would not " print it, unleſs he might have money to print it."

Harris's Life of James I. p. 120.

‖ His ſickneſs was a ſhort one; but long enough to afford him an opportunity to teach his phyſician and other friends, how a Chriſtian ought to die. He was wholly intent upon prayer, and ſcarcely repeated any thing but paſſages out of the ſcriptures. At his requeſt, Acts ii, and 1 Cor. xv. as mentioning the reſurrection, were read to him: and this doctrine was much the ſubject of his laſt diſcourſes. He expired, recommending his ſoul to God and Jeſus Chriſt his Saviour. And it is ſaid, that the piety, holineſs, faith, and reſignation, which he ſhewed, and the fervency of his prayers, cannot be well expreſſed. Brandt abridged, vol. ii. p. 722, 723. ED.

His

His majeſty had a further opportunity of diſcovering his zeal againſt hereſy this year, upon two of his own ſubjects. One was *Bartholomew Legate*, an *Arian*;* he was a comely perſon, of a black complexion, and about forty years of age, of a fluent tongue, excellently well verſed in the ſcriptures, and of an unblameable converſation. King *James* himſelf, and ſome of his biſhops, in vain conferred with him, in hope of convincing him of his errors. Having lain a conſiderable time in Newgate, he was at length convened before biſhop *King* in his conſiſtory at St. Paul's, who, with ſome other divines and lawyers there aſſembled, declared him a contumacious and obdurate *heretick*, and certified the ſame into *chancery* by a *ſignificavit*, delivering him over to the ſecular power; whereupon the king ſigned a writ† *de heretico comburendo* to the ſheriffs of London, who brought him to Smithfield, March 18th, and in the midſt of a vaſt concourſe of people, burnt him to death. A pardon was offered him at the ſtake if he would recant, but he refuſed it.

* Fuller, b. x. p. 63.

† The reader will perhaps be curious to ſee the form of the king's writ for burning Legate; the latter part of which is as follows:

——"Whereas the Holy Mother Church hath not further to do and to "proſecute on this part; the ſame reverend father hath left the aforeſaid "Bartholomew Legatt, as a blaſphemous heretick to our ſecular power, to "be puniſhed with condign puniſhment, as by the letters patent of the ſame "reverend father in Chriſt, the biſhop of London, in this behalf above made, "hath been certified to us in our chancery. We, therefore, as a zealot of "juſtice, and a defender of the catholick faith, and willing to maintain and "defend the holy church, and the rights and liberties of the ſame, and the "catholick faith: And ſuch hereſies and errors every where what in us "lieth, to root out and extirpate, and to puniſh with condign puniſhment "ſuch hereticks ſo convicted, and deeming that ſuch an heretick in form "aforeſaid convicted and condemned according to the laws and cuſtoms of "this our kingdom of England in this part accuſtomed, ought to be burned "with fire; We do command you that the ſaid Bartholomew Legatt, being "in your cuſtody, you do commit publickly to the fire, before the people, "in a publick and open place in Weſt Smithfield, for the cauſe aforeſaid; "and that you cauſe the ſaid Bartholomew Legatt to be really burned in "the ſame fire, in deteſtation of the ſaid crime, for the manifeſt example "of other Chriſtians, leſt they ſlide into the ſame fault; and this that in no "wiſe you omit, under the peril that ſhall follow thereon. Witneſs, &c." A Narration of the burning of Bartholomew Legatt, &c. in Truth brought to Light, 1692, as quoted by Mr. Lindſey in his Converſations on Chriſtian Idolatry, p. 119, 120. Ed.

Next

Next month *Edward Wightman*, of Burton-upon-Trent, was convicted of hereſy by Dr. *Neile*, biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield, and was burnt at Litchfield, April 11th.‖ He was charged in the warrant with the hereſiies of *Arius*, *Cerinthus*, *Manichæus*, and the *Anabaptiſts*.§——There was another condemned to the fire for the ſame hereſies; but the conſtancy of the abovementioned ſufferers moving pity in the ſpectators, it was thought better to ſuffer him to linger out a miſerable life in Newgate, than to awaken too far the compaſſions of the people.

Nothing was minded at court but luxury and diverſions. The affairs of the church were left to the biſhops, and the affairs of ſtate to ſubordinate magiſtrates, or the chief miniſters, while the king himſelf ſunk into a moſt indolent and voluptuous life, ſuffering himſelf to be governed by a favourite, in the choice of whom he had no regard to virtue or merit, but to youth, beauty, gracefulneſs of perſon, and fine clothes, &c. This expoſed him to the contempt of foreign powers, who from this time paid him very little regard. At the ſame time he was laviſh and profuſe in his expences and grants to his hungry courtiers, whereby he exhauſted his *exchequer*, and was obliged to have recourſe

‖ Fuller, b. x. p. 64.

§ Some of the opinions imputed to Wightman ſavoured of vanity and ſuperſtition, or rather enthuſiaſm; ſuch as, his being the *prophet* foretold Deut. xviii. and by Iſaiah; the *Elijah to come*, of whom Malachi ſpeaks. "But," as Mr. Lindſey juſtly remarks, "we may well heſitate here, whe-"ther ſuch were the man's *real* ſentiments, or only thoſe which his adver-"ſaries would fix upon him." Theſe proceedings ſhew, as Brandt obſerves, it was high time to repeal the act *de heretico comburendo*. The ſentiments of Limborch on them deſerve to be mentioned here. "Theſe "things," ſays he in a letter to Mr. Locke, "are a ſcandal to the Reforma-"tion. A court of inquiſition into men's faith, is alike contrary to chriſ-"tian charity, whether it be erected on the banks of the Tiber, or the "lake of Geneva, or by the ſide of the river Thames: for it is the ſame "iniquitous cruelty, though exerciſed in another place, and on different "ſubjects." A fine obſervation of Brandt on this occaſion, ſhall cloſe this note. "It is a very glorious thing for the United Provinces," ſays he, "that the blood of no heretick has been ſhed in that country ever ſince the "Reformation; which ought to be aſcribed to the moderation and great "knowledge of the States-General, and the ſtates of each of thoſe pro-"vinces." Brandt abridged, vol. i. p. 319. Lindſey's Hiſtorical View of Unitarian Doctrine, &c. p. 294. Ed.

to arbitrary and illegal methods of raiſing money by the prerogative. By theſe means he loſt the hearts of his people, which all his *kingcraft* could never recover, and laid the foundation of thoſe calamities, that in the next reign threw church and ſtate into ſuch convulſions, as threatened their final ruin.

But while the king and his miniſters were wounding the proteſtant religion and the liberties of England, it pleaſed Almighty God to lay the foundation of their recovery by the marriage of the king's daughter *Elizabeth* to *Frederick* V. elector Palatine of the Rhine, from whom the preſent royal family is deſcended. The match was promoted by archbiſhop *Abbot*, and univerſally approved by all the *puritans* in England, as the grand ſecurity of the proteſtant ſucceſſion in caſe of failure of heirs from the king's ſon. Mr. *Echard* ſays, they foretold, by a diſtant foreſight, the ſucceſſion of this family to the crown; and it muſt be owned, that they were always the delight of the *puritans*, who prayed heartily for them, and upon all occaſions exerted themſelves for the ſupport of the family in their loweſt circumſtances.

The ſolemnity of theſe nuptials was retarded ſome months, by the untimely death of HENRY prince of Wales, the king's eldeſt ſon, who died November 6th, 1612, and was buried the 7th of December following, being eighteen years and eight months old. Some have ſuſpected that the king his father cauſed him to be poiſoned, though there is no ſufficient proof of it;* the body being opened, his liver appeared

* Theſe ſuſpicions aroſe from the popular odium the king had incurred, from the behaviour of the court at the time the prince laid dead, and from the diſappointment which the great expectations of the people from this prince ſuffered. There were inſinuations to this effect from reſpectable perſons: and Colonel Titus aſſured biſhop Burnet, that he had heard king Charles I. declare, that the prince his brother was poiſoned by means of viſcount Rocheſter. This evidence amounted to a kind of proof, yet, as to theſe ſuggeſtions were oppoſed the opinion of the phyſicians, and the appearances of the body when it was opened, and the preſumptive evidence did not come home to the king, it is to be wiſhed that Mr. Neal had uſed more guarded language: for the words, "no certain proof," ſeem to imply, that there was probable proof of it. Biſhop Warburton is therefore very angry, and ſays it "is abominable:" It is indeed a heavy charge to impute to a parent his being acceſſary to the poiſoning of a ſon. See Dr. Birch's Life of Henry Prince of Wales, p. 404—409. Dr. Grey, as well

as

appeared white, and his ſpleen and diaphragm black, his gall without choler, and his lungs ſpotted with much corruption, and his head full of blood in ſome places, and in others full of water. It is certain the king was jealous of his ſon's popularity, and aſked one day, *if he would bury him alive*; and upon his death commanded, *that no perſon ſhould appear at court in mourning for him.** This prince was one of the moſt accompliſhed perſons of his age, ſober, chaſte, temperate, religious, full of honour and probity, and never heard to ſwear an oath: Neither the example of the king his father, nor of the whole court, was capable of corrupting him in theſe reſpects. He had a great ſoul, full of noble and elevated ſentiments, and was as much diſpleaſed with trifles as his father was fond of them. He had frequently ſaid, that *if ever he mounted the throne, his firſt care ſhould be to try to reconcile the puritans to the church of England.* As this could not be done without each party's making ſome conceſſions, and as ſuch a proceeding was directly contrary to the temper of the court and clergy, he was ſuſpected to countenance *puritaniſm.* To ſay all in one word, prince *Henry* was mild and affable, though of a warlike genius, the darling of the puritans, and of all good men; and though he lived about eighteen years, no hiſtorian has taxed him with any vice.

To furniſh the *Exchequer* with money ſeveral new projects were ſet on foot, as, (1.) His majeſty created a new order of *knights baronets:* the number not to exceed two hundred, and the expence of the patent one thouſand ninety-five pounds. (2.) His majeſty ſold letters patent for monopolies. (3.) He obliged ſuch as were worth forty pounds a year to compound for not being knights. (4.) He ſet to ſale the higheſt honours and dignities of the nation: the price for a baron was ten thouſand pounds; for a viſcount

as the biſhop, alſo cenſures our author, and refers to main authorities to diſprove, as he calls them, "Mr. Neal's unfair inſinuations." Theſe inſinuations did not originate, it ſhould be obſerved, with Mr. Neal, but were ſanctioned by the prevailing opinion of the times; and were countenanced by the conduct of James, who ſhewed himſelf quite unaffected with the death of his virtuous and amiable ſon. ED.

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 181, folio edit.

fifteen

fifteen thouſand; and twenty thouſand for an earl. (5.) Thoſe who had defective titles were obliged to compound to ſet them right. And (6.) The ſtar-chamber raiſed their fines to an exceſſive degree.* But theſe projects not anſwering the king's neceſſities, he was obliged at laſt to call a parliament. When the houſes met, they proceeded immediately to conſider of and redreſs grievances, upon which the king diſſolved them, before they had enacted one ſtatute, and committed ſome of the principal members of the houſe of commons to priſon, without admitting them to bail, reſolving again to raiſe money without the aid of parliament.

This year the articles of the church of Ireland were ratified and confirmed; the reformation of that kingdom had made a very ſlow progreſs in the late reign, by reaſon of the wars between the Engliſh and natives, and the ſmall proportion of the former to the latter. The natives had a ſtrong prejudice againſt the Engliſh, as coming into the country by *conqueſt*; and being bigotted papiſts, their prejudices were inflamed by king *Henry* the VIIIth's throwing off the pope's ſupremacy, which threatened the loſs of their religion, as well as their civil liberties. In the reign of *Philip* and *Mary* they were more quiet, when a law was paſſed againſt bringing in the Scots and marrying with them, which continued in force during the whole reign of queen *Elizabeth*, and was a great hindrance to the progreſs of the proteſtant religion in that country; however, an univerſity was erected at Dublin in the year 1593, and furniſhed with learned profeſſors from Cambridge of the *Calviniſtical perſuaſion*. *James Uſher*, who afterwards was the renowned archbiſhop of Armagh, was the firſt ſtudent who entered into the college. The diſcipline of the Iriſh church was according to the model of the Engliſh; biſhops were nominated to the popiſh dioceſes, but their revenues being alienated, or in the hands of papiſts, or very much diminiſhed by the wars, they were obliged to throw the revenues of ſeveral biſhopricks together, to make a tolerable ſubſiſtence for one. The caſe was the ſame with the inferior clergy, forty ſhillings a year being a common allowance for a vicar in the province of Connaught, and ſometimes only ſixteen. Thus (ſays Mr.

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 185.

Collyer)

Collyer) the authority of the biſhops went off, and the people followed their own fancies in the choice of religion.

At the Hampton-court conference the king propoſed ſending preachers into Ireland, complaining that he was but half monarch of that kingdom, the bodies of the people being only ſubject to his authority, while their conſciences were at the command of the pope; yet it does not appear that any attempts were made to convert them till after the year 1607, when the act of the third and fourth of *Philip* and *Mary* being repealed, the citizens of London undertook for the province of Ulſter. Theſe adventurers built Londonderry, fortified Colrain, and purchaſed a great tract of land in the adjacent parts. They ſent over conſiderable numbers of planters, but were at a loſs for miniſters; for the beneficed clergy of the church of England, being at eaſe in the enjoyment of their preferments, would not engage in ſuch a hazardous undertaking, it fell therefore to the lot of the Scots and Engliſh puritans; the Scots, by reaſon of their vicinity to the northern parts of Ireland, tranſported numerous colonies; they improved the country, and brought preaching into the churches where they ſettled; but being of the *preſbyterian perſuaſion*, they formed their churches after their own model. The London adventurers prevailed with ſeveral of the Engliſh *puritans* to remove, who, being perſecuted at home, were willing to go any where within the king's dominions for the liberty of their conſciences, and more would have gone, could they have been ſecure of a toleration after they were ſettled; but their chief reſource was from the Scots; the firſt miniſter of that perſuaſion that went over was Mr. *Edward Bryce*, who ſettled in Broad Iſland in the county of Antrim 1611; after him Mr. *Robert Cunningham*, in Hollywood in the county of Down. At the ſame time came over three Engliſh miniſters, all *puritans* trained up under Mr. *Cartwright*, (viz.) Mr. *Ridges* of Antrim, Mr. *Henry Calvert*, and Mr. *Hubbard* of Carrickfergus. After theſe, Mr. *Robert Blair* came from Scotland to Bangor, Mr. *Hamilton* to Bellywater, and Mr. *Levingston* to Killinſhy in the county of Down, with Mr. *Welſh*, *Dunbar*, and others.†

† Loyalty Preſb. p. 161, 162, 163.

Mr. *Blair* was a zealous preſbyterian, and ſcrupled epiſcopal ordination, but the biſhop of the dioceſe compromiſed the difference, by agreeing that the other Scots preſbyters of Mr. *Blair*'s perſuaſion ſhould join with him, and that ſuch paſſages in the eſtabliſhed form of ordination, as Mr. *Blair* and his brethren diſliked, ſhould be omitted or exchanged for others of their own approbation. Thus was Mr. *Blair* ordained publickly in the church of Bangor; the biſhop of Raphoe did the ſame for Mr. *Levingston*; and all the Scots who were ordained in Ireland from this time to the year 1642, were ordained after the ſame manner; all of them enjoyed the churches and tithes, though they remained preſbyterian, and uſed not the liturgy; nay, the biſhops conſulted them about affairs of common concernment to the church, and ſome of them were members of the convocation in 1634. They had their monthly meetings at Antrim, for the promoting of piety and the extirpation of popery. They had alſo their quarterly communions, by which means great numbers of the inhabitants were civilized, and many became ſerious chriſtians. Mr. *Blair* preached before the judges of aſſize on the Lord's-day, at the deſire of the biſhop of Down, and his curate adminiſtered the ſacrament to them the ſame day; ſo that there was a ſort of comprehenſion between the two parties, by the countenance and approbation of the great archbiſhop *Uſher*, who encouraged the miniſters in this good work. And thus things continued till the adminiſtration of archbiſhop *Laud*, who, by dividing the proteſtants, weakened them, and made way for that enormous growth of popery, which ended in the maſſacre of almoſt all the proteſtants in the kingdom.

It appears from hence, that the reformation of Ireland was built upon a *puritan foundation*, though epiſcopacy was the legal eſtabliſhment; but it was impoſſible to make any conſiderable progreſs in the converſion of the natives, becauſe of their bigotry and prejudice againſt the Engliſh nation, whoſe language they could not be perſuaded to learn.

The proteſtant religion being pretty well eſtabliſhed, it was thought adviſeable to frame ſome articles of their common faith, according to the cuſtom of other churches: ſome moved in convocation to adopt the articles of the Engliſh church,

church, but this was overruled, as not ſo honourable to themſelves, who were as much a national church as England, nor ſo conſiſtent with their independency; it was therefore voted to draw up a new confeſſion of their own; the draught was referred to the conduct of Dr. *James Uſher*, provoſt of Dublin college, and afterwards lord primate; it afterwards paſſed both houſes of convocation and parliament with great unanimity, and being ſent over to the Engliſh court was approved in council, and ratified by the lord-lieutenant *Chicheſter* this year in the king's name.

Theſe articles being rarely to be met with, I have given them a place in the *Appendix*,* being in a manner the ſame which the puritans requeſted at the Hampton-court conference; for, *firſt*, The *nine articles of Lambeth* are incorporated into this confeſſion. *Secondly*, The morality of the *Lord's-day* is ſtrongly aſſerted, and the ſpending it wholly in religious exerciſes is required [*Art.* 56.] *Thirdly*, The obſervation of *Lent* is declared not to be a *religious faſt*, but grounded merely on political conſiderations, for proviſion of things tending to the better preſervation of the commonwealth, [*Art.* 50.] *Fourthly*, All clergymen are ſaid to be lawfully called and ſent, who are choſen and called to this work, by men who have publick authority given them in the church to call and ſend miniſters into the Lord's vineyard, [*Art.* 71.] which is an acknowledgment of the validity of the ordinations of thoſe churches which have no biſhops. *Fifthly*, The power of the keys is ſaid to be only declarative. [*Art.* 74.] *Sixthly*, The pope is declared to be antichriſt, or that man of ſin whom the Lord ſhall conſume with the ſpirit of his mouth, and aboliſh with the brightneſs of his coming. [*Art.* 80.] *Seventhly*, The conſecration of archbiſhops, biſhops, &c. is not ſo much as mentioned, as if done on purpoſe (ſays Mr. *Collyer*) to avoid maintaining the diſtinction between that order and that of prieſts. *Laſtly*, No power is aſcribed to the church in making canons, or cenſuring thoſe who either careleſsly or wilfully infringe the ſame. Upon the whole, theſe articles ſeem to be contrived to compromiſe the difference between the

* Appendix, No. 6.

church and the puritans; and they had that effect till the year 1634, when, by the influence of archbiſhop *Laud* and the earl of *Strafford*, theſe articles were ſet aſide, and thoſe of the church of England received in their room.

To return to England. Among the puritans who fled from the perſecution of biſhop *Bancroft*, was Mr. *Henry Jacob*, mentioned in the year 1604. This divine, having conferred with Mr. *Robinſon*, paſtor of an Engliſh church at Leyden, embraced his peculiar ſentiments of church diſcipline, ſince known by the name of INDEPENDENCY. In the year 1610, Mr. *Jacob* publiſhed at Leyden a ſmall treatiſe in octavo, entitled, *The Divine Beginning and Inſtitution of Chriſt's true viſible and material Church:* and followed it next year with another from *Middleburgh*, which he called *An Explication and Confirmation of his former Treatiſe.* Some time after he returned to England, and having imparted his deſign of ſetting up a ſeparate congregation, like thoſe in Holland, to the moſt learned puritans of thoſe times, as Mr. *Throgmorton*, *Wring*, *Manſel*, *Dod*, &c. it was not condemned as unlawful, conſidering there was no proſpect of a national reformation. Mr. *Jacob* therefore, having ſummoned ſeveral of his friends together, as Mr. *Staiſmore*, Mr. *Browne*, Mr. *Prior*, *Almey*, *Throughton*, *Allen*, *Gibbet*, *Farre*, *Goodal*, and others; and having obtained their conſent to unite in church fellowſhip, for obtaining the ordinances of Chriſt in the pureſt manner, they laid the foundation of the firſt *independent* or *congregational* church in England, after the following manner:—Having obſerved a day of ſolemn faſting and prayer for a bleſſing upon their undertaking, towards the cloſe of the ſolemnity each of them made open confeſſion of their faith in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and then ſtanding together they joined hands, and *ſolemnly covenanted with each other in the preſence of Almighty God, to walk together in all God's ways and ordinances, according as he had already revealed, or ſhould further make them known to them.* Mr. *Jacob* was then choſen paſtor by the ſuffrage of the brotherhood, and others were appointed to the office of deacons, with faſting and prayer and impoſition of hands. The ſame year [1616] Mr. *Jacob* publiſhed a *proteſtation or confeſſion in the name of certain chriſtians, ſhewing how far they agreed with*

with the church of England, *and wherein they differed, with the reaſons of their diſſent drawn from ſcripture*; to which was added a petition to the king for the toleration of ſuch chriſtians. And ſome time after he publiſhed a *collection of ſound reaſons, ſhewing how neceſſary it is for all chriſtians to walk in the ways and ordinances of God in purity, and in a right church way.* Mr. *Jacob* continued with his people about eight years, but in the year 1624, being deſirous to enlarge his uſefulneſs, he went with their conſent to Virginia, where he ſoon after died. Thus, according to the teſtimony of the Oxford hiſtorian, and ſome others, Mr. *Henry Jacob* was the firſt independent miniſter in England, and this the firſt congregational church. Upon the departure of Mr. *Jacob* his church choſe Mr. *Lathorp* their paſtor, whoſe hiſtory will be reſumed in its proper place.

The king was ſo full of his prerogative, that he apprehended he could convince his ſubjects of its unlimited extent; for this purpoſe he turned preacher in the Star-chamber, and took his text, *Pſalm* lxxii. 1. "*Give the king thy "judgments, O God, and thy righteouſneſs to the king's ſon.*"* After dividing and ſubdividing, and giving the literal and myſtical ſenſe of his text, he applied it to the judges and courts of judicature, telling them, "that the king ſitting in "the throne of God, all judgments center in him, and there- "fore for inferior courts to determine difficult queſtions "without conſulting him, was to encroach upon his *prero- "gative*, and to limit his power, which it was not lawful "for the tongue of a lawyer, nor any ſubject to diſpute. "As it is atheiſm and blaſphemy to diſpute what God can "do, ſays he, ſo it is preſumption, and an high contempt, to "diſpute what kings can do or ſay; it is to take away that "myſtical reverence that belongs to them who ſit in the "throne of God."† Then addreſſing to the auditory, he adviſes them, "Not to meddle with the king's prerogative "or honour. Plead not (ſays he) upon puritanical prin- "ciples, which make all things popular, but keep within the "ancient limits."

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 192-3, and note (9).

† Mr. Neal abridges Rapin, and gives the ſenſe rather than the exact words. ED.

In ſpeaking of recuſants, he ſays, there are three ſorts, (1.) "Some that come now and then to church; theſe [the puritans] are formal to the laws, but falſe to God. (2.) "Others that have their conſciences miſled, ſome of theſe "[the papiſts that ſwear allegiance] live as peaceable ſubjects. (3.) Others are practiſing recuſants, who oblige "their ſervants and tenants to be of their opinion. Theſe "are men of pride and preſumption. I am loath to hang a "prieſt only for his religion, and ſaying maſs; but if they "refuſe the oath of allegiance, I leave them to the law." He concludes with exhorting the judges to countenance the clergy againſt *papiſts* and *puritans*; adding, "God and the "king will reward your zeal."

It is eaſy to obſerve from hence, his majeſty's implacable averſion to the puritans was founded not merely or principally on their refuſal of the ceremonies, but on the principles of civil liberty and enmity to abſolute monarchy; for all arguments againſt the extent of the prerogative are ſaid to be founded on puritan principles. A king with ſuch maxims ſhould have been frugal of his revenues, that he might not have ſtood in need of parliaments; but our monarch was extravagantly profuſe, and to ſupply his wants delivered back this year to the Dutch their cautionary towns, which were the keys of their country, for leſs than a quarter part of the money that had been lent on them.

This year [1617] died the learned and judicious Mr. *Paul Baynes*, born in London, and educated in Chriſt's college, Cambridge, of which he was fellow. He ſucceeded Mr. *Perkins* in the lecture at St. Andrew's church, where he behaved with that gravity and exemplary piety, as rendered him univerſally acceptable to all who had any taſte of ſerious religion, till archbiſhop *Bancroft* ſending Dr. *Harſnet* to viſit the univerſity, called upon Mr. *Baynes* to ſubſcribe according to the canons, which he refuſing, the doctor ſilenced him, and put down his lecture. Mr. *Baynes* appealed to the archbiſhop, but his *Grace* ſtood by his chaplains, and threatened to lay the good old man by the heels, for appearing before him with a little black edging upon his cuffs. After this Mr. *Baynes* preached only occaſionally, as he could get opportunity, and was reduced to ſuch poverty and want, that he ſaid

He

He had not where to lay his head; but at length death put an end to his ſufferings in the year 1617. He publiſhed *a Commentary upon the Epheſians*; the *Diocleſian's Trial* againſt Dr. *Downham*; and ſome other practical treatiſes. Dr. *Sibbes* ſays, he was a divine of uncommon learning, clear judgment, ready wit, and of much communion with God and his own heart. What pity was it, that ſuch a divine ſhould be reſtrained, and in a manner ſtarved!*

The diſputes in Holland between the *Calviniſts* and *Arminians*, upon the five points relating to election, redemption, original ſin, effectual grace, and perſeverance, roſe to ſuch an height as obliged the States-General to have recourſe to a national ſynod, which was convened at Dort, Nov. 13, 1618. Each party had loaded the other with reproaches, and in the warmth of diſpute charged their opinions with the moſt invidious conſequences, inſomuch that all good neighbourhood was loſt, the pulpits were filled with unprofitable and angry diſputes, and as each party prevailed, the other were turned out of the churches. The magiſtrates were no leſs divided than the miniſters, one city and town being ready to take up arms againſt another. At length it grew into a ſtate faction, which endangered the diſſolution of government. *Maurice* prince of Orange, though a remonſtrant, put himſelf at the head of the *Calviniſts* [or contra-remonſtrants] becauſe they were for a ſtadtholder, and the magiſtrates who were againſt a ſtadtholder ſided with the [remonſtrants, or] *Arminians*, among whom the advocate of Holland, *Oldenbarnevelt*, and the penſionaries of Leyden and Rotterdam, *Hogerberts* and *Grotius*, were the chief. Several attempts were made for an accommodation, or toleration of the two parties; but this not ſucceeding, the three heads of the remonſtrants [*Arminians*] were taken into cuſtody, and the magiſtrates of ſeveral towns and cities

* See Clarke's Lives, annexed to his *General Martyrology*, p. 24; who tells us, that Mr. Baynes, being ſummoned on a time before the privy council, on pretence of keeping conventicles, and called on to ſpeak for himſelf, made ſuch an excellent ſpeech, that in the midſt of it a nobleman ſtood up and ſaid, "He ſpeaks more like an angel than a man, and I dare not "ſtay here to have a hand in any ſentence againſt him." Upon which ſpeech he was diſmiſſed, and never heard any more from them. Ed.

changed,

changed, by *authority of the prince*, which made way for the chooſing ſuch a ſynod as *his highneſs* deſired. The claſſes of the ſeveral towns met firſt in a *provincial* ſynod, and theſe ſent deputies to the *national* one, with proper inſtructions. The *remonſtrants* were averſe to the calling a ſynod, becauſe their numbers were as yet unequal to the *Calviniſts*, and their leaders being in cuſtody, it was eaſy to foretell their approaching fate. They complained of injuſtice in their ſummons to the *provincial aſſemblies*; but *Trigland* ſays, that where the *remonſtrants* [*Arminians*] were weakeſt, they were equally regarded with the other party; but in truth their deputies were angry and diſſatisfied, and in many places abſented from their claſſes, and ſo yielded up their power into the hands of their adverſaries, who condemned their principles, and depoſed ſeveral of their miniſters.

The national ſynod of Dort conſiſted of thirty-eight Dutch and Walloon divines, five profeſſors of the univerſities, and twenty-one lay-elders, making together ſixty-one perſons, of which not above three or four were remonſtrants. Beſides theſe, there were twenty-eight foreign divines, from Great-Britain, from the Palatinate, from Heſſia, Switzerland, Geneva, Bremen, Emden, Naſſau, and Wetteravia; the French king not admitting his proteſtant divines to appear. Next to the States deputies ſat the Engliſh divines; the ſecond place was reſerved for the French divines; the reſt ſat in the order recited. Upon the right and left hand of the chair, next to the *lay-deputies*, ſat the Netherland profeſſors of divinity, then the miniſters and elders, according to the rank of their provinces; the Walloon churches ſitting laſt. After the divines, as well domeſtick as foreign, had produced their credentials, the reverend Mr. *John Bogerman*, of Leewarden, was choſen preſident, the reverend Mr. *Jacob Roland* and *Herman Faukelius*, of Amſterdam and Middleburgh, aſſeſſors; *Heinſius* was ſcribe, and the reverend Mr. *Dammon* and *Feſtius Hommius*, ſecretaries; a general faſt was then appointed, after which they proceeded to buſineſs.

The names of the Engliſh divines were, Dr. *Carlton*, biſhop of Landaff, Dr. *Hall*, dean of Worceſter, afterwards biſhop of *Norwich*; Dr. *Davenant*, afterwards biſhop of Saliſbury;

Saliſbury; and Dr. *Samuel Ward*, maſter of Sidney-college, Cambridge;* but Dr. *Hall* not being able to bear the climate, Dr. *Goad*, prebendary of Canterbury, was appointed in his room. Mr. *Balcanqual*, a Scotſman, but no friend to the kirk, was alſo commiſſioned by king *James* to repreſent that church. He was taken into conſultation, and joined in ſuffrage with the Engliſh divines, ſo as to make one college; for the divines of each nation gave only one vote in the ſynod, as their united ſenſe: and though *Balcanqual* did not wear the habits of the Engliſh divines, nor ſit with them in the ſynod, having a place by himſelf as repreſentative of the Scots kirk, yet (ſays the biſhop of Landaff) his apparel was decent, and in all reſpects he gave much ſatisfaction. His majeſty's in-ſtructions to them were, (1.) To agree among themſelves about the ſtate of any queſtion, and how far it may be maintained agreeably to the ſcriptures and the doctrine of the church of England. (2.) To adviſe the Dutch miniſters not to inſiſt in their ſermons upon ſcholaſtick points, but to abide by their former *confeſſion of faith*, and thoſe of their neighbour reformed churches. (3.) That they ſhould conſult the king's honour, the peace of the diſtracted churches, and behave in all things with gravity and moderation.

When all the members of the ſynod were aſſembled, they took the following oath, in the twenty-third ſeſſion, each perſon ſtanding up in his place, and laying his hand upon his heart:

"I Promiſe before GOD, whom I believe and worſhip, "as here preſent, and as the ſearcher of the reins and heart, "that during the whole courſe of the tranſactions of this "ſynod, in which there will be made an enquiry into, and "judgment and deciſion of, not only the well-known *five* "*points*, and all the difficulties reſulting from thence, but "likewiſe of all other ſorts of doctrine, I will not make uſe "of any kind of human writings, but only of the word of "God, as a ſure and infallible rule of faith. Neither will I "have any other thing in view throughout this whole diſ-"cuſſion, but the honour of God, the peace of the church,

* Fuller's Worthies, p. 159.

"and

" and above all the preſervation of the purity of doctrine. " So help me my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whom I ardently " beſeech to aſſiſt me in this my deſign, by his holy ſpirit."*

This was all the oath that was taken (ſays biſhop *Hall*) as I hope to be ſaved. It was therefore an unjuſt inſinuation of Mr. *John Goodwin*, who in his *Redemption redeemed*, p. 395, charged them with taking a previous oath to condemn the oppoſite party on what terms ſoever. " It grieves my ſoul, " (ſays the biſhop) to ſee any learned divine raiſing ſuch " imaginary conjectures; but ſince I have ſeen it, I bleſs my " God that I yet live to vindicate them [1651] by this my " knowing, and clear atteſtation, which I am ready to ſe- " cond with the ſolemneſt oath, if required."

The ſynod continued to the 29th of May, in which time there were one hundred and eighty ſeſſions. In the hundred and forty-fifth ſeſſion, and 30th of April, the Belgick confeſſion of faith was debated and put to the queſtion, which the Engliſh divines agreed to, except the articles relating to the *parity of miniſters and eccleſiaſtical diſcipline*. They ſaid they had carefully examined the ſaid confeſſion, and did not find any thing therein, with *reſpect to faith and doctrine*, but what was in the main conformable to the word of God.† They added, that they had likewiſe conſidered the remonſtrants' [*Arminians*] exceptions againſt the ſaid confeſſion, and declared that they were of ſuch a nature as to be capable of being made againſt all the confeſſions of other reformed churches. They did not pretend to paſs any judgment upon the articles relating to their church government, but only maintained that their own church government was founded upon *apoſtolical inſtitution*.

Mr. *John Hales* of Eaton, chaplain to the Engliſh ambaſſador *Carlton*, ſat among the hearers for ſome weeks, and having taken minutes of the proceedings, tranſmitted them twice or thrice a week to his excellency at the Hague. After his departure, Dr. *Balcanqual*, the Scots commiſſioner, and Dr. *Ames*, carried on the correſpondence. Mr. *Hales* ob-

* Brandt, vol. iii. p. 62, or the Abridgment, of Brandt, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 417.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 288; or Abridgment, vol. ii. p. 508-9.

ſerves,

ſerves, that the *remonſtrants* behaved on ſeveral occaſions very imprudently,* not only in the manner of their debates, but in declining the authority of the ſynod, though ſummoned by the civil magiſtrate in the moſt unexceptionable manner. The five points of difference between the *Calviniſts* and *Arminians*, after a long hearing, were decided in favour of the former. After which the remonſtrant miniſters were diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and baniſhed the country within a limited time, except they ſubmitted to the new confeſſion; on which occaſion ſome very hard ſpeeches were mutually exchanged, and appeals made to the final tribunal of God.

When the opinion of the Britiſh divines was read, upon the extent of Chriſt's redemption, it was obſerved that they omitted the received diſtinction between the *ſufficiency* and *efficacy* of it; nor did they touch upon the received limitation of thoſe paſſages, which, ſpeaking of Chriſt's dying for the *whole world*, are uſually interpreted of the *world of the elect*, Dr. *Davenant* and ſome of his brethren inclining to the doctrine of *univerſal redemption*.† In all other points there was a perfect harmony; and even in this *Balcanqual* ſays, king *James* and the archbiſhop of Canterbury deſired them to comply, though *Heylin* ſays, their inſtructions were not to oppoſe the doctrine of *univerſal redemption*. But Dr. *Davenant* and *Ward* were for a middle way between the two extremes; they maintained the *certainty of the ſalvation of the elect*, and that offers of pardon were ſent not only to all who ſhould believe and repent, but to all who heard the goſpel; and that *grace ſufficient* to convince and perſuade the *impenitent* (ſo as to lay the blame of their condemnation upon themſelves) went along with theſe offers; that the redemption of Chriſt and his merits were applicable to theſe, and conſequently there was a poſſibility of their ſalvation. However, they complied with the ſynod, and declared their confeſſion in the main, agreeable to the word of God; but this gave riſe to a report ſome years after, that they had deſerted the doctrine of the church of England;

* Hales's Remains, p. 507, 512, 526, 586, 587.

† Brandt, p. 526.

upon

upon which biſhop *Hall* expreſſed his concern to doctor *Davenant* in theſe words, "I ſhall live and die in the ſuf-"frage of that ſynod of Dort; and I do confidently avow, "that thoſe other opinions [of *Arminius*] cannot ſtand with "the doctrine of the church of England." To which biſhop *Davenant* replied in theſe words, "I know that no man can "embrace *Arminianiſm* in the doctrines of *predeſtination* and "*grace*, but he muſt deſert the articles agreed upon by the "church of England; nor in the point of *perſeverance*, but "he muſt vary from the received opinions of our beſt ap-"proved doctors in the Engliſh church." Yet *Heylin* has the aſſurance to ſay, "That though the *Arminian* contro-"verſy brought ſome trouble for the preſent to the churches "of Holland, it was of greater advantage to the church of "England, whoſe doctrine in thoſe points had been ſo over-"born by the *Calviniſts*, that it was almoſt reckoned for an "hereſy to be ſound and orthodox [i. e. an *Arminian*] ac-"cording to the *book of articles eſtabliſhed by law in the* "*church of England.*" He adds, "That king *James* did "not appear for *Calviniſm* out of judgment, but for reaſons "of ſtate, and from a perſonal friendſhip to prince *Maurice*, "who had put himſelf at their head. He therefore ſent "ſuch divines as had zeal enough to condemn the remon-"ſtrants, though it was well known that he had diſapproved "the articles of Lambeth, and the doctrine of predeſtination; "nor was it a ſecret what advice he had given prince "*Maurice* before he put himſelf at the head of the "*Calviniſts.*"*

When the ſynod was riſen, people ſpake of it in a very different manner;† the States of Holland were highly ſatis-fied; they gave high rewards to the chief divines,‡ and or-dered the original records of their proceedings to be pre-ſerved amongſt their archives. The Engliſh divines ex-preſſed full ſatisfaction in the proceedings of the ſynod. Mr.

* Hiſt. Preſb. p. 381.

† Brandt, p. 307-8, or Abridgment, vol. ii. p. 531.

‡ Each divine of the United Provinces received four florins a day. The ſynod coſt ten tons of gold, *i. e.* a million of florins. Brandt abridged, vol. ii. p. 531. ED.

Baxter

Baxter ſays, the chriſtian world ſince the days of the apoſtles never had an aſſembly of more excellent divines. The learned *Jacobus Capellus*, profeſſor of Leyden, declared, that the equity of the fathers of this ſynod was ſuch, that no inſtance can be given ſince the apoſtolick age, of any other ſynod in which the hereticks were heard with more patience, or which proceeded with a better temper or more ſanctity. *P. Du Moulin*, *Paulus Servita*, and the author of the life of *Waleus*, ſpeak the ſame language. But others poured contempt upon the ſynod, and burleſqued their proceedings in the following lines:

Dordrechti ſynodus, nodus; chorus integer, æger;
Conventus, ventus, ſeſſio, ſtramen, Amen.

Lewis du Moulin, with all the favourers of the *Arminian* doctrines, as *Heylin*, *Womack*, *Brand*, &c. charge them with partiality and unjuſtifiable ſeverity. Upon the whole, in my judgment, they proceeded with as much diſcretion and candour as moſt aſſemblies antient or modern have done, who have pretended to eſtabliſh articles for other men's faith with penal ſanctions. I ſhall take leave of this venerable body with this further remark, That king *James* ſending over divines to join this aſſembly, was an open acknowledgment of the validity of ordination by mere preſbyters; here being a biſhop of the church of England ſitting as a private member in a ſynod of divines, of which a mere preſbyter was the preſident.

In the ſummer of the year 1617, king *James* made a progreſs into Scotland, to advance the epiſcopal cauſe in that country; the chapel of Edinburgh was adorned after the manner of Whitehall; pictures being carried from hence together with the ſtatues of the twelve apoſtles, which were ſet up in the church. His majeſty treated his Scots ſubjects with a haughty diſtance; telling them, both in the parliament and general aſſembly, *That it was a power innate, a princely ſpecial prerogative which chriſtian kings have, to order and diſpoſe external things in the outward polity of the church, or as we with our biſhops ſhall think fit*; *and*, SIRS, *for your approving or diſproving; deceive not yourſelves, I will not have my reaſon oppoſed.* Two acts relating to the church were paſſed this ſeſſion; one concerning the choice of archbiſhops

biſhops and biſhops, and another for the reſtitution of *Chapters*; but the miniſters proteſting againſt both, ſeveral of them were ſuſpended and deprived, and others baniſhed, as the *Melvins*, Mr. *Forbes*, &c. and as the famous Mr. *Calderwood*, author of the *Altare Damaſcenum*, had been before; which book, when one of the Engliſh prelates promiſed to anſwer, the king replied, *What will you anſwer, man? There is nothing here than ſcripture, reaſon, and fathers.**

Next year a convention or aſſembly was ſummoned to meet at Perth, *Auguſt* 25, 1618. It conſiſted of ſome noblemen, ſtateſmen, barons, and burgeſſes, choſen on purpoſe to bear down the miniſters; and with what violence things were carried, God and all indifferent ſpectators (ſays my author) are witneſſes. In this aſſembly the court and biſhops make a ſhift to carry the following five articles:

1. That the holy ſacrament ſhall be received kneeling.

2. That miniſters ſhall be obliged to adminiſter the ſacrament in private houſes to the ſick, if they deſire it.

3. That miniſters may baptize children privately at home, in caſes of neceſſity, only certifying it to the congregation the next Lord's-day.

4. That miniſters ſhall bring ſuch children of their pariſh as can ſay their catechiſm, and repeat the Lord's prayer, the creed, and ten commandments, to the biſhops to confirm and give them their bleſſing.

5. That the feſtivals of *Chriſtmas*, *Eaſter*, *Whitſuntide*, and the *Aſcenſion* of our Saviour, ſhall for the future be commemorated in the kirk of Scotland.†

The king ordered theſe articles to be publiſhed at the market-croſſes of the ſeveral boroughs, and the miniſters to read them in their pulpits; which the greateſt number

* This Biſhop Warburton underſtands as ſaid ironically. Ed.

† 'A prince,' obſerves a judicious hiſtorian, 'muſt be ſtrangely infa-
'tuated, and ſtrongly prejudiced, to employ his power and influence in eſta-
'bliſhing ſuch matters as theſe! Let rites and ceremonies be deemed ever
'ſo decent; who will ſay, they are fit to be impoſed by methods of ſeverity
'and conſtraint? Yet, by theſe ways, theſe matters were introduced
'amongſt the Scots, to the diſgrace of humanity, and the eternal blemiſh of
'a prince who boaſted of his learning, and was for ever diſplaying his
'abilities.' Dr. Harris's Life of James, p. 236, 237. Ed.

of

of the latter refuſed, there being no penalty, except the king's diſpleaſure: But the vote of the aſſembly at Perth not being ſufficient to eſtabliſh theſe articles into a law, it was reſolved to uſe all the intereſt of the court to carry them through the parliament. This was not attempted 'till the year 1621, when the parliament meeting on the firſt of June, the miniſters had prepared a ſupplication againſt the *five articles*, giving reaſons why they ſhould not be received or confirmed, and came to Edinburgh in great numbers to ſupport it. Upon this, the king's commiſſioner, by advice of the biſhops and council, iſſued a proclamation, commanding all miniſters to depart out of Edinburgh within twenty hours, except the ſettled miniſters of the city, and ſuch as ſhould have a licence from the biſhop. The miniſters obeyed, leaving behind them a proteſtation againſt the articles, and an admonition to the members of parliament not to ratify them, as they would anſwer it in the day of judgment. They alledged, that the aſſembly of Perth was illegal, and that the articles were againſt the privileges of the kirk, and the eſtabliſhed laws of the kingdom: But the court intereſt prevailed, and with much difficulty the articles were ratified, contrary to the ſenſe of the kirk and nation. This bred a great deal of ill blood, and raiſed a new perſecution throughout the kingdom, many of the preſbyterian miniſters being fined, impriſoned and baniſhed by the high commiſſion, at a time when by their intereſt with the people, it was in their power to have turned their taſk-maſters out of the kingdom.*

Thus far king *James* proceeded towards the reſtitution of epiſcopacy in Scotland; but one thing was ſtill wanting to compleat the work, which was a *publick liturgy*, or *book of common-prayer*. Several conſultations were held upon this head; but the king, being aſſured it would occaſion an inſur-

* Biſhop Warburton is not willing to allow them the praiſe of acting with this caution and temper: "for," he remarks, "ſoon after they uſed their "intereſt to this purpoſe, and I believe they began to uſe it as ſoon as they "got it." The biſhop did not conſider, that it is not in human nature, any more than it is conſiſtent with wiſdom and moderation, to proceed, though injured and provoked, to extremities at firſt. That the Scotch preſbyterian miniſters ſhould have great intereſt with the people, was the neceſſary conſequence of their being ſufferers for the principles of the kirk and the nation. ED.

rection

rection over the whole kingdom, wiſely dropped it, leaving that unhappy work to be finiſhed by his ſon, whoſe impoſing it upon the kirk, without conſent of parliament or general aſſembly, ſet fire to the diſcontents of the people, which had been gathering for many years.

To return to England. This year the learned Mr. *Selden* was ſummoned before the high commiſſion, for publiſhing his *Hiſtory of Tithes*, in which he proves them not to be of *divine* but *human appointment*; and after many threatenings, was obliged to ſign the following recantation:

"My good lords,

"I moſt humbly acknowledge my error in publiſhing "the *Hiſtory of Tithes*, and eſpecially in that I have at all "(by ſhewing any interpretation of holy ſcriptures, by "meddling with councils, fathers, or canons, or by what "elſe ſoever occurs in it) offered any occaſion of argument "againſt any right of maintenance, *jure divino*, of the mi- "niſters of the goſpel; beſeeching your lordſhips to receive "this ingenuous and humble acknowledgment, together with "the unfeigned proteſtation of my grief, for that I have ſo "incurred his majeſty and your lordſhips' diſpleaſure con- "ceived againſt me in behalf of the church of England.

"*Jan.* 28, 1618. JOHN SELDEN."

Notwithſtanding this ſubmiſſion, Mr. *Fuller* ſays it is certain that a fiercer ſtorm never fell upon all parſonage barns* ſince the reformation, than what was raiſed by this treatiſe; nor did Mr. *Selden* quickly forget their ſtopping his mouth after this manner.

This year died the reverend Mr. *William Bradſhaw*, born at Boſworth in Leiceſterſhire, 1571, and educated in Emanuel

* Biſhop Warburton, becauſe he himſelf approved of the principle of Mr. Selden's book, as placing the claim of tithes "on the ſure foundation of "law, inſtead of the feeble prop of an imaginary divine right," carps at this expreſſion of Mr. Neal, though the words of Fuller; and aſks, "Where "was the ſtorm, except in the author's fanciful ſtandiſh?" The anſwer is, The ſtorm was in the offence Mr. Selden's doctrine gave the clergy, and the indignation of the court which it drew on him. The clergy publiſhed angry animadverſions on it, and the king threatened to throw him into priſon, if he replied in his own defence.

Britiſh Biography, vol. iv. p. 377. ED.

college,

college, Cambridge. He was afterwards removed, and admitted fellow of Sidney college; where he got an eaſy admiſſion into the miniſtry, being diſpenſed with in ſome things that he ſcrupled. He preached firſt as a lecturer at Abingdon, and then at Steeple-Morton. At length by the recommendation of Dr. *Chadderton*, he was ſettled at Chatham in Kent, in the year 1601; but before he had been there a twelve-month, he was ſent for by the archbiſhop to Shorne, a town ſituate between Rocheſter and Graveſend, and commanded to ſubſcribe; which he refuſing, was immediately ſuſpended. The inhabitants of Chatham, in their petition for his reſtoration, ſay, that his doctrine was moſt wholeſome, true, and learned, void of faction and contention; and his life ſo garniſhed with unblemiſhed virtues and graces, as malice itſelf could not reprove him. But all interceſſions were to no purpoſe: he therefore removed into another dioceſe, where he obtained a licence, and at length was choſen lecturer of Chriſt church in London. Here he publiſhed a treatiſe againſt the *ceremonies*, for which he was obliged to leave the city, and retired to his friend Mr. *Redriche*'s at Newhall in Leiceſterſhire. The biſhop's chancellor followed him thither, with an inhibition to preach, but by the mediation of a couple of good *angels* (ſays my author) the reſtraint was taken off.* In this ſilent and melancholy retirement he ſpent the vigour and ſtrength of his days. At length, as he was attending Mrs. *Redriche* on a viſit to Chelſea, he was ſeized with a violent fever, which in a few days put an end to his life, in the forty-eighth year of his age. He was full of heavenly expreſſions in his laſt ſickneſs, and died with great ſatisfaction in his non-conformity. Dr. *Hall*, biſhop of Norwich, gives him this character: "That he was of a ſtrong brain, and of a free "ſpirit, not ſuffering himſelf for ſmall differences of judg-"ment, to be alienated from his friends, to whom, notwith-"ſtanding his ſeeming auſterity, he was very pleaſing in "converſation, being full of witty and harmleſs urbanity: "he was very ſtrong and eager in arguing, hearty in friend-"ſhip, regardleſs of the world, a deſpiſer of compliments, a

* Gataker's Life of Bradſhaw, in Clarke's Lives, annexed to his GENERAL MARTYROLOGY.

" lover of reality, full of digeſted and excellent notions, a " painful labourer in God's vineyard, and now, no doubt, " glorioufly rewarded." Such was this light, which by the ſeverity of the times, was put under a buſhel!

In order to put a ſtop to the growth of puritaniſm, and ſilence the objections of papiſts againſt the ſtrictneſs of the reformed religion; his majeſty this year publiſhed, *a Declaration to encourage recreations and ſports on the Lord's Day*, contrary to his proclamation in the firſt year of his reign, and to the articles of the church of Ireland, ratified under the great ſeal, 1615, in which the morality of the Lord's-day is affirmed. " But," ſays *Heylin*, " the puritans, by raiſing the ſabbath, " took occaſion to depreſs the *feſtivals*, and introduced, by " little and little, a general neglect of the weekly faſts, the " holy time of *lent*, and the *embring days*, reducing all acts " of humiliation to ſolemn and occaſional faſts."* Sad indeed! " But this was not all the miſchief that enſued," ſays the doctor, " for ſeveral preachers and juſtices of the " peace took occaſion from hence to forbid all lawful ſports " on the Lord's-day, by means whereof the prieſts and je- " ſuits perſuaded the people in the northern counties, that " the reformed religion was incompatible with that chriſtian " liberty which God and nature had indulged to the ſons of " men: So that to preſerve the people from popery, his " majeſty was brought under a neceſſity to publiſh the book " of ſports."

It was drawn up by biſhop *Moreton*, and dated from Greenwich, May 24, 1618, and it was to this effect:— " That for his good people's recreation, his majeſty's plea- " ſure was, that after the end of divine ſervice, they ſhould " not be diſturbed, letted, or diſcouraged from any lawful " recreations; ſuch as *dancing*, either of men or women, " *archery* for men, *leaping*, *vaulting*, or any ſuch harmleſs " recreations; nor having of *may-games*, *whitſon-ales*, or " *morrice-dances*, or ſetting up of *may-poles*, or other ſports " therewith uſed, ſo as the ſame may be had in due and con- " venient time, without impediment or let of divine ſervice; " and that women ſhould have leave to carry *ruſhes* to the

* Heylin's Hiſt. of Preſb. 389, 390.

" church

"church for the decoring of it, according to their old cuſ-
"toms; withal prohibiting all unlawful games to be uſed on
"*Sundays* only; as *bear-baiting*, *bull-baiting*, *interludes*, and
"at all times (in the meaner ſort of people prohibited)
"*bowling*." Two or three reſtraints were annexed to the declaration, which deſerve the reader's notice: (1.) No recuſant [*i. e.* papiſt] was to have the benefit of this declaration. (2.) Nor ſuch as were not preſent at the whole of divine ſervice. (3.) Nor ſuch as did not keep to their own pariſh churches, that is, *puritans*.

This declaration was ordered to be read in all the pariſh churches of Lancaſhire, which abounded with papiſts; and *Wilſon* adds, that it was to be read in all the churches of England; but that archbiſhop *Abbot*, being at Croydon, flatly forbid its being read there. It was certainly an imprudent project, as well as a grief to all ſober proteſtants; and had the king inſiſted upon its being read throughout all the churches at this time, I am apt to think it would have produced the ſame convulſions as it did about fifteen years afterwards.

It is hard to account for the diſtinction between *lawful* and *unlawful* ſports on the Lord's-day: if any ſports are lawful, why not all? What reaſon can be given why *morrice-dances*, *revels*, *may-games*, *whitſon-ales*, *wakes*, &c. ſhould be more lawful than interludes, bull-baiting, or bowls. It cannot ariſe from their moral nature; for the former have as great a tendency to promote vice, as the latter. But the exceptions to the benefit of this declaration are more extraordinary: Could his majeſty think that the puritans, who were preſent at part of divine ſervice, though not at the whole; or that thoſe who went to other pariſh churches for their better edification, would lay hold of the liberty of his declaration, when he knew they believed the morality of the fourth commandment, and that no ordinance of man could make void the law of God? Further, his majeſty debars *recuſants* [*i. e.* papiſts] from this liberty, which their religion had always indulged them; but theſe are now to be reſtrained. The papiſt is to turn *puritan*, with regard to the ſabbath, being forbid the uſe of *lawful* recreations on the Lord's-day; and proteſtants are to dance and revel,

and go to their may-games on that ſacred day, to preſerve them from popery. This ſubject will return again in the next reign.

This year and the next proved fatal to the proteſtant intereſt in Germany, by the loſs of the *Palatinate* into the hands of the papiſts, and the ruin of the elector *Frederick* V. king of Bohemia, who had married the king's only daughter. This being a remarkable period, relating to the anceſtors of his preſent majeſty king *George* II. it will be no uſeleſs digreſſion to place it in a proper light. The kingdom of Bohemia was elective, and becauſe their king did not always reſide with them, a certain number of perſons were choſen by the *ſtates*, called DEFENDERS, to ſee the laws put in execution. There were two religions eſtabliſhed by law;* one was called *ſub-una*, the other *ſub-utraque*; the profeſſors of the former were Roman catholicks, and communicated under *one kind*; of the latter *Huſſites*, and ſince the reformation *proteſtants*, who communicated under *both kinds*. The emperor *Sigiſmund*, in order to ſecure his election to this kingdom, granted the *Huſſites* an edict in the year 1435, whereby it was decreed that there ſhould be no magiſtrate or freeman of the city of Prague, but what was of *their* religion. This was religiouſly obſerved till the year 1570, when, by order of the emperor *Maximilian*, a catholick was made a citizen of Prague, after which time, the edict was frequently broken, till at length the jeſuits erected a ſtately college, and put the papiſts on a level with the proteſtants.† *Matthias*, the preſent emperor, having adopted his couſin *Ferdinand* of Auſtria, had a mind to get him the crown of

* Theſe are the words of Rapin; but biſhop Warburton ſays, "this is "a miſtake. Theſe were not two religions, but one *only*, adminiſtering a "ſingle rite differently." This remark would be accurate, if the difference between the two parties had lain only in this point: but this could not be the caſe between the Catholics and Huſſites; the difference between whom extended to many eſſential heads, though they were, with reſpect to this matter, denominated from one ſingle point. But the biſhop aſſerts, that "the fancy of two eſtabliſhed religions in one ſtate is an *abſurdity*." But abſurdities may exiſt, and this *very abſurdity exiſts*, and did exiſt at the time his lordſhip wrote, in Great-Britain: in one part of which epiſcopacy is the eſtabliſhed religion, and in the other (Scotland) preſbyterianiſm. ED.

† Rapin, vol. ii. p. 197, folio edit.

Bohemia;

Bohemia; for which purpoſe he ſummoned an aſſembly of the ſtates, without ſending as uſual, to the proteſtants of Sileſia, Moravia, and the upper and lower Alſatia; theſe therefore not attending (according to the emperor's wiſh) made the catholicks a majority, who declared *Ferdinand* preſumptive ſucceſſor to *Matthias*; after which he was crowned at Prague, and reſided at Gratz. The DEFENDERS taking notice of this breach of their conſtitution, and perceiving the deſign of the Imperial court to extirpate the proteſtant religion, ſummoned an aſſembly of all the ſtates, and among others, thoſe of Sileſia, Moravia, and Alſatia, who drew up a petition to the emperor, to demand the execution of the laws, and a reaſonable ſatisfaction for the injuries they had received; after which they adjourned themſelves to the Monday after *Rogation* week 1618. The emperor, inſtead of granting their requeſts, ordered his lieutenant to hinder the reaſſembling of the ſtates, as being called without his licence; but the ſtates aſſembled according to the adjournment, and being informed of the force that was deſigned againſt them, went in a body to the *chancery*, and having ſeized the emperor's chief juſtice, the ſecretary and another of his council, they threw them out of the caſtle window, and then drove the *jeſuits* out of the city. In order to juſtify their proceedings, they publiſhed to the world an apology, and having ſigned a confederacy, to ſtand by one another againſt all oppoſers, they choſe twenty-four *protectors*, empowering them to raiſe forces, and levy ſuch taxes, as they ſhould find neceſſary.

In this ſituation of affairs, the emperor, who was alſo king of Bohemia, died, and on the 18th of Auguſt 1619, *Ferdinand* was choſen his ſucceſſor in the empire, but the Bohemians not only diſowned him for their king, but declared the throne vacant, and on Sept. 5, choſe *Frederick* elector *palatine*, king *James*'s ſon-in-law, for their ſovereign. Deputies were immediately ſent to acquaint him with the choice, and pray him to repair immediately to Prague. *Frederick* diſpatched an expreſs to England, to deſire the advice of his father-in-law; but the affair not admitting of ſo long delay, he accepted of the kingdom, and was crowned at Prague, November 4.

All the proteſtant electors rejoiced at this providence, and gave him the title of king of Bohemia; as did moſt of the proteſtant powers of Europe, except the king of England. It was acceptable news to the Engliſh puritans, to hear of a proteſtant prince in Bohemia; and they earneſtly deſired his majeſty to ſupport him, as appears by archbiſhop *Abbot*'s letter, who was known to ſpeak the ſenſe of that whole party. This prelate being aſked his opinion as a privy counſellor, while he was confined to his bed with the gout, wrote the following letter to the ſecretary of ſtate. "That "it was his opinion, that the elector ſhould accept the "crown; that England ſhould ſupport him openly; and "that as ſoon as news of his coronation ſhould arrive, the "bells ſhould be rung, guns fired, and bonfires made, to let "all Europe ſee that the king was determined to counte-"nance him."* The archbiſhop adds, "It is a great ho-"nour to our king, to have ſuch a ſon made a king; me-"thinks I foreſee in this the work of God, that by degrees "the kings of the earth ſhall leave the whore to deſolation. "Our ſtriking in will comfort the Bohemians, and bring "in the Dutch and the Dane, and Hungary will run the "ſame fortune. As for money and means, let us truſt God "and the parliament, as the old and honourable way of "raiſing money. This from my bed (ſays the brave old "prelate) September 12th, 1619, and when I can ſtand I "will do better ſervice."

But the king diſliked the archbiſhop's letter, as built upon puritan principles; he had an ill opinion of *elective kingdoms*, and of the people's power to diſpoſe of crowns; beſides, he was afraid of diſobliging the Roman catholick powers, and in particular the king of Spain, a near relation of the new emperor's, with whom he was in treaty for a wife for his ſon; ſo that the elector's envoy, after long waiting, was ſent back with an admonition to his ſon-in-law to refuſe the crown; but this being too late, he took it into his head to perſuade him to reſign it, and ſtood ſtill, offering his media-tion and ſending ambaſſadors, while the emperor raiſed a powerful army, not only to reduce the kingdom of Bohemia,

* Cabbala, b. i. p. 12; or p. 18 of the edition in 1663.

but

but to diſpoſſeſs the elector of his hereditary dominions. Several princes of Europe gave king *James* notice of the deſign, and exhorted him to ſupport the proteſtant religion in the empire; but his majeſty was deaf to all advice, and for the ſake of a Spaniſh wife for his ſon, ſuffered his own daughter, with a numerous family of children, to be ſent a begging, and the balance of proteſtant power to be loſt in the empire; for the next ſummer the emperor and his allies having conquered the Palatinate, entered Bohemia, and about the middle of November fought the deciſive battle of Prague, wherein *Frederick*'s army was entirely routed; his hereditary dominions, which had been the ſanctuary of the proteſtants in queen Mary's reign, were given to the duke of Bavaria, a papiſt; the noble library of Heidelburgh was carried off to the Vatican at Rome, and the elector himſelf, with his wife and children, forced to fly into Holland in a ſtarving condition.

Had the king of England had any remains of honour, courage, or eſteem for the proteſtant religion, he might have preſerved it in the Palatinate, and eſtabliſhed it in Bohemia, by which the balance of power would have been on that ſide; but this cowardly prince would not draw his ſword for the beſt cauſe in the world; however, this noble family was the care of divine providence, during a long exile of twenty-eight years; after which they were reſtored to their dominions by the treaty of Munſter, 1648, and declared preſumptive heirs of the crown of Great-Britain, in the laſt year of king *William* III. of which they took poſſeſſion upon the death of queen *Anne*, 1714, to the inexpreſſible joy of the proteſtant diſſenters, and of all who loved the reformed religion, and the liberties of their country.

Among the BROWNISTS in Holland we have mentioned the reverend Mr. *John Robinſon*, of Leyden, the father of the *independents*, whoſe numerous congregations being on the decline, by their aged members dying off, and their children marrying into Dutch families, they conſulted how to preſerve their church and religion; and at length, after ſeveral ſolemn addreſſes to heaven for direction, the younger part of the congregation reſolved to remove into ſome part of America, under the protection of the king of England, where

where they might enjoy the liberty of their conſciences, and be capable of encouraging their friends and countrymen to follow them. Accordingly they ſent over agents into England, who having obtained a patent from the crown, agreed with ſeveral merchants to become adventurers in the undertaking. Several of Mr. *Robinſon*'s congregation ſold their eſtates, and made a common bank, with which they purchaſed a ſmall ſhip of ſixty tons, and hired another of one hundred and eighty. The agents ſailed into Holland with their own ſhip, to take in as many of the congregation as were willing to embark, while the other veſſel was freighting with all neceſſaries for the new plantation. All things being ready, Mr. *Robinſon* obſerved a day of faſting and prayer with his congregation, and took his leave of the adventurers with the following truly generous and chriſtian exhortation:

"BRETHREN,

"WE are now quickly to part from one another, and "whether I may ever live to ſee your faces on earth any "more, the God of heaven only knows; but whether the "Lord has appointed that or no, I charge you before God "and his bleſſed angels, that you follow me no farther than "you have ſeen me follow the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

"If God reveal any thing to you, by any other inſtru- "ment of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to "receive any truth by my miniſtry; for I am verily per- "ſuaded, the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out "of his holy word. For my part, I cannot ſufficiently be- "wail the condition of the reformed churches, who are "come to a period in religion,* and will go at preſent no

* The remarks of *Acontius* are pertinent here. "The cauſe," ſays he, "that the relicks of error and ſuperſtition are perpetuated is, that as often "as there is any reformation of religion, either in doctrine or worſhip, "men think that every thing is not to be immediately reformed at firſt, "but the moſt diſtinguiſhing errors only are to be done away; and that "when ſome time has intervened, the reformation will be completed with "leſs difficulty. But the event hath, in many places, ſhown that it is more "difficult to remove the relicks of falſe worſhip and opinions, than it was "at firſt to ſubvert fundamental errors. Hence it is better to correct every "thing at once." Sed ex eo etiam fieri poteſt, ut maneant errorum atque ſuperſtitionum reliquiæ, &c.

Acontii Stratagemetum Satanæ, libri octo. ed. 1652, p. 330. ED.

"farther

" farther than the inſtruments of their reformation. The " *Lutherans* cannot be drawn to go beyond what *Luther* " ſaw; whatever part of his will our God has revealed to " *Calvin*, they will rather die than embrace it; and the " *Calviniſts*, you ſee, ſtick faſt where they were left by that " great man of God, who yet ſaw not all things.

" This is a miſery much to be lamented, for though they " were burning and ſhining lights in their times, yet they " penetrated not into the whole counſel of God, but were " they now living, would be as willing to embrace further " light as that which they firſt received. I beſeech you re- " member, it is an article of your church covenant, that *you* " *be ready to receive whatever truth ſhall be made known to* " *you from the written word of God.* Remember that, and " every other article of your ſacred covenant. But I muſt " herewithal exhort you to take heed what you receive as " truth, examine it, conſider it, and compare it with other " ſcriptures of truth, before you receive it; for it is not " poſſible the chriſtian world ſhould come ſo lately out of " ſuch thick antichriſtian darkneſs, and that perfection of " knowledge ſhould break forth at once.

" I muſt alſo adviſe you to abandon, avoid, and ſhake off " the name of BROWNISTS; it is a mere nick-name, and a " brand for the making religion, and the profeſſors of it " odious to the chriſtian world."

On July 1, [1620] the adventurers went from Leyden to Delfthaven, whither Mr. *Robinſon* and the ancients of his congregation accompanied them; they continued together all night, and next morning, after mutual embraces, Mr. *Robinſon* kneeled down on the ſea-ſhore, and with a fervent prayer committed them to the protection and bleſſing of heaven. The adventurers were about one hundred and twenty, who, having joined their other ſhip, ſailed for New-England, Auguſt 5, but one of their veſſels proving leaky they left it, and embarked in one veſſel, which arrived at Cape Cod, November 9th, 1620. Sad was the condition of theſe poor men, who had the winter before them, and no accommodations at land for their entertainment; moſt of them were in a weak and ſickly condition with the voyage,

but

but there was no remedy; they therefore manned their long boat, and having coaſted the ſhore, at length found a tolerable harbour where they landed their effects, and on the 25th of December began to build a ſtorehouſe, and ſome ſmall cottages to preſerve them from the weather. Their company was divided into nineteen families, each family having an allotment of land for lodging and gardens, in proportion to the number of perſons of which it conſiſted; and to prevent diſputes, the ſituation of each family was decided by lot. They agreed likewiſe upon ſome laws for their civil and military government, and having choſen a governor, they called the place of their ſettlement by the name of NEW PLYMOUTH.

Inexpreſſible were the hardſhips theſe new planters underwent the firſt winter; a ſad mortality raged among them, occaſioned by the fatigues of their late voyage, by the ſeverity of the weather, and their want of neceſſaries. The country was full of woods and thickets; their poor cottages could not keep them warm; they had no phyſician, or wholeſome food, ſo that within two or three months half their company was dead, and of them who remained alive, which were about fifty, not above ſix or ſeven at a time were capable of helping the reſt; but as the ſpring came on they recovered, and having received ſome freſh ſupplies from their friends in England, they maintained their ſtation, and laid the foundation of one of the nobleſt ſettlements in America, which from that time has proved an aſylum for the proteſtant non-conformiſts under all their oppreſſions.

To return to England; though the king had ſo lately expreſſed a zeal for the doctrines of *Calvin* at the ſynod of Dort, it now appeared that he had ſhaken them off, by his advancing the moſt zealous *Arminians*, as *Buckeridge*, *Neile*, *Harſnet*, and *Laud*, to ſome of the beſt biſhopricks in the kingdom. Theſe divines, apprehending their principles hardly conſiſtent with the thirty-nine articles, fell in with the prerogative, and covered themſelves under the wing of his majeſty's pretenſions to unlimited power, which gave riſe to a new diſtinction at court between CHURCH and STATE PURITANS. All were puritans with king *James*, who ſtood by the laws of the land in oppoſition to his arbitrary government,

vernment, though otherwiſe never ſo good *church-men*; theſe were *puritans in the ſtate*, as thoſe who ſcrupled the ceremonies, and eſpouſed the doctrines of *Calvin*, were in the *church*. The church puritans were comparatively few, but being joined by thoſe who ſtood by the conſtitution, they became the majority of the nation. To balance theſe, the king protected and countenanced the *Arminians* and *Papiſts*, who joined heartily with the prerogative, and became a ſtate faction againſt the old Engliſh conſtitution. The parties being thus formed grew up into a hatred of each other. All who oppoſed the king's arbitrary meaſures were called at court by the name of PURITANS; and thoſe that ſtood by the crown in oppoſition to the parliament, went by the names of *Papiſts* and *Arminians*. Theſe were the ſeeds of thoſe factions, which occaſioned all the diſturbances in the following reign.

The Palatinate being loſt, and the king's ſon-in-law and daughter forced to take ſanctuary in Holland, the whole world murmured at his majeſty's indolence, both as a father and a proteſtant; theſe murmurs obliged him at length to have recourſe to a parliament, from whom he hoped to ſqueeze a liitle money to ſpend upon his pleaſures; at the opening of the ſeſſion, January 20, 1620-1, his majeſty told them, "that they were no other than his council, to give him "advice as to what he ſhould aſk. *It is the king* (ſays he) "*that makes laws*, and ye are to adviſe him to make ſuch "as will be beſt for the commonwealth:"——With regard to his tolerating popery, on the account of his ſon's match, he profeſſes, "he will do nothing but what ſhall be for the "good of religion."——With regard to the Palatinate, he ſays, "if he cannot get it reſtored by fair means, his crown, "his blood, and his ſon's blood, ſhall be ſpent for its reco-"very." He therefore commands them not to hunt after grievances, but to be quick and ſpeedy in giving him money. Though the parliament did not credit the king's ſpeech, yet the occaſion was ſo reaſonable, that the commons immediately voted him two entire ſubſidies, and the clergy three; but finding his majeſty awed by the Spaniard, and making no preparation for war, they began to enquire into *grievances*, upon which the king *adjourned* the houſes; (a power not claimed

claimed by any of his predeceſſors;) but upon the day of adjournment the commons drew up a declaration, wherein they ſay, "that being touched with a true ſenſe and fel-"low-feeling of the ſufferings of the king's children, and "of the true profeſſors of the ſame chriſtian religion pro-"feſſed by the church of England in foreign parts, as mem-"bers of the ſame body, they unanimouſly declare, that they "will be ready, to the utmoſt of their power, both with "their lives and fortunes, to aſſiſt his majeſty, ſo as that he "may be able to do that with the ſword, which by a peace-"able courſe ſhall not be effected."

Upon their re-aſſembling in the month of November, finding the king ſtill amuſed by the Spaniſh match, while the proteſtant intereſt in the Palatinate was expiring, the commons drew up a large remonſtrance, in which they repreſent the danger of the proteſtant religion from the growth of popery; from the open reſort of papiſts to the ambaſſador's chapels; from the frequent and numerous conventicles both in city and country; from the interpoſing of foreign ambaſſadors in their favour; from the compounding of their forfeitures for ſuch ſmall ſums of money as amounts to little leſs than a toleration; from the education of gentlemen's children in popiſh ſeminaries, and the licentious printing and publiſhing popiſh books; wherefore they pray his majeſty to take his ſword in hand for the recovery of the Palatinate, to put the laws in execution againſt papiſts, to break off the Spaniſh match, and to marry his ſon to a proteſtant princeſs. The king, hearing of this remonſtrance, ſent the ſpeaker a letter from Newmarket to acquaint the houſe, *that he abſolutely forbid their meddling with any thing concerning his government, or with his ſon's match;* and to keep them in awe, his majeſty declared, *that he thinks himſelf at liberty to puniſh any man's miſdemeanors in parliament, as well during their ſitting, as after, which he means not to ſpare hereafter upon occaſion of any man's inſolent behaviour in the houſe.** In anſwer to this letter, the commons drew up a petition to preſent with their remonſtrance, in which they inſiſt upon the laws of their country, and the freedom of debates in parlia-

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 208, 211, folio ed.

ment.

ment. The king returned them a long anſwer, which concludes with denying them, what they call *their ancient and undoubted right and inheritance.* The commons, in debate upon his majeſty's anſwer, drew up a *proteſtation* in maintenance of their claim, and cauſed it to be entered in their *journal book.* Upon this, the king, being come to London, declared in council the proteſtation to be null, and with great indignation tore it out of the *book* with his own hand. A few days after he diſſolved the parliament, and iſſued a proclamation, forbidding his ſubjects to talk of ſtate affairs.* He alſo committed the leading members to priſon, as Sir *Edward Coke*, Sir *Robert Philips*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Pym*, and Mr. *Mallery;* others were ſent into Ireland, and the earls of *Oxford* and *Southampton* were confined in the *Tower.*†

The king having parted with his parliament, was at liberty to gratify the Spaniards, by indulging the papiſts; for this purpoſe the lord-keeper *Williams*, by his Majeſty's command, wrote to all the judges, "that in their ſeveral "circuits they diſcharge all priſoners for church recuſancy; "or for refuſing the oath of ſupremacy; or for diſperſing "popiſh books; or hearing or ſaying maſs; or for any "other point of recuſancy that concerned religion only."‡ Accordingly the jeſuits and popiſh recuſants of all ſorts were enlarged, to the number (ſays Mr. *Prynne*) of four thouſand;§ all proſecutions were ſtayed, and the penal laws ſuſpended. Upon this, great numbers of jeſuits, and other miſſionaries, flocked into England; maſs was celebrated openly in the countries; and in London their private aſſemblies were ſo crouded, that at a meeting in Blackfriars [Nov. 5, 622,

* Wilſon, p. 190, 191; Rapin, vol. ii. p. 212, and note 4, fol. edit.

† According to *Tindal*, as obſerves Dr. *Grey*, the Earl of Southampton was committed to the Dean of Weſtminſter. ED.

‡ Fuller, b. x. p. 101.

§ Dr. *Grey* quotes here the authority of *Fuller* againſt *Prynne*'s account, who ſays, that, according to *John Gee*'s perfect liſt, all the jeſuits in England did not amount to more than two hundred and twenty-five. But *Prynne*'s account, which Mr. *Neal* adopts, is on the other hand confirmed by *Tindal*, who informs us, on the teſtimony of *Wilſon*, that *Gondemir* uſed to boaſt that four thouſand recuſants had been releaſed through his interceſſion. Rapin's Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 215, note 7. ED.

5, 1622, *N. S.*] the floor ſunk under them, and killed the preacher and ninety-three of the hearers.

While the papiſts were countenanced, the court and the new biſhops bore hard upon the *puritans*, filling the pulpits with men of arbitrary principles, and puniſhing thoſe who dared to preach for the rights of the ſubject. The reverend Mr. *Knight*, of Broadſgate-hall, in a ſermon before the univerſity of Oxford, on 2 Kings xix. 9, advanced this propoſition, that *ſubordinate magiſtrates might lawfully make uſe of force, and defend themſelves, the commonwealth, and the true religion in the field, againſt the chief magiſtrate, within the caſes and conditions following*, 1. *When the chief magiſtrate turns tyrant.* 2. *When he forces his ſubjects upon blaſphemy or idolatry.* 3. *When any intolerable burdens or preſſures are laid upon them.* 4. *When reſiſtance is the only expedient to ſecure their lives, their fortunes, and the liberty of their conſciences.* The court being informed of this ſermon, ſent for the preacher, and aſked him, what authority he had for his aſſertion? he anſwered, *Paræus* on Romans xiiith; but that his principal authority was king *James* himſelf, who was ſending aſſiſtance to the Rochellers againſt their natural prince. Upon this bold anſwer, Mr. *Knight* was confined in the Gatehouſe; *Paræus*'s commentaries were burnt at Oxford and London; his aſſertions were condemned as falſe and ſeditious; and the univerſity of Oxford in full convocation paſſed a decree, *that it was not lawful for ſubjects to appear offenſively in arms againſt their king on the ſcore of religion, or on any other account, according to the ſcripture.* How this was reconcileable with the king's aſſiſting the French huguenots, I muſt leave with the reader. But to bind the nation down for ever in principles of ſlavery, all graduates of the univerſity of Oxford were enjoined to ſubſcribe the abovementioned decree, and to ſwear, *that they would always continue of the ſame opinion.* Was there ever ſuch an unreaſonable oath? for a man to ſwear he will always be of the ſame mind! Yet ſuch was the ſeverity of the times!

But to diſtreſs the puritans more effectually, the king ſent the following directions to the archbiſhop, to be communicated to all the clergy of his province, dated from Windſor, Auguſt 10, 1622.

1. "That

1. "That no preacher, under a biſhop or dean, ſhall "make a ſet diſcourſe, or fall into any common place of di- "vinity in his ſermons, not comprehended in the thirty-nine "articles.*

2. "That no parſon, vicar, curate, or lecturer, ſhall "preach any ſermon hereafter, on Sundays or holydays in "the afternoon, but expound the catechiſm, creed, or ten "commandments;† and that thoſe be moſt encouraged who "catechiſe children only.

3. "That no preacher, under a biſhop or dean, preſume "to preach in any popular auditory on the deep points of "*predeſtination*, *election*, *reprobation*; or of the *univerſality*, "*efficacy*, *reſiſtibility*, or *irreſiſtibility*, *of God's grace*.

4. "That no preacher of any degree ſoever, ſhall hence- "forth preſume in any auditory to declare, limit, or ſet "bounds to the *prerogative*, *power*, or *juriſdiction of ſove- "reign princes*, or meddle with matters of ſtate.

5. "That no preacher ſhall uſe railing ſpeeches againſt "*papiſts* or *puritans*, but endeavour to free the doctrine and "diſcipline of the church in a grave manner from the aſper- "ſions of both adverſaries.

6. "That the archbiſhop and biſhops be more wary for "the future, in licenſing preachers; and that all lecturers "throughout the kingdom be licenſed in the court of facul- "ties, by recommendation from the biſhop of the dioceſe, "with a *fiat* from the archbiſhop, and a confirmation under "the great ſeal of England.

"Thoſe that offended againſt any of theſe injunctions were "to be ſuſpended *ab officio & beneficio* for a year and a day, "till his majeſty ſhould preſcribe ſome further puniſhment "with advice of convocation."

Here is nothing that could affect papiſts or Arminians, but almoſt every article points at the puritans. The king had aſſiſted in maintaining theſe doctrines in Holland, but will not have them propagated in England. The thirty-nine articles

* Or, as Dr. *Grey* would add, "ſome of the homilies of the church of "England." ED.

† Or, as the ſame writer would ſubjoin, "the Lord's Prayer," (funeral ſermons alone excepted.) ED.

were

were eſtabliſhed by law, and yet none under a biſhop or dean may preach on the ſeventeenth, concerning predeſtination. The miniſters of God's word may not *limit* the prerogative, but they may preach concerning its *unlimited extent*; and though the ſecond injunction admits of their expounding the catechiſm, *Fuller* ſays, "the biſhops officials were ſo active, "that in many places they tied up preachers in the afternoon "to the very letter of the catechiſm, allowing them no li- "berty to expound or enlarge upon any of the anſwers."* The puritans had ſuffered hitherto only for the neglect of ceremonies, but now their very doctrine is an offence. From this time, all *Calviniſts* were in a manner excluded from court preferments. The way to riſe in the church, was to preach up the abſolute power of the king, to declaim againſt the rigours of *Calviniſm*, and to ſpeak favourably of popery. Thoſe who ſcrupled this were neglected, and diſtinguiſhed by the name of *doctrinal puritans*; but it was the glory of this people that they ſtood together, like a wall, againſt the arbitrary proceedings of the king, both in church and ſtate.

Archbiſhop *Abbot* was at the head of the *doctrinal puritans*; and often adviſed the king to return to the old parliamentary way of raiſing money. This coſt him his intereſt at court; and an accident happened this year, which quite broke his ſpirits, and made him retire from the world. Lord *Zouch* invited his *grace* to a buck-hunting in Bramſhill-park in Hampſhire; and while the keeper was running among the deer, to bring them to a fairer mark, the archbiſhop, ſitting on horſeback, let fly a barbed arrow, which ſhot him under the arm-pit, and killed him upon the ſpot. His *grace* was ſo diſtreſſed in mind with the accident, that he retired to one of his own alms-houſes at Guildford; and though upon examination of the caſe, it was judged *caſual homicide*, he kept that day as a faſt as long as he lived; and allowed the keeper's widow twenty pounds a year for her maintenance. The king alſo. being moved with compaſſion, ſent for him to Lambeth, and gave him a royal pardon and diſpenſation to prevent all exceptions to his epiſcopal character; but he prudently withdrew from the council-board, where

* Book x. p. 111.

his

his advice had been little regarded before, as coming from a perſon of unfaſhionable principles.

The puritans loſt an eminent practical writer and preacher about this time, *Nicholas Byfield*, born in Warwickſhire, and educated in Exeter-college, Oxford. After four years, he left the univerſity, and went for Ireland; but preaching at Cheſter, the inhabitants gave him an unanimous invitation to St. Peter's church in that city, where he reſided ſeven years. From thence he removed to Iſleworth in Middleſex, and remained there till his death. He was a divine of a profound judgment, a ſtrong memory, quick invention, and unwearied induſtry, which brought the ſtone upon him, which ſent him to his grave, in the forty-fifth year of his age. His body being opened, a ſtone was taken out of his bladder, that weighed thirty-three ounces, and was in meaſure about the edge, fifteen inches and a half; about the length and breadth thirteen inches, and ſolid like a flint; an almoſt incredible relation! But Dr. *William Gouge*, who drew up this account, was an eye-witneſs of it, with many others. Mr. *Byfield* was a *Calviniſt*, a non-conformiſt to the ceremonies, and a ſtrict obſerver of the ſabbath. He publiſhed ſeveral books in his life-time; and his commentaries upon the *Coloſſians* and St. *Peter*, publiſhed after his death, ſhew him to be a divine of great piety, capacity, and learning.*

The archbiſhop being in diſgrace, the council were unanimous, and met with no interruption in their proceedings. The puritans retired to the new plantations in America, and popery came in like an armed man. This was occaſioned partly by the new promotions at court, but chiefly by the Spaniſh match, which was begun about the year 1617, and drawn out to a length of ſeven years, till the Palatinate was loſt, and the proteſtant religion in a manner extirpated out of the kingdom of Bohemia and other parts of Germany; and then the match itſelf was broke off.

To trace this affair from its beginning, becauſe it was the ſource of the enſuing calamities of this and the following reign. Prince *Charles* being arrived at the ſtate of manhood, the king had thoughts of marrying him, but could find no

* Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. i. p. 402; Fuller's Worthies, 1684, p. 833.

proteſtant princeſs of an equal rank. He deſpiſed the princes of Germany, and would hear of nothing beneath a king's daughter. This put him upon ſeeking a wife for him out of the houſe of Auſtria, ſworn enemies to the proteſtant religion; for which purpoſe he entered into a treaty with Spain for the *Infanta*. Under colour of this match, *Gondamar*, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, made the king do whatever he pleaſed. If he inclined to aſſiſt his ſon-in-law in recovering the Palatinate, he was told he muſt keep fair with the houſe of Auſtria, or the match was at end. If he denied any favours to the papiſts at home, the court of Rome, and all the Roman catholick powers, were diſobliged, and then it could never take place. To obviate theſe and other objections, his majeſty promiſed, upon the word of a king, that no Roman catholic ſhould be proceeded againſt capitally; and though he could not at preſent repeal the pecuniary laws, that he would mitigate them to the ſatisfaction of the catholick king; and the lengths his majeſty went in favour of papiſts on this occaſion, will appear by the following articles, which were inſerted both into the Spaniſh and French treaty which afterwards took place.

The articles of the intended Spaniſh match relating to religion, were theſe:

Art. 6. "The Infanta herſelf, her men and maid-ſervants, "her children and deſcendants, and all their families, of "what ſort ſoever, ſerving her highneſs, may freely and "publickly profeſs themſelves catholicks.*

Art. 5, 7, and 8. "Provide a church, a chapel, and an "oratory for her highneſs, with all popiſh ornaments, uten-"ſils and decorations.

Art. 10, 11, and 12. "Allow her twenty-four prieſts "and aſſiſtants, and over them a biſhop, with full authority "and ſpiritual juriſdiction.

Art. 14. "Admits the infanta and her ſervants to pro-"cure from Rome diſpenſations, indulgences, jubilees, &c. "and all graces, as ſhall ſeem meet to them.

Art. 17. "Provides, that the laws made againſt Roman "catholicks in England, or in any of the king's dominions,

* Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 86; Rapin, vol. ii. 217, 218, folio edit.

"ſhall

" ſhall not extend to the children of this marriage; nor ſhall " they loſe their ſucceſſion to the crown, although they be " Roman catholicks.

Art. 18, and 21. " Authorizes the Infanta to chooſe " nurſes for her children, and to bring them up in her reli- " gion till they are ten years of age."——But the term was afterwards enlarged to twelve; and in the match with France, to thirteen.

King *James* ſwore to the obſervation of theſe articles, in the preſence of the two Spaniſh ambaſſadors, and twenty-four privy-counſellors, who ſet their hands to the treaty. Beſides which, his majeſty and prince of Wales ſwore to the four following private ones, (1.) " That no laws againſt " papiſts ſhould hereafter be put in execution. (2.) That " no new laws ſhall be made againſt them; but that there " ſhall be a perpetual toleration of the Roman catholick re- " ligion in private houſes, throughout all his majeſty's domi- " nions, which his council ſhall ſwear to. (3.) That he " will never perſuade the Infanta to change her religion. " (4.) That he will uſe all his authority and influence to " have theſe conditions ratified by parliament, that ſo all " penal laws againſt papiſts may not only be ſuſpended, but " legally diſannulled."

The words of the prince of Wales's oath were theſe: " I " *Charles*, prince of Wales, engage myſelf——that all things " contained in the foregoing articles, which concern as well " the ſuſpenſion as abrogation of all laws made againſt Ro- " man catholicks, ſhall within three years infallibly take " effect, and ſooner if poſſible; which we will have to lie " upon our conſcience and royal honour: and I will inter- " cede with my father that the ten years of education of the " children that ſhall be born of this marriage, which the " pope of Rome deſires may be lengthened to twelve, ſhall " be prolonged to the ſaid term. And I ſwear, that if the " entire power of diſpoſing this matter be devolved upon " me, I will grant and approve of the ſaid term.* Further- " more, as oft as the Infanta ſhall deſire that I ſhould give " ear to divines and others, whom her highneſs ſhall be

* Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 89.

"pleaſed to employ in matters of the Roman catholick re-
"ligion, I will hearken to them willingly, without all diffi-
"culties, and laying aſide all excuſes."

Under theſe advantages, the papiſts appeared openly, and behaved with an offenſive inſolence; but the hearts of all true proteſtants trembled for themſelves and their poſterity. And archbiſhop *Abbot*, though under a cloud, ventured to write to the king upon the ſubject; beſeeching him to conſider, "whether by the toleration which his majeſty propoſes,
"he is not ſetting up that moſt damnable and heretical doc-
"trine of the church of Rome, the whore of Babylon? How
"hateful muſt this be to God, and grievous to your good
"ſubjects, ſays he, that your majeſty, who hath learnedly
"written againſt theſe wicked hereſies, ſhould now ſhew
"yourſelf a patron of thoſe doctrines, which your pen has
"told the world, and your conſcience tells yourſelf, are ſu-
"perſtitious, idolatrous, and deteſtable.——Beſides, this to-
"leration, which you endeavour to ſet up by proclamation,
"cannot be done without a parliament, unleſs your majeſty
"will let your ſubjects ſee that you will take a liberty to
"throw down the laws at your pleaſure. And above all, I
"beſeech your majeſty to conſider, leſt by this toleration
"your majeſty do not draw upon the kingdom in general,
"and on yourſelf in particular, God's heavy wrath and
"indignation."*

But this wiſe king, inſtead of hearkening to the remonſtrances of his proteſtant ſubjects, put the peace of his kingdom, and the whole proteſtant religion, into the hands of the Spaniard, by ſending his ſon with the duke of Buckingham to Madrid, to fetch home the Infanta; a piece of confidence that the *Solomon of the age* ſhould not have been guilty of. When the prince was gone, it is ſaid, that *Archy*, the king's *fool*, clapped *his* cap upon the king's head. The king aſking him the reaſon, he anſwered, *becauſe he had ſent the prince into Spain.* But, ſays his majeſty, What if he ſhould come back ſafe? Why then, ſays *Archy*, *I will take my cap off from your head, and put it on the king of Spain's.*† The Spaniards gave out, that the deſign of the prince's jour-

* Fuller, b. x. p. 106.

† Rapin, vol. ii. p. 226, the note, folio edit.

ney

ney was to reconcile himſelf to the church of Rome. It is certain the pope wrote to the biſhop of *Conchen*, to lay hold of this opportunity to convert him;* and directed a moſt perſuaſive letter to the prince himſelf to the ſame purpoſe, dated April 20, 1623, which the prince anſwered June 20th, in a very obliging manner, giving the pope the title of MOST HOLY FATHER, and encouraging him to expect, that when he came to the crown there ſhould be but *one religion* in his dominions, ſeeing, ſays he, that both catholicks and proteſtants believe in one Jeſus Chriſt. He was ſtrongly ſolicited to change his religion by ſome of the firſt quality, and by the moſt learned prieſts and jeſuits, who careſſed his highneſs with ſpeeches, dedicated books to him, invited him to their proceſſions, and gave him a view of their moſt magnificent churches and reliques; by which artifices, though he was not converted, he was confirmed in his reſolution of attempting a *coalition of the two churches*;† for the attempting of which

* Wilſon, p. 230; Rapin, vol. ii. p. 221, folio edit.

† "This," ſays biſhop Warburton, "is an utter calumny; a coalition "of the two churches was never in the king's thoughts; happy for him if "he never had worſe; what he aimed at was arbitrary power." It is ſtrange, how his lordſhip could give his pen a licence to paſs this unjuſt cenſure on Mr. *Neal:* when the couduct of *Charles* I. furniſhed ſo many proofs of his wiſhes and endeavours to coaleſce with the church of Rome. His letter to the pope from Madrid; the articles of the marriage treaty to which he ſolemnly ſigned and ſwore; and the private articles to which he alſo ſwore, are witneſſes to the truth of Mr. *Neal*'s aſſertion. If he had not aimed at this, why did he diſown the foreign proteſtants? Why did he reſtrain the preſs with reſpect to books written againſt popery, and licenſe publications in favour of it? Why was popery not only tolerated, but countenanced and favoured? See the facts to this purpoſe fully ſtated in Towgood's "Eſſay towards a true Idea of the Character of Charles I." chap. ix. So far did he carry his views and endeavours, on this buſineſs. *Whitelocke* informs us, a ſcheme was in agitation to ſet up a new popiſh hierarchy by biſhops in all the counties in England, by the authority of the pope. Memorials, p. 72. And the jeſuit *Franciſcus a Clara*, the queen's chaplain, certainly thought that things were in a train for ſuch a coalition; for, in one of his publications, he aſſerted, "that if any ſynod were held NON "INTERMIXTIS PURITANIS, ſetting puritans aſide, our articles and their "religion would ſoon be agreed." May's Hiſtory of the Parliament, p. 74. Dr. *Grey* alſo aims to controvert this paſſage of Mr. *Neal*, and with this view refers us to *Ruſhworth*, *Frankland*, *Hacket*, and *Burnet*; but the quotations he adduces from theſe writers are not to the point; and prove only, as Mr. *Neal* allows, that *Charles* was not converted to popery. See Dr. Grey's Examination of Neal, vol. ii. p. 71. ED.

he afterwards loſt both his crown and life.* It was happy, after all, that the prince got ſafe out of the Spaniſh territories, which, as *Spanheim* obſerves, that politick court would not have permitted, had they not conſidered, *that the queen of Bohemia, next heir to the crown, was a greater enemy to popery than her brother.*† But after all, when this memorable treaty of marriage had been upon the carpet ſeven years, and wanted nothing but celebration, the portion being ſettled, the pope's diſpenſation obtained, the marriage articles ſworn to on both ſides, and the very day of conſummation by proxy appointed, it was broke off by the influence of the duke of Buckingham upon the prince, who ordered the earl of Briſtol not to deliver the proxy till the time limited by the *diſpenſation* was expired; the king of Spain, ſuſpecting the deſign, in order to throw all the blame upon the king of England, ſigned a promiſe with his own hand, and delivered it to the ambaſſador, wherein he obliged himſelf to cauſe the Palatinate to be reſtored to the elector Palatine, in caſe the marriage took effect; but his highneſs was immoveable, and obliged the king to recal his ambaſſador.

From this time the prince and duke ſeemed to turn puritans, the latter having taken Dr. *John Preſton*, one of their chief miniſters, into his ſervice, to conſult him about alienating the dean and chapter lands to the purpoſes of preaching. They alſo adviſed the king to convene a parliament, which his majeſty did, and made ſuch a ſpeech to them, as one would think impoſſible to come from the ſame lips with the former. "I aſſure you," ſays he, ſpeaking of the Spaniſh match,

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 226, vide note, folio edit.

† Dr. *Grey* cenſures Mr. *Neal* for not quoting *Spanheim* fairly; and this writer, as *Tyndal* and *Welwood*, from whom he borrows the paſſage, repreſent his words, does not, it is true, ſay that the *queen of Bohemia was a greater enemy to popery than her brother*; but only reſolves the conduct of the court of Spain into the conſideration of her and her children being next heirs to the crown of England. Mr. *Neal*, therefore, is to be underſtood as ſuggeſting *the reaſon*, why the conſideration of her and her children had ſo much weight with the court of Spain. Few who reflect on the firm attachment of that lady to the proteſtant cauſe, will ſuſpect Mr. *Neal* of miſtaking the cauſe of the Spaniſh policy. It would have been, however, more accurate in him to have quoted at large the words of *Spanheim*; and then to have ſubjoined his own ſuggeſtion as explanatory of them. Ed.

"on

" on the faith of a chriſtian king, that it is *res integra* pre-
" ſented unto you, and that I ſtand not bound, nor either
" way engaged, but remain free to follow what ſhall be beſt
" adviſed." His majeſty adds, " I can truly ſay, and will
" avouch it before the ſeat of God and angels, that never
" king govern with a purer, ſincerer, and more uncorrupt
" heart than I have done, far from ill-will and meaning of
" the leaſt error and imperfection in my reign.——It has
" been talked of my remiſſneſs in maintenance of religion,
" and ſuſpicion of a toleration [of popery;*] but as God
" ſhall judge me, I never thought nor meant, nor ever in
" word expreſſed any thing that favoured of it.—I never in
" all my treaties agreed to any thing to the overthrow and
" diſannulling of thoſe laws, but had in all a chief regard to
" the preſervation of that truth which I have ever profeſſed."
The reader will remember how this agrees with the marriage articles above-mentioned, to which the king had ſworn.

But the parliament, taking things as the king had repreſented them, adviſed his majeſty to break off the match, and to declare war for the recovery of the Palatinate; and at the ſame time petitioned his majeſty, that all jeſuits and ſeminary prieſts might be commanded to depart the realm; that the laws might be put in execuion againſt popiſh recuſants; that all ſuch might be removed from court, and ten miles from London.† To which the king made this remarkable anſwer, which muſt ſtrike the reader with ſurprize and wonder,
" ——What religion I am of my books declare; I wiſh it
" may be written in marble, and remain to poſterity as a
" mark upon me, when I ſhall ſwerve from my religion; for
" he that diſſembles with God is not to be truſted with men.
" ——I proteſt before God, that my heart hath bled when
" I have heard of the increaſe of popery. God is my judge,
" it hath been ſuch a grief to me, that it hath been as thorns
" in my eyes and pricks in my ſides.——It hath been my de-
" ſire to hinder the growth of popery; and I could not be an
" honeſt man, if I had done otherwiſe.——I will order the
" laws to be put in execution againſt popiſh recuſants, as

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 227-28, folio edit.

† Ibid. v. ii. p. 229, 230, folio edit.; Ruſhworth, v. i. p. 141 2, 3.

" they

"they were before theſe treaties, for the laws are ſtill in be-
"ing, and were never diſpenſed with by me; God is my
"judge, they were never ſo intended by me."

What ſolemn appeals to heaven are theſe, againſt the cleareſt and moſt undeniable facts! It requires a good degree of charity, to believe this prince had either religion or conſcience remaining. For though he aſſured his parliament, that his heart bled within him when he heard of the increaſe of popery, yet this very parliament preſented him with a liſt of fifty-ſeven popiſh lords and knights who were in publick offices, none of whom were diſplaced, while the puritan miniſters were driven out of the kingdom, and hardly a gentleman of that character advanced to the dignity of a juſtice of peace.

The parliament being prorogued, the king, inſtead of going heartily into the war, or marrying his ſon to a *proteſtant princeſs*, entered into a treaty with *Louis* XIII. king of France, for his ſiſter *Henrietta Maria*.* Upon this occaſion the archbiſhop of Ambrun was ſent into England, who told the king, the beſt way to accompliſh the match for his ſon, was to grant a full toleration to catholicks. The king replied, that he intended to grant it, and was willing to have an aſſembly of divines to compromiſe the difference between proteſtants and papiſts, and promiſed to ſend a letter to the pope to bring him into the project. In this letter, ſays Monſieur *Deageant* in his memoirs, the king ſtiles the pope, Chriſt's vicar, and head of the *church univerſal*, and aſſures him, he would declare himſelf a catholick as ſoon as he could provide againſt the inconveniences of ſuch a declaration; but whether this was ſo or not, it is certain he immediately relaxed the penal laws againſt papiſts, and permitted *Ambrun* to adminiſter confirmation to ten thouſand catholicks at the door of the French ambaſſador's houſe, in the preſence of a great concourſe of people. In the mean time the treaty of marriage went forwards, and was at laſt ſigned Nov. 10, 1624, in the thirty-three publick articles, and three ſecret ones, wherein the very ſame, or greater advantages were ſtipulated for the catholicks than in thoſe of Madrid;† but before the

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 231-32, folio edit. † Ibid. 233-34.

diſpenſation

diſpenſation from the pope could be obtained, his majeſty fell ſick at Theobalds of a tertian ague, which put an end to his life, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon, March 27, 1625, in the 59th year of his age.*

To review the courſe of this reign. It is evident that both popery and puritaniſm encreaſed prodigiouſly, while the friends of the hierarchy ſunk into contempt; this was owing partly to the ſpiritual promotions, and partly to the arbitrary maxims of ſtate that the king had advanced. In promoting of biſhops the king diſcovered a greater regard to ſuch as would yield a ſervile compliance to his abſolute commands, than to ſuch as would fill their ſees with reputation, and be an example to the people of religion and virtue, of which number were biſhop *Neile*, *Buckeridge*, *Harſnet*,† *Laud*, &c. The faſhionable doctrines at court were ſuch as the king had condemned at the ſynod of Dort, and which, in the opinion of the old Engliſh clergy, were ſubverſive of the reformation. The new biſhops admitted the church of Rome to be a true church, and the pope the firſt biſhop of Chriſtendom. They declared for the lawfulneſs of images in churches; for the real preſence; and that the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation was a ſchool nicety. They pleaded for confeſſion to a prieſt; for ſacerdotal abſolution, and the proper merit of good works. They gave up the morality of the ſabbath, and the five diſtinguiſhing points of Calviniſm, for which their predeceſſors had contended. They claimed an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of the epiſcopal character from the apoſtles through the church of Rome, which obliged them to maintain the validity of her ordinations, when they denied the validity of thoſe of the foreign proteſtants. Further,

* Rapin, p. 235; Welwood's Memoirs, 6th edit. p. 35; and Dr. Harris's Life of James I. p. 237—242.

† This prelate, biſhop Warburton ſays, "was a man of the greateſt "learning and parts of his time." This he might be, and yet advanced not on account of his learning, but becauſe his courtly diſpoſitions recommended him to the royal taſte. *Fuller* ſpeaks of him "as a zealous aſſerter "of ceremonies, uſing to complain of CONFORMABLE PURITANS." So that the juſtneſs of his claims to be conſidered as a man of erudition being admitted, neither the candour or veracity of the hiſtorian, for claſſing him as he does, is impeached by it. Learning and ſoundneſs of mind are by no means inſeparable. ED.

they

they began to imitate the church of Rome in her gaudy ceremonies, in the rich furniture of their chapels, and the pomp of their worſhip. They complimented the Roman catholick prieſts with their dignitary titles, and ſpent all their zeal in ſtudying how to compromiſe matters with Rome, while they turned their backs upon the old proteſtant doctrines of the reformation, and were remarkably negligent in preaching or inſtructing the people in chriſtian knowledge. Things were come to ſuch a paſs, that *Gondamar* the Spaniſh ambaſſador wrote to Spain, that there never was more hopes of England's converſion, *for* "*there are more prayers* "*(ſays he) offered to the Mother than to the Son* [*of God.*"*] The prieſts and jeſuits challenged the eſtabliſhed clergy to publick diſputations; the duke of Buckingham's mother being a papiſt, a conference was held in her preſence between *Fiſher*, a jeſuit, on the one part, and Dr. *White*, *Williams*, and *Laud*, on the other. Each of them diſputed with the jeſuit a day before a great concourſe of people, but not to the counteſs's converſion, which was not at all ſtrange, upon their principles. Amongſt other popiſh books that were publiſhed, one was entitled, *A new Gag for the old Goſpel*; which Dr. *Montague*, rector of Stamford-Rivers, anſwered in ſuch a manner, as gave great offence to the old clergy, yielding up all the points abovementioned, and not only declaring for *Arminianiſm*, but making dangerous advances towards popery itſelf. The book occaſioning a great noiſe, Mr. *Ward* and *Yates*, two miniſters at Ipſwich, made a collection of the popiſh and Arminian tenets it contained,

* This is not a juſt or accurate repreſentation of the words. As Rapin relates it; *Gondamar*, perceiving moſt addreſſes for preferment were made firſt to the mother of the marquis of Buckingham, and by her conveyed to her ſon, who could deny her nothing, amongſt his other witty pranks, wrote merrily in his diſpatches to Spain, *that never was there more hope of* ENGLAND's *converſion to* ROME *than now; for there are more prayers offered here to the mother than to the ſon.* The words, *of God*, as biſhop *Warburton* and Dr. *Grey* obſerve, ſhould be eraſed. It was a mere joke of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, ſpeaking of court corruption under the terms of religion. Mr. *Neal*, by not referring to his authority, appears to quote it by recollection, and indeed to have miſtaken the matter. Biſhop *Warburton* is, however, very ſevere in his reflections on him, calling his ſtatement of it "a vile "perverſion of facts." The reader will decide on his lordſhip's candour here. ED.

in

in order to lay them before the next parliament; but the author, with the king's leave, took ſhelter under the royal wing, and prepared for the preſs his *Apello Ceſarem*, or a juſt appeal from two unjuſt informers; which *White*, biſhop of Carliſle, licenſed in theſe words, that *there was nothing contained in the ſame but what was agreeable to the publick faith, doctrine, and diſcipline eſtabliſhed in the church of England.* But before the book was publiſhed, the king died.

Theſe advances of the court divines towards popery, made moſt of the people fall in with the puritans, who, being conſtant preachers, and of exemplary lives, wrought them up by their awakening ſermons to an abhorrence of every thing that looked that way.* Many of the nobility and gentry favoured them. Lady *Bowes*, afterwards Lady *Darcy*, gave a thouſand pounds per annum, to maintain preachers in the north, where there were none, and all her preachers were ſilenced non-conformiſts. Almoſt all the famous practical writers of this reign, except biſhop *Andrews*, were puritans, and ſufferers for non-conformity, as Dr. *Willet*, Mr. *Jer. Dyke*, Dr. *Preſton*, *Sibbs*, *Byfield*, *Bolton*, *Hilderſham*, *Dod*, *Ball*, *Whately*, and others, whoſe works have done great ſervice to religion. The character of theſe divines was the reverſe of what the learned *Selden*† gives of the clergy‡

* Rothwell, p. 69, annexed to his GENERAL MARTYROLOGY.

† In Preface, p. 1, 2d edit. 1618.

‡ Biſhop *Warburton* ſeverely cenſures Mr. *Neal* for applying the words of *Selden* as if ſpoken of the *epiſcopal* clergy. "Here (ſays he) is another "of the hiſtorian's arts; *Selden* ſpeaks of the puritan clergy." Not to urge in reply, that *Selden* can be underſtood as ſpeaking of thoſe clergy only, to whom his doctrine of tithes would be offenſive, who could not be the puritan clergy; it is fortunate for our author, that his interpretation of *Selden's* words is ſanctioned by *Heylin*; who repreſents *Selden*'s work as the execution of "a plot ſet on foot to ſubvert the church, in the undoing of the "clergy. The author," he adds, "was highly magnified, the book held "unanſwerable, and *all the clergy looked on but as pigmies to that great* "*Goliah.*" And then to ſhew, that the reproach caſt on the clergy was not well founded, he appeals to the anſwers given to *Selden* by *Nettles*, fellow of Queen's-college, Cambridge, Dr. *Montague*, and archdeacon *Tilleſly*. "By which," ſays *Heylin*, "he found that ſome of the *ignorant* and *lazy* "clergy were of as retired ſtudies as himſelf; and could not only match, "but overmatch him too, in his philology." If Mr. *Neal* miſrepreſented *Selden*, ſo did *Heylin*. Heylin's Hiſt. of Preſb. p. 391. ED.

of

of theſe times, in his Hiſtory of Tithes, where he taxes them with *ignorance* and *lazineſs*; and adds, "That they "had nothing to ſupport their credit but *beard*, *title*, and "*habit*; and that their learning reached no further than the "poſtils and the polyanthia." Upon the whole, if we may believe Mr. *Coke*, the puritan party had gathered ſo much ſtrength, and was in ſuch reputation with the people, that they were more in number than all the other parties in the kingdom put together.

With regard to king *James* himſelf, it is hard to draw his juſt character, for no prince was ever ſo much flattered who ſo little deſerved it. He was of a middle ſtature, not very corpulent, but ſtuffed out with clothes, which hung ſo looſe, and being quilted, were ſo thick, as to reſiſt a dagger. His countenance was homely, and his tongue too big for his mouth, ſo that he could not ſpeak with decency. While he was in Scotland he appeared ſober and chaſte, and acquired a good degree of learning,* but upon his acceſſion to the Engliſh crown he threw off the maſk, and by degrees gave himſelf up to luxury aud eaſe, and all kinds of licentiouſneſs. His language was obſcene, and his actions very often lewd and indecent. He was a profane ſwearer, and would often be drunk, and when he came to himſelf would weep like a child, and ſay, he hoped God would not impute his infirmities to him. He valued himſelf upon what he called KINGCRAFT, which was nothing elſe but deep hypocriſy and diſſimulation in every character of life, reſulting from the exceſſive timorouſneſs of his nature. If we conſider him as a *king*, he never did a great or generous action throughout the courſe of his reign,† but proſtituted the honour of the

* "His learning," obſerves Dr. *Warner*, "was not that of a prince but "a pedant; and made him more fit to take the chair in public ſchools than "to ſit on the throne of kings." He was one of thoſe princes, "who," as biſhop *Shipley* expreſſes it, "were ſo unwiſe as to write books." The only thing that does him honour as an author is, that Mr. *Pope* pronounced his verſion of the pſalms the very beſt in the Engliſh language.

Warner's Eccleſ. Hiſt. v. ii. p. 508. ED.

† To this, Dr. *Grey* oppoſes his bounty to the church of Ripon in Yorkſhire, in which he founded a dean and chapter of ſeven prebendaries; and ſettled 247l. per annum of crown lands for their maintenance. The doctor alſo quotes from *Fuller*, *Wilſon*, and *Laud*, warm encomiums of his liberality.

Engliſh nation beyond any of his predeceſſors. He ſtood ſtill while the proteſtant religion was ſuppreſſed in France, in Bohemia, in the Palatinate, and other parts of Germany. He ſurrendered up the cautionary towns* to the Dutch for leſs than a fourth part of the value, and ſuffered them to diſpoſſeſs us of our factories in the Eaſt-Indies. At home he committed the direction of all affairs in church and ſtate to two or three favourites, and cared not what they did if they gave him no trouble. He broke through all the laws of the land, and was as abſolute a tyrant as his want of courage would admit.† He revived the projects of monopolies, loans, benevolences, &c. to ſupply his *exchequer*, which was exhauſted by his profuſeneſs towards his favourites, and laid the foundation of all the calamities of his ſon's reign.

lity. But it ought to be conſidered, whether a liberality, which did not, as Dr. *Warner* ſays, "flow from reaſon or judgment, but from whim, or mere "benignity of humours," deſerved ſuch praiſes. Beſides, Mr. *Neal* evidently refers to "ſuch great and generous actions," as advance the intereſt and proſperity of a kingdom, and add to the national honour. This cannot be ſaid of favours beſtowed on paraſites and jovial companions; or on a proviſion made that a few clerical gentlemen may loll in ſtalls. Ed.

* Theſe were the Brill and Fluſhing, with ſome other places of leſs note; and Dr. *Grey*, to ſcreen the reputation of *James* from Mr. *Neal*'s implied reflection, obſerves, that the Dutch had pawned theſe towns to queen *Elizabeth* for ſums of money which ſhe lent them, when they were diſtreſſed by the Spaniards. The ſum borrowed on this ſecurity was eight millions of florins; and they were diſcharged for 2,728,000 florins, though 18 years intereſt was due. In equity and by ſtipulation the Dutch had a right, on repaying the money, to reclaim the towns they had mortgaged. This Dr. *Grey* muſt be underſtood as inſinuating, by ſetting up the fact of the mortgage in defence of *James*'s character. Yet, in all juſt eſtimation, his character muſt ever ſuffer by his ſurrender of theſe towns. He reſtored them without an equivalent, and without the advice or conſent of parliament, to raiſe money to laviſh on his favourites. And by this ſtep he loſt *the dependance* thoſe provinces before had on the Engliſh crown.

See this matter fully ſtated in Rapin's Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 122 and 191-2; and by Dr. Harris in his Life of James I. p. 162—167. Ed.

† In his book, entitled "The true Law of Free Monarchy," he aſſerted, that "the parliament is nothing elſe but the head-court of the king and "his vaſſals; that the laws are but craved by his ſubjects; and that, in ſhort, "he is above the law." This is a proof that his ſpeculative notions of regal power were, as Mr. *Granger* expreſſes it, "as abſolute as thoſe of "an eaſtern monarch."

Secret Hiſtory of Charles II. vol. 1, Introd. p. 20, the note. Ed.

Upon

Upon the whole, though he was flattered by hungry courtiers as the *Solomon* and *Phœnix* of his age, he was, in the opinion of biſhop *Burnet*, "the ſcorn of the age, a mere "pedant, without true judgment, courage or ſteadineſs, his "reign being a continued courſe of mean practices."

It is hard to make any judgment of his religion, for one while he was a puritan, and then a zealous churchman; at firſt a Calviniſt and Preſbyterian, afterwards a Remonſtrant or Arminian, and at laſt a half, if not an entire doctrinal papiſt. Sir *Ralph Winwood*, in his Memoirs, ſays, that as long ago as the year 1596, he ſent Mr. *Ogilby*, a Scots baron, to Spain, to aſſure his Catholick majeſty he was then ready to turn papiſt, and to propoſe an alliance with that king and the pope againſt the queen of England; but for reaſons of ſtate the affair was huſhed. *Rapin* ſays, he was neither a ſound proteſtant, nor a good catholick, but had formed a plan of uniting both churches, which muſt effectually have ruined the proteſtant intereſt, for which indeed he never expreſſed any real concern. But I am rather of opinion that all his religion was his boaſted KING-CRAFT. He was certainly the meaneſt prince that ever ſat on the Britiſh throne:* England never ſunk in its reputation, nor was ſo much expoſed to the ſcorn and ridicule of its neighbours, as in his reign. How willing his majeſty was to unite with the papiſts, the foregoing hiſtory has diſcovered; and yet in the preſence of many lords, and in a very remarkable manner, he made a ſolemn proteſtation, *That he would ſpend the laſt drop of blood in his body before he would do it; and prayed, that before any of his iſſue ſhould maintain any other religion than his own* [the proteſtant] *that God would take them out of the world,*

* To Mr. *Neal*'s character of *James*, Dr. *Grey* particularly oppoſes that drawn of him by the pen of *Spotſwood*, who was preferred by him to the archbiſhoprick of St. Andrews. "In this Dr. *Harris*," ſays *Grey*, "did "not quite ſo right. For court biſhops, by ſome fate or other, from the "time of Conſtantine, down at leaſt to the death of James, and a little "after, have had the characters of flatterers, panegyriſts, and others of like "import; and therefore are always to have great abatements made in the "accounts of their benefactors; it being well known that ſuch they endea-"vour to hand down to poſterity under the notion of ſaints, as they always "blacken and deface their adverſaries."

Life of James I. p. 246-7. ED.

world. How far this imprecation took place on himſelf or any of his poſterity, I leave, with Mr. archdeacon *Eachard*, to the determination of an omniſcient Being.*

A SUPPLEMENT *to the Reign of* JAMES I.

IT is proper to add here ſome account of the ſtate of a ſect of diſſidents, who have been mentioned in a former reign, but appear under James I. to have gained ground and increaſed, and to have aſſumed more of a fixed and regular form: I mean the BAPTISTS. In the year 1608 there was a ſmall piece publiſhed, by *Enoch Clapham*, repreſenting, in a way of dialogue, the opinions of the different ſects of proteſtants, at that period. He ſpeaks of ſome of them as leaving the kingdom to form churches amongſt people of another language: and others, who remained in England, he cenſures for withdrawing from the national worſhip, and aſſembling in woods, ſtables, and barns for religious ſervice. He particularly diſtinguiſhes from Puritans and Browniſts, on the one hand, and from Arians and Socinians, on the other, thoſe whom by way of reproach were called Anabaptiſts; and who ſeparated both from the church and other diſſenters. Whatever may be thought concerning the truth and juſtneſs of their views on the queſtion relative to baptiſm, their great ſerioufneſs of ſpirit and diligence in enquiry, muſt be praiſed by all candid perſons. They aroſe out of thoſe who, being tired with the yoke of ſuperſtitious ceremonies,

* The reader will be pleaſed to hear the ſentiments of a learned foreigner on the reign and character of king James. The ſame bias will not be imputed to him as to Mr. Neal. "In the year 1625 died James I. the bit-"tereſt enemy of the doctrine and diſcipline of the Puritans, to which he "had been in his youth moſt warmly attached; the moſt inflexible and "ardent friend of the Arminians, in whoſe ruin and condemnation in Hol-"land he had been ſingularly inſtrumental; and the moſt zealous defender "of Epiſcopal government, againſt which he had more than once expreſſed "himſelf in the ſtrongeſt terms. He left the conſtitution of England, both "eccleſiaſtical and civil, in a very unſettled and fluctuating ſtate, languiſh-"ing under inteſtine diſorders of various kinds."

Moſheim's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, tranſlated by Maclaine, 2d edit. vol. iv. p. 517-18. ED.

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the traditions of men, and corrupt mixtures in the worſhip of God, reſolved, by the grace of God, not to receive or practiſe any piece of poſitive worſhip which had not precept or example in his word. On this principle they purſued their reſearches, which they accompanied with faſting and prayer. When, after long ſearch, and many debates, it appeared to them that infant baptiſm was a mere innovation and even a profanation of a divine ordinance, they were not brought to lay it aſide without many fears and tremblings, leſt they ſhould be miſtaken, conſidering how many learned and godly men were of an oppoſite perſuaſion; and gladly would they have had the concurrence of their brethren with them. But ſince there was no hope of this, they concluded that a chriſtian's faith muſt not ſtand in the wiſdom of man, and that every one muſt give account of himſelf to God; ſo they reſolved to practiſe according to their own convictions. They were perſuaded, that believers were the only proper ſubjects of baptiſm, and that immerſion or dipping the whole body into water, was the appointed rite. But as this was not practiſed in England, they were at a loſs for an adminiſtrator to begin the practice. After often meeting together to pray, and confer about this matter, they agreed to ſend over into Holland Mr. *Richard Blount*, who underſtood the Dutch language, to a baptiſt church there: he was kindly received by the ſociety and their paſtor; and upon his return he baptized Mr. *Samuel Blacklock*, a miniſter; theſe two baptized the reſt of the company, to the number of fifty-three. Some few others of this perſuaſion were among the original planters of New-England. They who continued in England, publiſhed, in the year 1615, a ſmall treatiſe to juſtify their ſeparation from the church of England; and to prove that every man has a right to judge for himſelf in matters of religion; and that to perſecute any one on this account is illegal and antichriſtian, contrary to the laws of God, as well as ſeveral declarations of his majeſty.

In the year 1618, another vindication of their principles came from the preſs, entitled, *A plain and well-grounded Treatiſe concerning Baptiſm.* It was a tranſlation from a Dutch piece, and is thought to be the firſt that was publiſhed in Engliſh againſt the baptiſm of infants. But the vindication

tion of their principles procured them no ſecurity againſt the power of perſecution. They were inveighed againſt from the pulpits, and harraſſed in the ſpiritual courts. Their goods were ſeized, and their perſons confined by long and lingering impriſonments, under which many of them died, leaving widows and children. This drew from them, in 1620, during the ſitting of parliament, an humble ſupplication to king *James*, repreſenting their miſeries, avowing their loyal and blameleſs behaviour, and remonſtrating againſt the cruel proceedings under which they ſuffered, as unbecoming the charity and goodneſs of the chriſtian religion, tempting men to hypocriſy, and exhibiting the marks of antichriſt, and humbly beſeeching his majeſty, the nobles and parliament, to conſider their caſe, and according to the direction of God's word, to let the wheat and tares grow together till the harveſt. Notwithſtanding the odium caſt upon them, and the ſeverities uſed againſt them, they maintained their ſeparate meetings, had many diſciples, and ſupported an exemplary purity of character.*

Another matter in the preceding period, into which it may be wiſhed that Mr. *Neal* had more fully entered, is the Synod of Dort. A ſketch of its proceedings would have aſſiſted the reader to form his own judgment concerning the equity and impartiality of this celebrated council. A full detail would, indeed, have been remote from the general ſubject of his hiſtory; and would, now, extend theſe ſupplemental remarks to too great a length. A few particulars may ſerve to ſhew that this council conducted itſelf as others have done. The ſynod, contrary to the order of the States-General, conſiſted of a great majority of miniſters of the United Provinces, ſo that by ſuperiority of numbers they could eaſily carry any meaſures againſt the votes of the foreign divines. The ſecretary and commiſſioners were men incompetent in point of theological knowledge, and prepoſſeſſed againſt the remonſtrants. And a man, who was an enemy to toleration, and had declared that hereticks ought to be put to death, was elected moderator. The remonſtrants were not admitted to a free debate, but were *cited*, like criminals, before a ſynod

* See Croſby's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Baptiſts, vol. i. p. 88—139.

conſiſting of their enemies; who deemed it beneath their authority to reaſon, and aſſumed the power of a judge to decree. Their language was, "that they thought it fitter "to give than receive laws; that the remonſtrants forgot "themſelves to be *citati*, ſtanding before God and their "magiſtrates; who were commanded by the ſtates to obey "the decrees of the ſynod, under the penalty, if they re-"fuſed, of expecting both civil and eccleſiaſtical cenſure." When a decree of the ſynod having been read, *Epiſcopius* deſired a copy of it, the preſident refuſed it, ſaying, "It is "only that you may find ſome words to cavil at, and there-"fore he ſhould have none; it was ſufficient that he knew "the meaning of it." The conduct of the moderator was particularly repugnant to candour, and inconſiſtent with his office; for he always interrupted the remonſtrants, when he thought it convenient, or commanded them to be ſilent, or to withdraw; that he might in their abſence ſay what he pleaſed without fearing to be convicted of partiality. At one time the remonſtrants were inveighed againſt in the ſermons delivered before the ſynod; at other times they were upbraided in its ſeſſions as audacious and inſolent, criminated for lies and deceitful ſpeeches, and threatened "that their "pertinacity ſhould be expoſed to all the chriſtian world." During one whole ſeſſion they were ſhut up in a room, and ſo well obſerved, that none of their friends could impart to them what paſſed in the ſynod. The doors of the room, into which they withdrew, when they went out of the ſynod were generally locked; and door-keepers placed to prevent their converſing with any one, as if they had been guilty of ſome capital crime. The members of the ſynod ſometimes carried their jealouſy ſo far, that, in winter, they even looked with candles under the tables and benches to ſee whether any body laid concealed, in order to obſerve what paſſed in the ſynod, and report it to the remonſtrants. Mr. *Hales*, ſpeaking of it, ſays, "Our ſynod goes on like a watch, the "*main* wheels upon which the whole buſineſs turns, are "leaſt in ſight; for all things of moment are conducted in "private ſeſſions; what is done publickly is only for ſhew "and entertainment." Several foreign divines complained of their proceedings, and that the remonſtrants were con-

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futed in their abſence, when they were ſtill in town, and had offered to explain their doctrine, if they ſhould be allowed a rational liberty. By theſe particulars, the reader will inſtantly perceive, that the members of this council, like thoſe of all others, acted both as judges and parties; will think that *Brandt* ſpoke in mild terms of it, when he called it "one of the moſt needleſs and inſignificant ſynods that ever "met; a ſynod called only to pleaſe angry divines:" and will be diſpoſed to enter into the feelings of *Martinius* of Bremen, who told his friends, "I believe, now, what St. "*Gregory Nazianzen* ſays, 'that he had never ſeen any 'council which had a happy ſucceſs, but rather increaſed 'the evil inſtead of removing it.' I declare, as well as that "father, that I will never ſet my foot in any ſynod again. "O Dort! Dort! would to God, that I had never ſeen "thee."*

* Brandt's Hiſtory of the Reformation abridged, vol. ii. p. 394—432. Hales' Works, printed at Glaſgow, 1765, vol. ii. Letters from the Synod of Dort; and Harris's Life of James I. p. 124, &c.

CHAP. III.

From the Death of King JAMES I. *to the Diſſolution of the third Parliament of King* CHARLES I. *in the Year* 1628.

BEFORE we enter upon this reign, it will be proper to take a ſhort view of the court, and of the moſt active miniſters under the king for the firſt fifteen years.

King CHARLES I. came to the crown at the age of twenty-five years, being born at Dumferling in Scotland, in the year 1600, and baptized by a preſbyterian miniſter of that country. In his youth, he was of a weakly conſtitution, and ſtammering ſpeech; his legs were ſomewhat crooked, and he was ſuſpected (ſays Mr. *Eachard*) to be of a perverſe nature. When his father [King *James*] came to the Engliſh crown, he took him from his Scots tutors, and placed him under thoſe who gave him an early averſion to that kirk, into which he had been baptized,* and to thoſe doctrines of chriſtianity which they held in the greateſt veneration. As the court of King *James* leaned towards popery† and arbitrary

* The expreſſion here, whether it be Mr. *Neal*'s own, or that of any writer of the times, is inaccurate, improper, and proceeds upon a wrong notion of the deſign of baptiſm. This rite, reſting ſolely on the authority of Chriſt, refers not to the peculiar ſentiments of the church, or the particular party of chriſtians, amongſt whom a perſon may happen to have it adminiſtered to him. It expreſſeth a profeſſion of chriſtianity only, and refers excluſively to the authority of its author, acting in the name of God the Father, and having his miniſtry ſealed by the gifts of the Holy Spirit. The notion of being baptized into the kirk of Scotland, or into the church of England, is entirely repugnant to the reaſoning of Paul in 1 Cor. i. who, as Dr. Clarke expreſſes, "we find was very careful, was very ſolicitous, not "to give any occaſion to have it thought, that there was any ſuch thing as "the doctrine of Paul, much leſs any ſuch thing as the doctrine of the church "of *Corinth* or *Rome*, or of any other than Chriſt only—in whoſe name "only we were baptized." Clarke's Sermons, vol. iv. p. 95. 8vo. ED.

† Dr. *Grey* controverts this aſſertion of Mr. *Neal*, and calls it "ground-"leſs;" with a view to confute it, he quotes *Rymer*, *Clarendon*, and biſhop *Fleetwood*. The firſt and laſt authorities go to prove only the king's firm adherence

power, ſo did the prince, eſpecially after his journey into Spain; where he imbibed not only the pernicious maxims of that court, but their reſerved and diſtant behaviour.* He aſſured the pope by letter, in order to obtain a diſpenſation to marry the Infanta, "That he would not marry any "mortal whoſe religion he hated: He might therefore

adherence to proteſtantiſm and the church of England, ſo far as concerned *his own perſonal profeſſion* of religion; the former alledges that the attempt of the court of Spain to convert him to popery was inefficient; the latter is only a pulpit eulogium to the memory of *Charles* on the 30th of January. The quotation from lord *Clarendon*, apparently proves more than theſe authorities; for it aſſerts "that no man was more averſe from the Romiſh "church than he [*i. e.* king *Charles*] was." But to be conſiſtent with himſelf, his lordſhip muſt be underſtood with a limitation; as ſpeaking of his remoteneſs from a conformity to popery in his own belief and practice; not of his diſpoſition towards that religion, as profeſſed by others. Dr. *Harris* has produced many proofs, that the king was not a papiſt himſelf. But he has alſo evinced, by many authorities, that profeſſed papiſts were favoured, careſſed, and preferred at court. The articles of the marriage treaty, to which he ſigned and ſolemnly ſwore, ſanctioned the profeſſion of that religion in his kingdom. The clergy, who enjoyed the ſmiles of the court, preached in favour of the practices and tenets of popery. And popiſh recuſants were not only tolerated, but protected by this prince. See Harris's Life of Charles I. p. 198 to 204, and from p. 204 to 208. The facts of this nature are alſo amply ſtated in "An Eſſay towards attaining "a true Idea of the Character and Reign of King Charles I. chap. ix." On theſe grounds Mr. *Neal* is fully vindicated, for he ſpeaks, it ſhould be obſerved, not of the king's being a papiſt, but of his "leaning towards "popery." But it might be ſufficient to quote, againſt Dr. *Grey*, even lord *Clarendon* only, who tells us, "that the papiſts were upon the matter, "abſolved from the ſevereſt parts of the law, and diſpenſed with for the "gentleſt. They were looked *upon as good ſubjects at court*, and as good "neighbours in the country; all the reſtraints and reproaches of former "times being forgotten." His lordſhip expatiates largely on the favours they received, and on the boldneſs they aſſumed.

Hiſtory of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 148, 8vo edit. of 1707. ED.

* In confutation of this aſſertion, Dr. *Grey* quotes *Ruſhworth*; who ſays, that at the court of Spain "Prince *Charles* gained an univerſal love, and "earned it, from firſt to laſt, with the greateſt *affability*." The doctor did not obſerve that his authority was not to the point; for Mr. *Neal* ſpeaks of *Charles*'s deportment after he had been in Spain, and of his general temper; *Ruſhworth*'s delineation is confined to his conduct at court, where he was treated with all imaginable reſpect; and when the object of his viſit would of courſe animate a youth to good-humour, politeneſs, and gallantry. Mr. *Neal* is fully ſupported by many authorities, which the reader may ſee collected by Dr. *Harris*, p. 68—72; and An Eſſay toward attaining a true idea, &c. chap. i. ED.

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" depend upon it, that he would always abſtain from ſuch " actions as might teſtify an hatred to the Roman-catholick " religion, and would endeavour that all ſiniſter opinions " might be taken away; that as we all profeſs one indivi- " dual trinity, we may unanimouſly grow up into one faith." His majeſty began his reign upon moſt arbitrary principles, and though he had good natural abilities, was always under the direction of ſome favourite, to whoſe judgment and conduct he was abſolutely reſigned. Nor was he ever maſter of ſo much judgment in politicks, as to diſcern his own and the nation's true intereſt, or to take the advice of thoſe who did. With regard to the church, he was a punctual obſerver of its ceremonies, and had the higheſt diſlike and prejudice to that part of his ſubjects who were againſt the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, " looking upon them as a very " dangerous and ſeditious people, who would under pre- " tence of conſcience, which kept them from ſubmitting to " the ſpiritual juriſdiction, take the firſt opportunity they " could find or make (ſays lord *Clarendon*,*) to withdraw " themſelves from his temporal juriſdiction; and therefore " his majeſty cauſed this people [the puritans] to be watched " and provided againſt with the utmoſt vigilance."

Upon his majeſty's acceſſion, and before the ſolemnity of his father's funeral, he married HENRIETTA-MARIA, daughter of *Henry* IV. and ſiſter of *Lewis* XIII. then king of France. The marriage was ſolemnized by proxy; firſt at Paris, with all the ceremonies of the Romiſh church, and afterwards at Canterbury, according to the rites of the church of England; the articles being in a manner the ſame with thoſe already mentioned in the Spaniſh match. Her majeſty arrived at Dover, June 13, 1625, and brought with her a long train of prieſts and menial ſervants of the Romiſh religion; for whoſe devotion a chapel was fitted up in the king's houſe at St. James's. " The queen was an agreeable " and beautiful lady, and by degrees (ſays lord *Clarendon*) " obtained a plenitude of power over the king.——His ma- " jeſty had her in perfect adoration,† and would do nothing

* Clarendon, vol. i. p. 81.

† " Whoever ſees her charming portrait at Windſor," ſays Mr. *Granger*, " will ceaſe to admire at her great influence over the king." The Biographical Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 96, 8vo. ED.

"without her, but was inexorable as to every thing that he "promiſed her." Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, "the queen was a lady "of great vivacity, and loved intrigues of all ſorts, but was "not ſecret in them as ſhe ought; ſhe had no manner of "judgment, being bad at contrivance, but worſe at execu- "tion. By the livelineſs of her diſcourſe, ſhe made great "impreſſions upon the king; ſo that to the queen's little "practice, and the king's own temper, the ſequel of all his "misfortunes were owing." Biſhop *Kennet* adds; "That "the king's match with this lady, was a greater judgment to "the nation than the plague, which then raged in the land; "for conſidering the malignity of the popiſh religion, the "imperiouſneſs of the French government, the influence of "a ſtately queen over an affectionate huſband, and the ſhare "ſhe muſt needs have in the education of her children, [till "thirteen years of age] it was then eaſy to foreſee it might "prove very fatal to our Engliſh prince and people, and lay "in a vengeance to future generations." The queen was a very great bigot to her religion;† her conſcience was directed by her confeſſor, aſſiſted by the pope's nuncio, and a ſecret cabal of prieſts and jeſuits. Theſe controuled the queen, and ſhe the king; ſo that in effect the nation was governed by popiſh councils, till the long parliament.

The prime miniſter under the king was G. VILLIERS duke of Buckingham, a graceful young gentleman, but very unfit for his high ſtation. He had a full poſſeſſion of the king's heart, inſomuch that his majeſty broke meaſures with all his parliaments for his ſake. "Moſt men (ſays lord *Clarendon*‖) "imputed all the calamities of the nation to his arbitrary "councils; ſo that few were diſpleaſed at the news of his "murder by *Felton*, in the year 1628, when he was not "above thirty-four years of age."

Upon the duke's death, Dr. WILLIAM LAUD, then biſhop of London, became the chief miniſter both in church

† As the demand to have the ſolemnity of the coronation performed by the biſhops of her own religion was refuſed, and ſuch was her bigotry it would not permit her to join in our church ceremonies; ſhe appeared therefore as a ſpectator only on that occaſion.

Granger, as before, vol. ii. p. 96, note. ED.

‖ Clarendon, vol. i. p. 837.

and

and ſtate.* He was born at Reading, and educated in St. John's college, Oxford, upon the charitable donation of Mr. *White*, founder of Merchant-Taylor's ſchool. Here he continued till he was fifty years of age, and behaved in ſuch a manner, that nobody knew, what to think of him. "I "would I knew," ſays the pious biſhop *Hall* in one of his letters, "where to find you; to-day you are with the Ro- "maniſts, to-morrow with us; our adverſaries think you "ours, and we theirs; your conſcience finds you with both "and neither: How long will you halt in this indifferency?" Dr. ABBOT ſays, "He ſpent his time in picking quarrels "with the lectures of public readers, and giving advice to "the then biſhop of Durham, that he might fill the ears of "the king [*James* I.] with prejudices againſt honeſt men, "whom he called *puritans*."† *Heylin* confeſſes it was thought dangerous to keep him company. By the intereſt of biſhop *Williams*, he was firſt advanced‡ to a Welch biſhoprick, and from thence by degrees to the higheſt preferments in church and ſtate. He was a little man, of a quick and rough temper, impatient of contradiction even at the council table, of arbitrary principles both in church and ſtate, always inclined to methods of ſeverity, eſpecially againſt the

* "As to his preferments in the ſtate," ſays Dr. *Grey*, "I ſhould be "glad to know what they were." Though the doctor, who was ignorant of them, is now out of the reach of a reply; for the information of the reader they ſhall be mentioned. In 1635 he was put into the great committee of trade; and on the death of the earl of Portland, was made one of the commiſſioners of the treaſury and revenue; "which," ſays lord *Clarendon*, "he had reaſon to be ſorry for, becauſe it engaged him in "civil buſineſs and matters of ſtate." Hiſtory of the Rebellion, v. i. p. 98, 8vo. 1707. Britiſh Biography, vol. iv. p. 269. ED.

† Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 444.

‡ To refute this account of the cauſe of *Laud*'s preferment, Dr. *Grey* quotes Mr. *Wharton*. The circumſtance in itſelf is of no importance to the credit or deſign of Mr. *Neal*'s hiſtory. And the paſſage even admits the fact that *Laud* owed his preferments to biſhop *Williams*'s ſolicitations, on the authority of *Laud*'s diary, and biſhop *Hacket*, *Williams*'s biographer; but the drift of Mr. *Wharton* is to exculpate *Laud* from the charge of ingratitude to biſhop *Williams* on this ground; that the latter, in the ſervice he rendered the former, was not actuated by kindneſs, but by ſelfiſh and intereſted views. This does not confute, in any degree, Mr. *Neal*; who ſays nothing about the *motives* by which biſhop *Williams* was governed. ED.

puritans;

puritans; vaſtly fond of external pomp and ceremony in divine worſhip; and though he was not an abſolute papiſt, he was ambitious of being the ſovereign patriarch of three kingdoms.*

Lord Chief Juſtice FINCH was a man of little knowledge in his profeſſion, except it was for making the laws of the land give place to orders of council. Mr. Attorney-general NOY† was a man of affected pride and moroſity, who valued himſelf (ſays lord *Clarendon*‡) upon making that to be law which all other men believed not to be ſo. Indeed all the judges were of this ſtamp, who inſtead of upholding the law, as the defence and ſecurity of the ſubjects privileges, ſet it aſide upon every little occaſion, diſtinguiſhing between *a rule of law*, and *a rule of government:* ſo that thoſe whom they could not convict by *ſtatute law*, were ſure to ſuffer by the *rule of government*, or a kind of *political juſtice*. The judges held their places during the king's pleaſure; and when the prerogative was to be ſtretched in any particular inſtances, *Laud* would ſend for their opinions beforehand, to give the greater ſanction to the proceedings of the council and ſtar-chamber, by whom they were often put in mind, that *if they did not do his majeſty's buſineſs to ſatisfaction, they would be removed*. Upon the whole, they were mercenary men, and (according to lord *Clarendon*) ſcandalous to their profeſſion.

The courts of Weſtminſter-hall had little to do between the crown and the ſubject; all buſineſs of this kind being transferred to the COUNCIL-TABLE, the STAR-CHAMBER, and the court of HIGH COMMISSION.

The COUNCIL-TABLE was the legiſlature of the kingdom; their proclamations and orders being made a rule of government, and the meaſure of the ſubject's obedience. Though there was not one ſingle law enacted in twelve years, there were no leſs than two hundred and fifty proclamations; every one of which had the force of a law, and bound the ſubject under the ſevereſt penalties. The lord-keeper *Finch*, upon a

* Clarendon, vol. i. p. 99.

† Biſhop *Warburton* cenſures Mr. *Neal*, for not informing his reader that NOY was a great lawyer.

‡ Clarendon, vol. i p. 71, 73, 74.

demurrer

demurrer put into a bill that had no other equity than an *order of council*, declared upon the bench, that while he was keeper, *no man ſhould be ſo ſaucy as to diſpute thoſe orders, but that the wiſdom of that board ſhould always be ground good enough for him to make a decree in chancery.* Judge *Berkeley*, upon a like occaſion, declared, that *there was a rule of law, and a rule of government, that many things that might not be done by the rule of law, might be done by the rule of goverument:** His lordſhip added, that *no act of parliament could bind the king not to command away his ſubject's goods and money.*

"The STAR-CHAMBER (ſays lord *Clarendon*†) was in a "manner the ſame court with the COUNCIL-TABLE, being "but the ſame perſons in ſeveral rooms: They were both "grown into courts of law, to determine *right*; and courts "of *revenue*, to bring money into the treaſury: The *council-*"*table* by proclamations enjoining to the people what was "not enjoined by law, and prohibiting that which was not "prohibited; and the *ſtar-chamber* cenſuring the breach "and diſobedience to thoſe proclamations, by very great "fines and impriſonment; ſo that any diſreſpect to any acts "of ſtate, or to the perſons of ſtateſmen, was in no time "more penal, and thoſe foundations of right, by which men "valued their ſecurity, were never in more danger of being "deſtroyed.

"The HIGH COMMISSION alſo had very much overflowed "the banks that ſhould have contained it, not only in med-"dling with things not within their connuſance, but in ex-"tending their ſentences and judgments beyond that degree "that was juſtifiable, and grew to have ſo great a contempt "of the common law, and the profeſſors of it, that prohi-"bitions from the ſupreme courts of law, which have and "muſt have the ſuperintendency over all the inferior courts, "were not only neglected, but the judges were reprehended "for granting them, which without perjury, they could not "deny.§——Beſides, from an eccleſiaſtical court for refor-"mation of manners, it was grown to a court of revenue, "and impoſed great fines upon thoſe who were culpable "before them; ſometimes above the degree of the offence,

* Clarendon, vol. i. p. 74. † Ibid. p. 68, 69. § Ibid. p. 283.

had

" *had the juriſdiction of fining been unqueſtionable, which it* " *was not*; which courſe of fining was much more frequent, " and the fines heavier, after the king had granted all that " revenue for the reparation of St. Paul's, which made the " grievance greater;" and gave occaſion to an unlucky obſervation, *that the church was built with the ſins of the people*. Theſe commiſſioners, not content with the buſineſs that was brought before them, ſent their commiſſaries over the whole kingdom to ſuperintend the proceedings of the biſhop's courts in their ſeveral dioceſes, which of themſelves made ſufficient havock among the puritans, and were under a general odium for the ſevere exerciſe of their power: But if the biſhop or his officers were negligent in their citations, or ſhewed any degree of favour to the *puritan miniſters*, notice was immediately ſent to Lambeth, and the *accuſed perſons* were cited before the high commiſſion, to their utter ruin. They alſo detained men in priſon many months, without bringing them to a trial, or ſo much as acquainting them with the cauſe of their commitment. Sir *Edward Deering* ſays, that " their proceedings were in ſome ſenſe worſe than " the *Romiſh inquiſition*, becauſe they do not puniſh men of " their own religion eſtabliſhed by law; but with us (ſays he) how many ſcores of poor diſtreſſed miniſters, within a " few years have been ſuſpended, degraded, and excommu- " nicated, though not guilty of a breach of any eſtabliſhed " law!" All which was ſo much the worſe, becauſe they knew that the court had no juriſdiction of fining at all; for the houſe of commons, in the third and ſeventh of king *James* I. reſolved, *that the court of high commiſſion's fining and impriſoning men for eccleſiaſtical offences, was an intolerable grievance, oppreſſion, and vexation, not warranted by the ſtatute*, 1 Eliz. chap. i. And Sir *Edward Coke*, with the reſt of the judges, at a conference with the prelates, in the preſence of king *James*, gave it as their unanimous opinion, *that the high commiſſion could fine in no caſe, and impriſon only in caſes of hereſy and incontinence of a miniſter, and that only after conviction, but not by way of proceſs before it;* ſo that the juriſdiction of the court *to fine* was not only *queſtionable*, but *null and void*. Notwithſtanding which, they hunted after their prey with full cry, " and brought in the greateſt

" and

" and moſt ſplendid tranſgreſſors: Perſons of honour and " great quality (ſays the noble hiſtorian) were every day " cited into the high commiſſion, upon the fame of their in- " continency, or ſcandal of life, and very heavy fines were " levied upon them, and applied to the repairing of St. " Paul's cathedral."

Upon the acceſſion of king CHARLES to the throne, the duke of *Buckingham* threw off the maſk, and ſhook hands with his old friend Dr. *Preſton*, whom he never loved any further than as a tool to promote his intereſt among the people. LAUD was his confeſſor and privy-counſellor for the church, whoſe firſt care was to have none but Arminian and anti-puritanical chaplains about the king: For this purpoſe, he drew up a ſmall treatiſe and put it into the duke's hand, proving the *arminian* doctrines to be *orthodox*; and ſhewing in ten particulars, that the *anti-arminian tenets* were no better than *doctrinal puritaniſm*. Agreeably to this ſcheme, he preſented the duke [April 9,] with a liſt of divines for his majeſty's chaplains, diſtinguiſhing their characters by the two capital letters, O. for Orthodox, [that is, Arminian,] and P. for Puritans, [that is, Calviniſts.] At the ſame time he received orders to conſult biſhop *Andrews* how to manage, with reſpect to the five diſtinguiſhing points of Calviniſm, in the enſuing convocation; but the wiſe biſhop adviſed his brother by all means to be quiet, and keep the controverſy out of the houſe: " For (ſays he) the truth in " this point is not ſo generally entertained among the clergy; " nor is archbiſhop *Abbot*, nor many of the prelates, ſo in- " clinable to it, as to venture the deciding it in convocation." It was therefore wiſely dropt, the majority of the lower houſe being zealous Calviniſts; and forty-five of them (according to Dr. *Leo*, who was one of the number) had made a covenant among themſelves to oppoſe every thing that tended towards *pelagianiſm*, or *ſemi-pelagianiſm:* But the controverſy was warmly debated without doors, till the king put a ſtop to it by his royal declaration.

Popery advanced hand in hand with Arminianiſm, and began the diſputes between the king and his firſt parliament, which met June 16, 1625. His majeſty, towards the cloſe of his ſpeech, having aſked their aſſiſtance for the recovery

of

of the Palatinate, aſſured them that, though he had been ſuſpected as to his religion, he would let the world ſee, *that none ſhould be more deſirous to maintain the religion he profeſſed than himſelf.* The houſes thanked the king for his moſt gracious ſpeech; but before they entered upon other buſineſs, joined in a petition againſt popiſh recuſants, which his majeſty promiſed to examine, and give a ſatisfactory anſwer to the particulars.

The petition ſets forth the cauſes of the increaſe of popery, with the remedies: The cauſes are,

The want of the due execution of the laws againſt them. The interpoſing of foreign powers by their ambaſſadors and agents in their favour. The great concourſe of papiſts to the city, and their frequent conferences and conventicles there. Their open reſort to the chapels of foreign ambaſſadors. The education of their children in foreign ſeminaries. The want of ſufficient inſtruction in the proteſtant religion in ſeveral places of the country. The licentious printing of popiſh books. The employment of men ill-affected to the proteſtant religion in places of government.*

They therefore pray that the youth of the kingdom may be carefully educated under proteſtant ſchoolmaſters; *which his majeſty*, in his anſwer to their petition, *promiſed:* That the ancient diſcipline of the univerſities may be reſtored; *which his majeſty approved:* That the preaching of the word of God may be enlarged; and that to this purpoſe the biſhops be adviſed to make uſe of the labours of ſuch able miniſters as have been formerly ſilenced, adviſing and beſeeching them to behave themſelves peaceably; and that pluralities, non-reſidencies, and commendams, may be moderated. ANSWER, *This his majeſty approved, ſo far as the miniſters would conform to church government. But he apprehends that pluralities*, &c. *are now ſo moderated, that there is no room for complaint; and recommends it to the parliament to take care that every pariſh allow a competent maintenance for an able miniſter.* That proviſion might be made againſt tranſporting children to popiſh ſeminaries, and for recalling thoſe that were there. ANSW. *To this his majeſty agreed.* That no popiſh recuſant be admitted to come to court, but

* Ruſhworth, p. 183-6.

upon

upon ſpecial occaſion, according to ſtatute 3 *Jac.* ANSW. *This alſo his majeſty promiſed.* That the laws againſt papiſts be put in execution, and that a day be fixed for the departure of all jeſuits and ſeminary prieſts out of the kingdom, and that no natural-born ſubject, nor ſtrange biſhops, nor any other by authority from the ſee of Rome, confer any eccleſiaſtical orders, or exerciſe any eccleſiaſtical function, upon your majeſty's ſubjects. ANSW. *It ſhall be ſo publiſhed by proclamation.* That your majeſty's learned council may have orders to conſider of all former grants of recuſant lands, that ſuch may be avoided as are avoidable by law. ANSW. *It ſhall be donè according as is deſired.* That your majeſty give order to your judges and all officers of juſtice, to ſee the laws againſt popiſh recuſants duly executed. ANS. *His majeſty leaves the laws to their courſe.* That your majeſty will remove from places of authority and government all popiſh recuſants. ANSW. *His majeſty will give order accordingly.* That order be taken for diſarming all popiſh recuſants convict according to law, and that popiſh recuſants be commanded to retire to their houſes, and be confined within five miles of home. ANSW. *The laws ſhall be put in execution.* That none of your majeſty's natural-born ſubjects go to hear maſs at the houſes or chapels of foreign ambaſſadors. ANSW. *The king will give order accordingly.* That the ſtatute of 1 *Eliz.* for the payment of twelve-pence every Sunday by ſuch as abſent from divine ſervice in the church without a lawful excuſe, be put in execution. ANSW. *The king promiſes the penalties ſhall not be diſpenſed with.* That your majeſty will extend your princely care to Ireland, that the like courſes may be taken there for eſtabliſhing the true religion. ANSW. *His majeſty will do all that a religious king can do in that affair.**

* The remark of Dr. *Warner* here is too pertinent and forcible, eſpecially conſidering from whoſe pen it comes, to be omitted. "Theſe gracious "anſwers of his majeſty," ſays he, "to the ſeveral articles of the petition "preſented to him by both houſes of parliament, wanted nothing but the "performance of the promiſes which he made, to gain him the love of all "his proteſtant ſubjects. But if we may judge by the continual complaints "of the parliament throughout this reign, about theſe very points on which "the king had given this ſatisfaction, we ſhall find reaſon to think, that "his promiſes were obſerved no better than *James* his father obſerved his."

Warner's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 513. ED.

It is ſurpriſing that the king ſhould make theſe promiſes to his parliament within ſix months after he had ſigned his marriage articles, in which he had engaged to ſet all Roman-catholicks at liberty, and to ſuffer no ſearch or moleſtation of them for their religion, and had in conſequence of it pardoned twenty Romiſh prieſts, and (in imitation of his royal father) given orders to his lord-keeper to direct the judges and juſtices of peace all over England, "to forbear all manner of proceedings againſt his Roman-catholick ſubjects, by information, indictment, or otherwiſe; it being his royal pleaſure that there ſhould be a ceſſation of all and ſingular pains and penalties whereunto they were liable by any laws, ſtatutes, or ordinances of this realm."* But, as a judicious writer obſerves,§ it ſeems to have been a maxim in this and the laſt reign, that *no faith is to be kept with parliaments*. The papiſts were apprized of the reaſons of ſtate that obliged the king to comply outwardly with what he did not really intend; and therefore, though his majeſty directed a letter to his archbiſhop [December 15, 1625,] to proceed againſt popiſh recuſants, and a proclamation was publiſhed to recall the Engliſh youths from popiſh ſeminaries, little regard was paid to them. The king himſelf releaſed eleven Romiſh prieſts out of priſon, by ſpecial warrant the next day; the titular biſhop of Chalcedon, by letters dated June 1, 1625, appointed a popiſh vicar-general and archdeacons all over England,† whoſe names were publiſhed in the year 1643.‡ And when the

* Ruſhworth, p. 173. § Rapin.

† Fuller tells us, that this titular biſhop of Chalcedon, whoſe name was *Smith*, appeared in his *pontificalibus* in Lancaſhire, with his mitre and croſier. This was an evident proof, that the catholicks preſumed on the indulgence and connivance, if not the protection of the court. To ſhew which, the fact is brought forward by Mr. *Neal*; whoſe candour in this matter Dr. *Grey* impeaches, becauſe he does not inform his reader, that the king iſſued a proclamation for apprehending this Romiſh agent. But it ſeems to have eſcaped Dr. *Grey*'s attention, that a proclamation not iſſued till the 11th of December 1628, and not then, till drawn from him by a petition of both houſes againſt recuſants, can have little weight againſt the imputation on the king, which this fact is alledged to ſupport.

Ruſhworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 511. ED.

‡ Ruſhworth, p. 158-9, and Fuller's Church Hiſt. b. xi. p. 132-3.

next

next parliament petitioned for the removal of papiſts from offices of truſt, it appeared, by a liſt annexed to their petition, that there were no leſs than fifty-nine of the nobility and gentry of that religion then in the commiſſion.*

But the king not only connived at the Roman-catholicks at home, but unhappily contributed to the ruin of the proteſtant religion abroad. Cardinal *Richlieu* having formed a deſign to extirpate the *hugonots* of France, by ſecuring all their places of ſtrength, laid ſiege to Rochel, a ſea-port town with a good harbour, and a number of ſhips ſufficient for its defence. *Richlieu*, taking advantage of the king's late match with France, ſent to borrow ſeven or eight ſhips, to be employed as the king of France ſhould direct, who appointed them to block up the harbour of Rochel; but when the honeſt ſailors were told where they were going, they declared they would rather be thrown overboard, or hanged upon the top of the maſts, than fight againſt their proteſtant brethren. Notwithſtanding admiral *Pennington* and the French officers uſed all their rhetorick to perſuade them, they remained inflexible. The admiral therefore acquainted the king, who ſent him a warrant to the following effect: "That he ſhould conſign his own ſhip immediately into the "hands of the French admiral, with all her equipage, artil-"lery, &c. and require the other ſeven to put themſelves "into the ſervice of our dear brother the French king; and "in caſe of backwardneſs or refuſal, we command you to "uſe all forcible means, even to their ſinking." In purſuance of this warrant, the ſhips were delivered into the hands of the French, but all the Engliſh ſailors and officers deſerted except two. The French having got the ſhips and artillery quickly manned them with ſailors of their own religion, and joining the reſt of the French fleet, they blocked up the harbour, deſtroyed the little fleet of the Rochellers, and cut off their communication by ſea with their proteſtant friends, by which means they were reduced to all the hardſhips of a moſt

* See Ruſhworth's Collection, vol. i. p. 393, &c. The names of ſome of theſe perſons perhaps were returned only on the ground of ſuſpicion; becauſe their wives and children were of the Romiſh communion, or did not come to church. "Mr. Neal," therefore, according to Dr. Grey, "miſtook Ruſhworth."

dreadful

dreadful famine; and after a long blockade both by ſea and land, were forced to ſurrender the chief bulwark of the proteſtant intereſt in France, into the hands of the papiſts.

To return to the parliament. It has been remembered, that Mr. *Richard Montague*, a clergyman, and one of the king's chaplains, publiſhed a book in the year 1623, entitled *A new Gag for an old Gooſe*, in anſwer to a popiſh book, entitled *A Gag for the new Goſpel*.* The book containing ſundry propoſitions tending to the publick diſturbance, was complained of in the houſe of commons, who, after having examined the author at their bar, referred him to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who diſmiſſed him with an expreſs prohibition to write no more about ſuch matters. But *Montague*, being encouraged from court, went on and publiſhed *An Appeal to Cæſar*, deſigning it for king *James*; but he being dead before it was ready, it was dedicated to king *Charles*, and recommended at firſt by ſeveral court biſhops, who upon better conſideration artfully withdrew their names from before it; and left Dr. *Francis White* to appear by himſelf, as he complained publickly. The appeal was calculated to promote *Arminianiſm*, to attempt a reconciliation with Rome, and to advance the king's prerogative above law. The houſe appointed a committee to examine into its errors; after which they voted it to be contrary to the articles of the church of England, and bound the author in a recognizance of two thouſand pounds for his appearance.

Biſhop *Laud*, apprehending this to be an invaſion of the prerogative, and a dangerous precedent, joined with two other biſhops in a letter to the duke of *Buckingham*, to engage his majeſty to take the cauſe into his own hands: The letter ſays,† "that the church of England when it was re-
"formed would not be too buſy with ſchool points of divi-
"nity; now the points for which Mr. *Montague* is brought
"into trouble, are of this kind; ſome are the reſolved doc-
"trines of the church of England, which he is bound to
"maintain; and others are fit only for ſchools, wherein men
"may abound in their own ſenſe. To make men ſubſcribe

* Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 177.

† Cabbala, p. 105; Ruſhworth, vol. i. 180-81; or, p. 110, 111, of the edition in 1663.

" ſchool opinions is hard, and was one great fault of the " council of Trent. Beſides, diſputes about doctrines in re- " ligion ought to be determined in a national ſynod or con- " vocation, with the king's licence, and not in parliament; " if we ſubmit to any other judge, we ſhall depart from the " ordinance of Chriſt, we ſhall derogate from the honour of " the late king, who ſaw and approved of all the opinions in " that book; as well as from his preſent majeſty's royal pre- " rogative, who has power and right to take this matter " under his own care, and refer it in a right courſe to church " conſideration. Some of the opinions which are oppoſite " to Mr. *Montague*'s will prove fatal to the government, if " publickly taught and maintained: When they had been " concluded upon at Lambeth, queen *Elizabeth* cauſed them " to be ſuppreſſed, and ſo they continued, till of late ſome " of them received countenance from the ſynod of Dort; a " ſynod, whoſe concluſions have no authority in this coun- " try, and it is to be hoped never will." Signed *Jo. Roffenſis*, *Jo. Oxon*, and *Gulielmus Menevenſis*, Aug. 2d, 1625.

This letter had its effect, and procured *Montague* his *quietus* at preſent. The king declared he would bring the cauſe before the council, it being a branch of his ſupremacy to determine matters of religion. He expreſſed his diſpleaſure againſt the *commons*, for calling his chaplain to their bar, and for alarming the nation with the danger of popery. But theſe affairs, with the king's aſſiſting at the ſiege of Rochel, made ſuch a noiſe at Oxford, where the parliament was reaſſembled becauſe of the plague at London, that the king was obliged to diſſolve them [*Auguſt* 12,] before they had granted the ſupplies neceſſary for carrying on the war. Nor did his majeſty paſs any act relating to religion, except one, which was ſoon after ſuſpended by his royal declaration; it was *to prevent unlawful paſtimes on the Lord's-day*. The preamble ſets forth, That the holy keeping of the Lord's-day is a principal part of the true ſervice of God— " Therefore it is enacted that there ſhall be no aſſemblies of " people out of their own pariſhes, for any ſports or paſ- " times whatſoever; nor any bear-baiting, bull-baiting, in- " terludes, common plays, or other unlawful exerciſes or " paſtimes, within their own pariſhes, on forfeiture of three " ſhillings

"ſhillings and ſix-pence for every ſuch offence to the poor." However, this law was never put in execution. Men were reproached and cenſured for too ſtrict an obſervation of the Lord's-day, but none that I have met with for the profanation of it.

His majeſty having diſmiſſed his parliament before they had given him the neceſſary ſupplies for the war with Spain, reſolved to try his credit in borrowing money, by way of loan, of ſuch perſons as were beſt able to lend; for this purpoſe gentlemen were taxed at a certain ſum, and had promiſſory letters under the privy-ſeal to be repayed in eighteen months.* With this money the king fitted out a fleet againſt Spain, which, after it had waited about two months for the Plate fleet, returned without doing any action worth remembrance.

The ceremony of the king's coronation, which was not performed till the beginning of February, was another expence which his majeſty thought fit to provide for by iſſuing out a proclamation, that all ſuch as had forty pounds a year or more, and were not yet knights, ſhould come and receive the order of knighthood, or compound for it.† This was a new grievance loudly complained of in the following parliaments. The coronation was performed by archbiſhop *Abbot*, aſſiſted by biſhop *Laud* as dean of Weſtminſter,‡ who beſides the old *regalia* which were in his cuſtody, that is, the crown, the ſceptre, the ſpurs, &c. of king *Edward* the Confeſſor, brought forth an old crucifix, and placed it upon the altar. As ſoon as the archbiſhop had put the crown upon the king's head, and performed the other uſual ceremonies,§ his majeſty being ſeated on the throne, ready to receive the homage of the lords, biſhop *Laud* came up to him, and read the following extraordinary paſſage, which is not to be found in former coronations. "—Stand, and

* Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 196-7. † Rapin, v. ii. p. 235-36, folio ed.

‡ Dr. *Grey* properly corrects Mr. *Neal* here: *Laud* officiated in the place of the dean of Weſtminſter, the biſhop of Lincoln, with whom the king was ſo diſpleaſed, that he would not permit him to perform any part of the coronation ſervice. Fuller's Church Hiſt. b. x. p. 121. Ed.

§ The ceremonial of the coronation is given at length by Fuller, b. xi. p. 121, &c. Ed.

" hold faſt from henceforth the place to which you have " been heir by the ſucceſſion of your forefathers, being now " delivered to you by the authority of Almighty God, and " by the hands of us, and all the biſhops and ſervants of " God. And as you ſee the clergy to come nearer to the " altar than others, ſo remember, that in all places conve- " nient you give them greater honour, that the Mediator of " God and man may eſtabliſh you in the kingly throne, to " be a mediator between the clergy and the laity, and that " you may reign for ever with Jeſus Chriſt, the king of " kings, and Lord of lords."* This and ſundry other alte- rations were objected to the archbiſhop at his trial, which we ſhall mention hereafter.

The king's treaſury being exhauſted, and the war con- tinuing with Spain, his majeſty was obliged to call a new parliament; but to avoid the choice of ſuch members as had exclaimed againſt the duke of Buckingham, and inſiſted upon redreſs of grievances, the court pricked them down for *ſheriffs*, which diſqualified them from being rechoſen members of parliament; of this number were Sir *Edward Coke*, Sir *Robert Philips*, and Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, after- wards lord *Strafford*. The houſes met Feb. 6, 1626, and fell immediately upon grievances. A committee for religion was appointed, of which Mr. *Pym* was chairman, who examined Mr. *Montague*'s writings, (viz.) *his Gag*, *his Appeal*, and his treatiſe *of the Invocation of the Saints*; out of which they col- lected ſeveral opinions contrary to the book of homilies and the thirty-nine articles, which they reported to the houſe; as,

1. " That he maintained the church of Rome is, and ever " was, a true church, contrary to the ſixteenth homily of " the church of England.

" 2. That the ſaid church had ever remained firm upon " the ſame foundation of ſacraments and doctrine inſtituted " by God.

3. " That ſpeaking of the doctrines of *faith*, *hope*, and " *charity*, he affirmed that none of theſe are controverted be- " tween the papiſts and proteſtants; but that the contro-

* " The manuſcript coronation-book, which the king held in his hand, " and which is ſtill in being," ſays Dr. *Grey*, " proves that the words " were not ſpoken by *Laud*, but by the archbiſhop." Ed.

" verted

" verted points are of a leſſer and inferior nature, of which " a man may be ignorant without any danger of his ſoul.

4. " That he maintained the uſe of images, for inſtruc- " tion of the ignorant, and exciting devotion.

5. " That in his treatiſe of the *Invocation of Saints*, he " affirmed that ſome ſaints have a peculiar patronage, cuſ- " tody, protection, and power, (as angels have) over certain " perſons and countries.

6. " That in his *Appeal* he maintained that men juſtified " may fall away from grace, and may recover again, but " not certainly nor neceſſarily.

7. " That the ſaid *R. Montague* has endeavoured to raiſe " factions among the king's ſubjects, by caſting the odious " and ſcandalous name of *Puritans* upon thoſe who conform " to the doctrine and ceremonies of the church. That he " ſcoffed at preaching, at lectures, and all ſhews of religion; " and, that the deſign of his book was apparently to recon- " cile the church of England with the ſee of Rome."*

In what manner the commons deſigned to proſecute this impeachment is uncertain, for *Montague* was not brought to his defence, the king having intimated again to the houſe, that their proceedings againſt him without his leave, was diſpleaſing to him; that as to their holding him to bail, he thought his ſervants might have the ſame protection as an ordinary burgeſs, and therefore he would take the cauſe into his own hands; and ſoon after diſſolved the parliament.†

Though the *Arminian* controverſy was thus wreſted out of the hands of the parliament, it was warmly debated without doors; *Montague* was attacked in print by Dr. *Carleton*, biſhop of Chicheſter; Dr. *Sutliffe*, dean of Exeter; Dr. *Featly*, Dr. *Goad*, Mr. *Ward*, *Burton*, *Yates*, *Wotton*, *Prynne*,

* Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 213,—215.

† Dr. *Grey* adds here, that " yet the king thought fit to call his book " in." The doctor ſays this on the authority of *Ruſhworth*; whoſe further account of the proceeding ſhould be laid before the reader. " Ere this " proclamation was publiſhed," ſays he, " the books were for the moſt part " vented and out of danger of ſeizure, and the ſuppreſſing of all writing " and preaching in anſwer thereunto was (it ſeems by ſome) the thing mainly " intended; for the ſeveral anſwers were all ſuppreſſed, and divers of the " printers queſtioned by the high commiſſion."

Ruſhworth, vol. ii. p. 647. Ed.

and

and *Fran. Rouſe*, eſq; &c. Conferences were appointed to debate the point, *Of the poſſibility of the elect's falling from grace.** One was at York-Houſe, Feb. 11, 1625-6, before the duke of *Buckingham*, earl of *Warwick*, and other lords; Dr. *Buckeridge* biſhop of Rocheſter, and Dr. *White* dean of Carliſle, being on one ſide; and Dr. *Moreton* biſhop of Coventry, and Dr. *Preſton*, on the other. The ſucceſs of the diſpute is variouſly related; but the earl of *Pembroke* ſaid, that none went from thence *Arminians*, ſave thoſe who came thither with the ſame opinions. Soon after, Feb. 17th, there was a ſecond conference in the ſame place, Dr. *White* and Mr. *Montague* on one ſide, and Dr. *Moreton* and *Preſton* on the other;† Dr. *Preſton* carried it clear at firſt, by dividing his adverſaries, who quickly perceiving their error, united their forces (ſays my author) in a joint oppoſition to him; but upon the whole, theſe conferences ſerved rather to increaſe the differences than abate them. The king therefore iſſued out a proclamation, containing very expreſs commands not to preach or diſpute upon the controverted points of Arminianiſm. It was dated Jan. 24, 1626, and ſets forth, "That the king will admit of no innovation in "the doctrine, diſcipline, or government of the church, "and therefore charges all his ſubjects, and eſpecially the "clergy, not to publiſh or maintain in preaching or writing, "any new inventions or opinions, contrary to the ſaid doc- "trine and diſcipline eſtabliſhed by law, aſſuring them that "his majeſty will proceed againſt all offenders againſt this "order, with all that ſeverity their contempt ſhall deſerve, "that by the exemplary puniſhment of a few, others may be "warned againſt falling under the juſt indignation of their "ſovereign."‡

One would have thought this proclamation to be in favour of *Calviniſm*, but the execution of it being in the hands of *Laud*, and the biſhops of his party, the edge was turned againſt the puritans, and it became (ſays *Ruſhworth*,§) the ſtopping of their mouths, and gave an uncontrouled liberty

* Prynne's Cant. Doom, p. 158-9; Fuller, b. xi. p. 124.

† Fuller, b. xi. p. 125. ‡ Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 416. Bib. Regia.

§ Ruſhworth, p. 417; Rapin, vol. ii. p. 258, folio ed.

to

to the tongues and pens of the Arminian party. Others were of opinion that *Laud* and *Neile* procured this injunction, in order to have an opportunity to oppreſs the *Calviniſts* who ſhould venture to break it, while the diſobedience of the contrary party ſhould be winked at. The puritans thought they might ſtill write in defence of the received doctrine of the thirty-nine articles; but the preſs being in the hands of their adverſaries, ſome of their books were ſuppreſſed, ſome were caſtrated, and others that got abroad were called in,† and the authors and publiſhers queſtioned in the ſtar-chamber and high-commiſſion, for engaging in a controverſy prohibited by the government. By theſe methods effectual care was taken, that the puritan and Calvinian writers ſhould do their adverſaries no harm; biſhop *Laud* with two or three of his chaplains, undertaking to judge of truth and error, civility and good manners, for all the wiſe and great men of the nation, in doing of which they were ſo ſhamefully partial, that learning and induſtry were diſcouraged, men of gravity and great experience not being able to perſuade themſelves to ſubmit their labours to be mangled and torn in pieces by a few younger divines, who were both judges and parties in the affair. At length the bookſellers being almoſt ruined, preferred a petition to the next parliament‡ [1628,] complaining, that the writings of their beſt authors were ſtifled in the preſs, while the books of their adverſaries [papiſts and Arminians] were publiſhed and ſpread over the whole kingdom. Thus *Cheney's Collectiones Theologicæ*, an Arminian and popiſh performance, was licenſed, when the learned Dr. *Twiſſe*'s anſwer to *Arminius*, though written in Latin, was ſtopped in the preſs.‖ Mr. *Montague*'s book, entitled, *God's Love to Mankind*, was licenſed and publiſhed, when Dr. *Twiſſe*'s reply to the ſame book was ſuppreſſed. Many affidavits of this kind were made againſt *Laud* at his trial, by the moſt famous Calviniſtical writers, as will be ſeen hereafter.

The caſe was juſt the ſame with regard to books againſt popery; the queen and the Roman-catholicks muſt not be inſulted, and therefore all offenſive paſſages, ſuch as calling

† Prynne, p. 158-9. ‡ Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 667.

‖ Prynne, p. 166, 167, &c.

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the pope *antichriſt*, the church of Rome *no true church*, and every thing tending to expoſe *images* in churches, *crucifixes*, *penance*, *auricular confeſſion*, and *popiſh abſolution*, muſt be expunged. Sir *Edward Deering* compares the *licenſers of the preſs* to the managers of the *index expurgatorius* among the papiſts, "who clip the tongues of ſuch witneſſes whoſe "evidences they do not like; in like manner (ſays he) our "licenſers ſuppreſs the truth, while popiſh pamphlets fly "abroad *cum privilegio*; nay, they are ſo bold as to deface "the moſt learned labours of our ancient and beſt divines. "But herein the Roman *index* is better than *ours*, that they "approve of their own eſtabliſhed doctrines; but our inno-"vators alter our ſettled doctrines, and ſuperinduce points "repugnant and contrary. This I do affirm, and can take "upon myſelf to prove."

Terrible were the triumphs of ARBITRARY POWER over the liberty and property of the ſubject, in the intervals between this and the ſucceeding parliament; gentlemen of birth and character, who refuſed to lend what money the council was pleaſed to aſſeſs them, were taken out of their houſes and impriſoned at a great diſtance from their habitations;* among theſe were Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Sir *Walter Earle*, Sir *John Strangeways*, Sir *Thomas Grantham*, Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, *John Hampden*, eſq; and others; ſome were confined in the Fleet, the Marſhalſea, the Gatehouſe, and other priſons about London, as Sir *John Eliot*, Mr. *Selden*, &c.

Upon the whole, there were impriſoned by order of council, nineteen knights, thirteen eſquires, and four gentlemen, in the county gaols; three knights, one eſquire, and four wealthy citizens in the Fleet, beſides great numbers in other places. Thoſe of the lower ſort who refuſed to lend were preſſed for the army, or had ſoldiers quartered upon them, who by their inſolent behaviour diſturbed the peace of families, and committed frequent felonies, burglaries, rapines, murders, and other barbarous cruelties, inſomuch that the highways were dangerous to travel, and the markets unfrequented. The king would have borrowed one hundred thouſand pounds of the city of London, but they excuſed themſelves. However, his majeſty got a round ſum of money

* Rushworth, vol. i. p. 426, 432, 435, 495.

from

from the papiſts, by iſſuing a commiſſion to the archbiſhop of York, to compound with them for all their forfeitures that had been due for recuſancy, ſince the tenth of king *James* I. or that ſhould be due hereafter. By this fatal policy, (ſays the noble hiſtorian) men well affected to the hierarchy, though enemies to arbitrary power, were obliged to ſide with the *puritans* to ſave the nation, and enable them to oppoſe the deſigns of the court.

To convince the people that it was their duty to ſubmit to the loan, the clergy were employed to preach up the doctrines of paſſive-obedience and non-reſiſtance, and to prove that the abſolute ſubmiſſion of ſubjects to the royal will and pleaſure, was the doctrine of holy ſcripture;* among thoſe was Dr. *Sibthorp*, a man of mean parts, but of ſordid ambition, who in his ſermon at the Lent aſſizes at Northampton, from Rom. xiii. 7, told the people, "that if princes commanded any thing which ſubjects might not perform, becauſe it is againſt the laws of God or of nature, or impoſſible, yet ſubjects are bound to undergo the puniſhment, without reſiſting, or railing, or reviling; and ſo to yield a paſſive obedience where they cannot yield an active one." Dr. *Manwaring* went further, in two ſermons preached before the king at Oatlands, and publiſhed under the title of *religion* and *allegiance*. He ſays, "The king is not bound to obſerve the laws of the realm, concerning the ſubject's rights and liberties, but that his royal will and pleaſure, in impoſing taxes without conſent of parliament, doth oblige the ſubject's conſcience on pain of damnation; and that thoſe who refuſe obedience, tranſgreſs the laws of God, inſult the king's ſupreme authority, and are guilty of impiety, diſloyalty, and rebellion. That the authority of both houſes of parliament is not neceſſary for the raiſing aids and ſubſidies, as not ſuitable to the exigencies of the ſtate." Theſe were the doctrines of the court; "which (ſays the noble hiſtorian) were very unfit for the place, and very ſcandalous for the perſons, who preſumed often to determine things out of the verge of their own profeſſion, and *in ordine ad ſpiritualia*, gave unto *Cæſar* that that which did not belong to him."

* Ruſhworth, p. 426, 440.

Sibthorp

Sibthorp dedicated his ſermon to the king, and carried it to archbiſhop *Abbot* to be licenſed, which the honeſt old prelate refuſed, for which he was ſuſpended from all his archiepiſcopal functions, and ordered to retire to Canterbury or Ford, a mooriſh unhealthy place, five miles beyond Canterbury. The ſermon was then carried to the biſhop of London, who licenſed and recommended it *as a ſermon learnedly and diſcreetly preached, agreeable to the ancient doctrine of the primitive church, both for faith and good manners, and to the eſtabliſhed doctrine of the church of England.*

Archbiſhop *Abbot* had been out of favour for ſome time, becauſe he would not give up the laws and liberties of his country, nor treat the great duke of *Buckingham* with that ſervile ſubmiſſion that he expected.* *Heylin* ſays, the king was diſpleaſed with him for being too favourable to the *puritans*, and too remiſs in his government; and that for this reaſon he ſeized his juriſdiction, and put it into hands more diſpoſed to act with ſeverity. *Fuller* ſays,† that a commiſſion was granted to five biſhops, whereof *Laud* was one, to ſuſpend him for *caſual homicide* that he had committed ſeven years before, and of which he had been cleared by commiſſioners appointed to examine into the fact in the reign of king *James*; beſides, his *grace* had a royal diſpenſation to ſhelter him from the canons, and had ever ſince exerciſed his juriſdiction without interruption, even to the conſecrating of *Laud* himſelf to a biſhoprick. But the commiſſion mentions no cauſe of his ſuſpenſion, and only takes notice, that the *archbiſhop cannot at preſent, in his own perſon, attend the ſervices which are otherwiſe proper for his connuſance and juriſdiction.* But why could he not attend them? Becauſe his majeſty had commanded him to retire, for refuſing to licenſe *Sibthorp*'s ſermon. . The blame of this ſeverity fell upon *Laud*, as if, not having patience to wait for the reverend old prelate's death, he was deſirous to ſtep into the archiepiſcopal chair while he was alive; for no ſooner was *Abbot* ſuſpended, than his juriſdiction was put into the hands of five biſhops by commiſſion, of whom *Laud* was the chief.

* Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 61, 435. Collyer, p. 742.

† Church Hiſtory, b. xi. p. 127.

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There was another prelate that gave the court ſome uneaſineſs, (viz.) Dr. WILLIAMS biſhop of Lincoln, late lord-keeper of the great ſeal, who being in diſgrace retired to his dioceſe, and became very popular among his clergy.* He declared againſt the loan, and fell in with the *puritans* and country party, inſomuch that Sir *John Lamb* and Dr. *Sibthorp* informed the council, that they were grieved to ſee the biſhop of Lincoln give place to unconformable miniſters, when he turned his back upon thoſe who were conformable; that the puritans ruled all with him; and that divers of them in Leiceſterſhire being convened before the commiſſaries, his lordſhip would not admit proceedings to be had againſt them. That they [the commiſſaries for the high commiſſion] had informed the biſhop then at Bugden, of ſeveral of the factious puritans in his dioceſe who would not come up to the table to receive the communion kneeling; of their keeping unlawful faſts and meetings; that one faſt held from eight in the morning till nine at night; and that collections for money were made without authority, upon pretence for the Palatinate: that therefore they had deſired leave from the biſhop to proceed againſt them *ex officio*; but the biſhop replied, that he would not meddle againſt the puritans, that for his part he expected not another biſhoprick; they might complain of them if they would to the *council-table*, for he was under a cloud already. He had the duke of *Buckingham* for his enemy, and therefore would not draw the puritans upon him, for *he was ſure they would carry all things at laſt*. Beſides, he ſaid, the king, in the firſt year of his reign, had given anſwer to a petition of the lower houſe at Oxford in favour of the puritans.

It appeared by the information of others, that *Lamb* and *Sibthorp* preſſed the biſhop again to proceed againſt the puritans in Leiceſterſhire; that the biſhop then aſked them, what ſort of people they were, and of what condition? To which Sir *John Lamb* replied, in the preſence of Dr. *Sibthorp*, "that they ſeemed to the world to be ſuch as would not "ſwear, whore, nor be drunk, but yet they would lye, "cozen, and deceive; that they would frequently hear two "ſermons a day, and repeat the ſame again too, and after-

* Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 424-5.

"wards

"wards pray, and that ſometimes they would faſt all day "long." Then the biſhop aſked whether the places where thoſe puritans were, did lend money freely upon the collection for the loan? To which Sir *John Lamb* and Dr. *Sibthorp* replied that they did. Then ſaid the biſhop, no man of diſcretion can ſay, that that place is a place of puritans: For my part (ſaid the biſhop) I am not ſatisfied to give way to proceedings againſt them; at which *Sibthorp* was much diſcontented, and ſaid he was troubled to ſee that the church was no better regarded. This information being tranſmitted to the council, was ſealed up for the preſent, but was afterwards, with ſome other matters, produced againſt his lordſhip in the ſtar-chamber, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Though the king was at war with Spain, and with the houſe of Auſtria, and (if I may be allowed to ſay it) with his own ſubjects; though he had no money in his *Exchequer*, and was at the greateſt loſs how to raiſe any; yet he ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed with to enter into a new war with France, under the colour of maintaining the proteſtant religion in that country, without ſo much as thinking of ways and means to ſupport it. But when one conſiders the character of this king and his miniſtry, it is hard to believe that this could be the real motive of the war; for his majeſty and the whole court had a mortal averſion to the French hugonots.* *Buckingham* had no religion at all; *Weſton* and *Conway* were catholicks; *Laud* and *Neile* thought there was no ſalvation for proteſtants out of the church of England; how then can it be ſuppoſed that they ſhould make war in defence of a religion for which they had the utmoſt contempt? Lord *Clarendon* ſays, the war was owing to *Buckingham*'s diſappointment in his amours at the French court;† but it is more likely he adviſed it to keep up the miſunderſtandings between the king and his parliaments, by continuing the neceſſity of raiſing money by extraordinary methods, upon which his credit and reputation depended. War being declared, the queen's domeſticks were ſent home, and a fleet was fitted out, which made a fruitleſs deſcent upon the iſle of Rhee, under the conduct of the duke of *Buckingham*,

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 260, folio edit. † Vol. i. p. 38-9.

with

with the loſs of five thouſand men. This raiſed a world of complaints and murmurs againſt the duke, and obliged the weak and unhappy king to try the experiment of another parliament, which was appointed to meet March 17, 1627-8.

As ſoon as this reſolution was taken in council, orders were diſpatched to all parts of the kingdom, to releaſe the gentlemen impriſoned for the loan, to the number of ſeventy-eight, moſt of whom were choſen members for the enſuing parliament. In the mean time, his majeſty went on with raiſing money by exciſe; and inſtead of palliating and ſoftening the miſtakes of his government, put on an air of high ſovereignty, and told his parliament, that if they did not provide for the neceſſities of the ſtate, he ſhould uſe thoſe other means that God had put into his hands, to ſave that which the follies of other men would hazard. "Take not this "(ſays his majeſty) as a threatning, for I ſcorn to threaten "my inferiors,† but as an admonition from him, who by "nature and duty, has moſt care of your preſervation and "proſperity."*

But the parliament, not being awed by this language, began with grievances; and though they voted five ſubſidies, they refuſed to carry the bill through the houſe, 'till they had obtained the royal aſſent to their PETITION OF RIGHT, which aſſerted, among others, the following claims contained in *Magna Charta:*

1. That no freeman ſhall be detained in priſon by the king and privy council, without the cauſe of commitment be expreſſed, for which by law he ought to be detained.

2. That an *Habeas Corpus* ought not to be denied, where the law allows it.

3. That no tax, loan, or benevolence, ſhall be impoſed without act of parliament.

† "Any but equals." Ruſhworth. Dr. *Grey*, who gives this correction, quotes other paſſages from the king's ſpeech with a view to ſoften Mr. *Neal*'s repreſentation of it; but with little propriety; for though he expreſſes "a hope of being laid under ſuch obligations as would tie him by "way of thankfulneſs to meet them often," the whole wears the ſame air of ſovereignty as the paſſage above. It is more in the tone of an angry *monarch* to his offending ſubjects, than of a *conſtitutional king* of England to his parliament. ED.

* Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 480.

4. That

4. That no man ſhall be fore-judged of life or limb, or be exiled or deſtroyed, but by the judgment of his peers, according to the laws of the land, or by act of parliament.

The king gave the royal aſſent to this bill in the moſt ample manner, which I mention, that the reader may remember what regard his majeſty paid to it in the twelve ſucceeding years of his reign.

In the mean time, the houſe of lords went upon *Manwaring*'s ſermons already mentioned, and paſſed the following ſentence upon the author; *that he be impriſoned during pleaſure, and be fined one thouſand pounds; that he make his ſubmiſſion at the bar of the houſe, and be ſuſpended from his miniſtry for three years; that he be diſabled for ever from preaching at court, be incapable of any eccleſiaſtical or ſecular preferment, and that his ſermons be burnt in London, and both univerſities.** Purſuant to this ſentence, *Manwaring* appeared upon his knees at the bar of the houſe, June 23, [1628] and made an ample acknowledgment and ſubmiſſion, craving pardon of God, the king, the parliament, and the whole commonwealth, in words drawn up by a committee: But the houſes were no ſooner riſen, than his fine was remitted, and himſelf preferred firſt to the living of Stamford-Rivers, with a diſpenſation to hold St. Giles's in the fields, then to the deanery of Worceſter, and after ſome time to the biſhoprick of St. David's.

Within a month after this, [Auguſt 22,] *Montague* was promoted to the biſhoprick of Chicheſter, while he lay under the cenſure of parliament. At his conſecration at Bow-church, Mr. *Jones*, a ſtationer of London, ſtood up, and excepted againſt his qualification for a biſhoprick, becauſe the parliament had voted him incapable of any preferment in the church; but his exceptions were over-ruled, not being delivered in by a proctor; though *Jones* averred that he could not prevail with any one to appear for him, though he offered them their fees: So the conſecration proceeded.

Sibthorp, the other incendiary, was made prebendary of Peterborough, and rector of Burton-Latimer in Wiltſhire; though the Oxford hiſtorian† confeſſeth he had nothing to recommend him but forwardneſs and ſervile flattery.

* Ruſhworth, v. i. p. 601, 612-13. † Athenæ Oxon. v. i. p. 180.

While

While the money bill was going through the houſe of lords, the commons were buſy in drawing up a remonſtrance of the grievances of the nation, with a petition for redreſs: But as ſoon as the king had obtained his money, he came to the houſe June 26, and prorogued the parliament, firſt to the 20th of October, and then to the 26th of January. The commons being diſappointed of preſenting their remonſtrance, diſperſed it through the nation; but the king called it in, and after ſome time publiſhed an anſwer drawn up by biſhop *Laud*, as was proved againſt him at his trial.

The remonſtrance was dated June 11, and beſides the *civil* grievances of billeting ſoldiers, &c. complains with regard to religion,

1. Of the great increaſe of popery, by the laws not being put in execution; by conferring honours and places of command upon papiſts; by iſſuing out commiſſions to compound for their recuſancy, and by permitting maſs to be ſaid openly at Denmark-houſe and other places.

The *anſwer* denies any noted increaſe of popery, or that there is any cauſe to fear it. As for compoſitions, they are for the increaſe of his majeſty's profit, and for returning that into his purſe, which the connivance of inferior officers might perhaps divert another way.

2. The *remonſtrance* complains of the diſcountenancing orthodox and painful miniſters, though conformable and peaceable in their behaviour, inſomuch that they are hardly permitted to lecture where there is no conſtant preaching. —That their books are prohibited, when thoſe of their adverſaries are licenſed and publiſhed.—That the biſhops *Neile* and *Laud* are juſtly ſuſpected of arminianiſm and popiſh errors; and that this being the way to church preferment, many ſcholars bend the courſe of their ſtudies to maintain them.

The *anſwer* denies the diſtreſſing or diſcountenancing *good preachers*, if they be, as they are called, *good*; but affirms, that it was neceſſary to prohibit their books, becauſe ſome whom the remonſtrance calls orthodox, had aſſumed an inſufferable licence in printing.——That great wrong was done to the two eminent prelates mentioned, without any proof: For ſhould they or any others attempt innovation of religion

gion (ſays his majeſty) we ſhould quickly take order with them, without ſtaying for the remonſtrance; and as for church preferments, we will always beſtow them as the reward of merit; but as the preferments are ours, we will be judge, and not be taught by a remonſtrance.

3. The *remonſtrance* complains of the growth of arminianiſm, as a cunning way to bring in popery.

The *anſwer* ſays, this is a great wrong to ourſelf and government; for our people muſt not be taught by a parliamentary remonſtrance, or any other way, that we are ſo ignorant of truth, or ſo careleſs of the profeſſion of it, that any opinion or faction ſhould thruſt itſelf ſo faſt into our dominions without our knowledge. This is a mere dream, and would make our loyal people believe we are aſleep.

But the following letter, written at this time by a jeſuit in England, to the rector of the college at Bruſſels, ſufficiently ſupports the parliament's charge, and ſhews how arminianiſm and popery, which have no natural connection, came to be united at this time againſt the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of England.

"Let not the damp of aſtoniſhment ſeize upon your ar-
"dent and zealous ſoul, *(ſays the jeſuit)* in apprehending
"the unexpected calling of a parliament; we [the papiſts]
"have not oppoſed, but rather furthered it.——

"You muſt know the conncil is engaged to aſſiſt the king
"by way of prerogative, in caſe the parliament fail. You
"ſhall ſee this parliament will reſemble the pelican, which
"takes pleaſure to dig out with her beak her own bowels.

"The elections have been in ſuch confuſion of apparent
"faction, as that which we were wont to procure with
"much art and induſtry, when the Spaniſh match was in
"treaty.——

"We have now many ſtrings to our bow, and have
"ſtrongly fortified our faction, and have added two bul-
"warks more; for when king *James* lived, he was very
"violent againſt *arminianiſm*, and interrupted our ſtrong
"deſigns in Holland.

"Now we have planted that ſovereign drug *armini-*
"*aniſm*, which we hope will purge the proteſtants from
"their hereſy, and it flouriſhes and bears fruit in due ſeaſon.

"The

"The materials that build up our bulwark, are the pro-
"jectors and beggars of all ranks and qualities; however,
"both theſe factions co-operate to deſtroy the parliament,
"and to introduce a new ſpecies and form of government,
"which is *oligarchy*.

"Theſe ſerve as *mediums* and inſtruments to our end,
"which is the *univerſal catholick monarchy*; our foundation
"muſt be mutation, and mutation will cauſe a relaxation.—

"We proceed now by counſel and mature deliberation,
"how and when to work upon the duke's [*Buckingham*'s]
"jealouſy and revenge; and in this we give the honour to
"thoſe that merit it, which are the *church catholicks*.

"There is another matter of conſequence which we muſt
"take much into our conſideration and tender care, which
"is to ſtave off *puritans*, that they hang not in the duke's
"ears: They are an impudent ſubtile people, and it is to be
"feared leſt they ſhould negociate a reconciliation between
"the duke and the parliament at Oxford and Weſtminſter;
"but now we aſſure ourſelves, that we have ſo handled
"the matter, that both the duke and parliament are irre-
"concilable.

"For the better prevention of the puritans, the arminians
"have already locked up the duke's ears, and we have
"thoſe of our own religion that ſtand continually at the
"duke's chamber, to ſee who goes in and out. We can-
"not be too circumſpect and careful in this regard. I can-
"not chooſe but laugh to ſee how ſome of our own coat
"have accoutred themſelves; and it is admirable how in
"ſpeech and geſture they act the puritans. The Cambridge
"ſcholars, to their woeful experience ſhall ſee, we can act
"the puritans a little better than they have done the jeſuits.
"They have abuſed our ſacred patron in jeſt, but we will
"make them ſmart for it in earneſt.

"But to return to the main fabrick, our foundation is
"*arminianiſm*; the arminians and projectors affect muta-
"tion; this we ſecond and enforce by probable arguments.
"We ſhew how the king may free himſelf of his ward, and
"raiſe a vaſt revenue without being beholden to his ſubjects,
"which is by way of exciſe. Then our *church catholicks*
"ſhew the means how to ſettle the exciſe, which muſt be by

" a mercenary army of foreigners and *Germans*; their horſe " will eat up the country where they come, though they be " well paid, much more if they be not paid. The army is " to conſiſt of twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe; " ſo that if the country riſe upon ſettling the exciſe, as pro- " bably they will, the army will conquer them, and pay " themſelves out of the confiſcation. Our deſign is to work " the proteſtants as well as the catholicks to welcome in a " conqueror. We hope to diſſolve trade, to hinder the " building of ſhipping, and to take away the merchant " ſhips, that they may not eaſily light upon the Weſt-India " fleet, &c."

It appears from this letter, that PURITANISM was the only bulwark of the conſtitution, and of the proteſtant religion, againſt the inroads of popery and arbitrary power.*

4. To go on with the parliament's *remonſtrance*, which complains further of the miſerable condition of Ireland,

* Here Dr. *Grey* aſks, " Whence does this appear? Not from thoſe " words in the ſame letter, which ſhew that the puritans were the tools which " the jeſuits deſigned to make uſe of, in order to ſubvert the conſtitution in " the church and ſtate?" The reply to the doctor is, that the truth of Mr. *Neal*'s remark appears from thoſe paragraphs of the letter, in which are expreſſed ſtrong apprehenſions, that impediments and obſtructions to the views and ſchemes it unfolds, would ariſe from the puritans. Nay, the juſtneſs of the remark appears from the words which Dr. *Grey* produces as refuting it. For, if the jeſuits acted the puritan, could it be with a ſincere deſire to advance the influence of the puritans, and promote their wiſhes? Could it be with any other deſign than to turn againſt them the confidence into which by this means they inſinuated themſelves, and to undermine the reformation by increaſing diviſions and fomenting prejudices againſt it? Of this the collection of papers, called " Foxes and Firebrands," furniſhes evident proofs. Of this two curious letters given by Dr. *Grey* from the MSS. of Sir *Robert Cotton*, furniſh convincing proofs. Yet the doctor again aſks, " Can Mr. *Neal*, after all, be ſo weak, as to imagine that the " jeſuits would have put on the *puritan* guiſe, in order to have ruined the " conſtitution, had the puritans been the only bulwark of the conſtitution?" Weak as it might be in Mr. *Neal* to imagine it, it is a *fact*; that they did aſſume the character of the puritans in order to carry thoſe purpoſes, to which the puritans were inimical. Dr. *Grey*, probably, would not have thought this ſo weak a policy, as he repreſents it, had he recollected what is ſaid of the falſe teachers in the primitive church; who " transformed " themſelves into the apoſtles of Chriſt." Had he recollected, that it is ſaid of ſatan, that " he transformed himſelf into an angel of light;" and this to overturn thoſe intereſts of truth and virtue, of which the former knew that the latter were the bulwark. Ed.

where

where the popiſh religion is openly profeſſed, and their eccleſiaſtical diſcipline avowed, monaſteries, nunneries, and other religious houſes re-edified; and filled with men and women of ſeveral orders, even in the city of Dublin itſelf.

The *anſwer* ſays, that the proteſtant religion is not in a worſe condition than queen *Elizabeth* left it; and adds, that it is a diſparagement to the king's government to report the building of religious houſes in Dublin, and other places, when the king himſelf had no account of it.

But it ſeems the parliament knew more of the affairs of Ireland than biſhop *Laud*; the agents for that kingdom had repreſented the proteſtant religion in great danger, by the ſuſpending all proceedings againſt them ever ſince the king came to the crown; by this means they were become ſo bold, that when lord *Falkland* ſummoned their chiefs to meet at Dublin, 1626, in order to a general contribution for defence of the kingdom againſt a foreign invaſion, they declared roundly, that they would contribute nothing without a toleration, and liberty to build religious houſes; upon which the aſſembly was diſmiſſed. This awakened the proteſtant biſhops, who met together, and ſigned the following proteſtation, November 26, 1626.

"THE religion of papiſts is ſuperſtitious and idola-
"trous, and their church apoſtatical; to give them there-
"fore a toleration is a grievous ſin, becauſe it makes our-
"ſelves acceſſary to all the abominations of popery,* and
"to the perdition of thoſe ſouls that periſh thereby; and
"becauſe granting a toleration in reſpect of any money to be
"given, or contribution to be made by them, is to ſet reli-
"gion to ſale, and with it the ſouls that Chriſt has redeemed
"with his blood; we therefore beſeech the God of truth,
"to make thoſe who are in authority, zealous for God's
"glory, and reſolute againſt all popery, ſuperſtition, and
"idolatry."

Signed by archbiſhop USHER, *and eleven of his brethren.*

But notwithſtanding this proteſtation, the papiſts gained their point, and in the fourth year of the king's reign had a

"* From ſo ſilly a ſophiſm, ſo gravely delivered, I conclude," ſays biſhop *Warburton*, "*Uſher* was not that great man he has been repreſented." ED.

toleration granted them, in conſideration of the ſum of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds to be paid in three years.*

With regard to the building religious houſes, it is wonderful that neither the king nor his prime miniſter ſhould know any thing of it, when the lord-deputy *Falkland* had this very ſummer iſſued out a proclamation with this preamble: "Foraſmuch as we cannot but take notice, that the late in-"termiſſion of the legal proceedings againſt popiſh pretended "or titular archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, deans, vicars-ge-"neral, and others of that ſort, that derive their authority "and orders from Rome, hath bred ſuch an extraordinary "inſolence and preſumption in them, as that they have dared "of late, not only to aſſemble themſelves in publick places, "but alſo *have erected houſes and buildings, called publick* "*oratories, colleges, maſs-houſes, and convents of friars, monks* "*and nuns, in the eye and open view of the ſtate, and elſe-*"*where*, and do frequently exerciſe juriſdiction againſt his "majeſty's ſubjects, by authority derived from Rome, and "by colour of teaching ſchools in their pretended monaſte-"ries, to train up youth in their ſuperſtitious religion, con-"trary to the laws and eccleſiaſtical government of this "kingdom: We therefore will and require them to forbear "to exerciſe their juriſdiction within this kingdom, and to "relinquiſh and break up their convents and religious "houſes, &c.—" Could ſuch a proclamation be printed and diſperſed over the kingdom of Ireland, without being known to the Engliſh court?

But further, to ſhew that biſhop *Laud* himſelf was not long ignorant of the dangerous increaſe of popery in Ireland,

* It is to be regretted that Mr. *Neal* did not refer to his authority for this aſſertion. Dr. *Grey* quotes againſt it *Collier*, vol. ii. p. 739; who ſays, that the proteſtation of the biſhops "prevailed with the government to "wave the thoughts of a toleration, and pitch upon ſome other expedients." The Doctor might have added from *Fuller*, that the motion was cruſhed by the biſhops, and chiefly by biſhop *Downham*'s ſermon in Dublin, on Luke i. 47. Church Hiſtory, b. xi. p. 128. Though we cannot aſcertain the authority on which Mr. *Neal* ſpeaks, the reader will obſerve, that he is not contradicted by *Collier* and *Fuller*; for they ſpeak of the *immediate effect* of the oppoſition of the biſhops to the toleration of the Iriſh catholicks, and *he* writes of a meaſure adopted in repugnance to it, two years afterwards. Ed.

the

the biſhop of Kilmore and Ardagh, Dr. *Bedell*, ſent him the following account ſoon afterwards, it was dated April 1, 1630. "The popiſh clergy are more numerous than thoſe "of the church of England; they have their officials and "vicars-general for eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and are ſo "hardy as to excommunicate thoſe who appear at the "courts of the proteſtant biſhops. Almoſt every pariſh "has a prieſt of the Romiſh communion; maſſes are ſome-"times ſaid in churches, and excepting a few Britiſh planters, "not amounting to the tenth part of the people, the reſt "are all declared recuſants. In each dioceſe there are about "ſeven or eight of the reformed clergy well qualified, but "theſe not underſtanding the language of the natives can-"not perform divine ſervice, nor converſe with their pariſhi-"oners to advantage, and conſequently are in no capacity "to put a ſtop to ſuperſtition."*

* "Here" ſays Dr. *Grey*, "we have a long train of miſtakes." There are, it is true, ſeveral. Dr. *Bedell* is called Dr. *Beadle*, and biſhop *elect of Kilmore*, whereas he had the contiguous ſees of Kilmore and Ardagh, and was the actual biſhop of both, when this letter was written, April 1, 1630, having been conſecrated 13th Sept. 1629. Theſe miſtakes are imputed to Mr. *Neal:* but Dr. *Grey* ſhould have poſſeſſed the candour to have informed his readers, that they belong to Mr. *Collier*, from whom the whole paragraph is taken. This he could not but have obſerved, for he immediately refers himſelf to *Collier*, to blame Mr. *Neal* for not mentioning a remark of that author, viz. that biſhop *Bedell*'s account related to his own two dioceſes only. This the reader would of courſe underſtand to be the caſe, and even with this limitation, it is a proof of the increaſe of popery in Ireland, though it ſhould not be preſumed to be a ſpecimen of the ſtate of things in other dioceſes. The biſhop's letter was written as we have ſaid, in April 1630, and Mr. *Neal* introduces it as ſent about that time of which he was writing, *i. e.* about June 1628, This is charged againſt him as an *anachroniſm*, but it is a *ſmall miſtake*, and even a *blunder*. But in a matter of this nature, where the exiſting ſtate of things muſt have been the reſult of cauſes that had been ſome time operating, and ſhews a ſettled complexion of men and manners, it may admit a queſtion, whether the ſpace of a year and nine months can be deemed an *anachroniſm*. The biſhop's account certainly indicates what had been the *growing ſtate* of things for many months.

Mr. *Neal*, by quoting *Collier* in the above paragraph, has miſſed the moſt ſtriking clauſe in biſhop *Bedell*'s letter. He concludes by ſaying, "His ma-"jeſty is now with the greateſt part of this country, as to their hearts and "conſciences, king, *but at the pope's diſcretion*. Though it is not to the deſign of theſe notes, the editor is tempted here to give a trait in the character of this prelate's lady; who, it is ſaid, "was ſingular in many excel-"lent qualities, particularly in a very extraordinary reverence ſhe paid to "her huſband." Biſhop Burnet's Life of Bedell, p. 47, 230. ED.

Let the reader now judge, whether the *anſwer to the remonſtrance* be not very evaſive? Could this great ſtateſman be ignorant of ſo many notorious facts? Was the growth of arminianiſm and arbitrary power, a dream? Was any wrong done to himſelf, or his brother of Wincheſter, by ſaying they countenanced theſe principles? Was not the increaſe of popery both in England and Ireland notorious, by ſuſpending the penal laws, ever ſince the king came to the crown, and granting the papiſts a toleration for a ſum of money? Where then was the policy of lulling the nation aſleep, while the enemy were increaſing their numbers, and whetting their ſwords for a general maſſacre of the proteſtants, which they accompliſhed in Ireland about twelve years afterwards.

The biſhop obſerves in his diary, that this parliament laboured his ruin, becauſe they charged him with *unſoundneſs of opinion*; but his lordſhip had ſuch an influence over the king as rendered all their attempts fruitleſs; for the ſee of London becoming vacant this ſummer, LAUD was tranſlated to it July 15; and the duke of *Buckingham* being ſtabbed at Portſmouth by *Felton*, Auguſt 23, following, this ambitious prelate became *prime miniſter* in all affairs both of church and ſtate.

One of the biſhop's firſt enterprizes, after his tranſlation to London, was to ſtifle the *predeſtinarian controverſy*, for which purpoſe he procured the thirty-nine articles to be reprinted, with the following declaration at the head of them.*

By the King.

" BEING by God's ordinance, and our juſt title, de-
" fender of the faith, &c. within theſe dominions, we hold
" it agreeable to our kingly office, for the preſervation of
" unity and peace, not to ſuffer any unneceſſary diſputations
" which may nouriſh faction in the church or commonwealth:
" We, therefore, with the advice of our biſhops declare,

* Mr. *Neal* does not give the declaration at full length, but has omitted ſome clauſes and even two paragraphs; but in my opinion, without affecting the ſenſe and tenor of it; though Dr. *Grey* ſays, " he has by this, " altered and curtailed the ſenſe of it, and then charged it with *blunders*, " which are of his own making." ED.

† Bib. Reg. ſect. 3, No. 4.; or Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 188.

" that

" that the articles of the church of England which the clergy " generally have ſubſcribed, do contain the true doctrine of " the church of England, agreeable to God's word, which " we do therefore ratify and confirm, requiring all our " loving ſubjects to continue in the uniform profeſſion " thereof, and prohibiting the leaſt difference from the ſaid " articles.——We take comfort in this, that all clergymen " within our realm have always moſt willingly ſubſcribed " the articles, which is an argument that they all agree, in " the true uſual literal meaning of them; and that in thoſe " curious points, in which the preſent differences lie, men of " all ſorts take the articles to be for them, which is an ar- " gument again, that none of them intend any deſertion of " the articles eſtabliſhed: Wherefore we will, that all cu- " rious ſearch into theſe things be laid aſide, and theſe diſ- " putes be ſhut up in God's promiſes, as they be generally " ſet forth to us in holy ſcriptures, and the general meaning " of the articles according to them; and that no man here- " after preach or print to draw the article aſide any way, " but ſhall ſubmit to it, in the plain and full manner thereof, " and ſhall not put his own ſenſe or comment to the meaning " of the article, but ſhall take it in the literal and gramma- " tical ſenſe: That if any publick reader in the univerſities, " or any other perſon, ſhall affix any new ſenſe to any article, " or ſhall publickly read, or hold diſputation on either ſide; " or if any divine in the univerſities ſhall preach, or print " any thing either way, they ſhall be liable to cenſure in the " eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and we will ſee there ſhall be due " execution upon them."*

Surely there never was ſuch a confuſed unintelligible declaration printed before; but the calviniſt divines underſtood

* This declaration, Dr. *Harris* obſerves, has been produced and canvaſſed in the famous Bangorian and Trinitarian controverſies, which engaged the attention of the publick for a great number of years. *Life* of CHARLES I. p. 183—190. Dr. *Blackburne* has at large, diſcuſſed the validity of it, and is diſpoſed to conſider *James* I. as the firſt publiſher of it. He ſhews that it has been corrupted by the inſertion of the word *now*; as, " we will not en- " dure any varying, or departing, in the leaſt degree, from the doctrine " and diſcipline of the church of England NOW eſtabliſhed;" a language, he juſtly obſerves, inconſiſtent with the principles of our preſent conſtitution. Confeſſional, p. 131—143. 3d edit. ED.

the

the king's intention, and complained in a petition of "the "reſtraints they were laid under by his majeſty's forbidding "them to preach the ſaving doctrines of God's free grace in "election and predeſtination to eternal life, according to "the ſeventeenth article of the church. That this had "brought them under a very uncomfortable dilemma, either "of falling under the divine diſpleaſure, if they did not exe-"cute their commiſſion, in declaring the whole counſel of "God, or of being cenſured for oppoſition to his majeſty's "authority, in caſe they preached the received doctrines of "the church, and attacked the pelagian and arminian here-"ſies boldly publiſhed from pulpit and preſs, though cen-"ſured by king *James* as arrogant and atheiſtical; and thoſe "who avow them to be agreeable to the church of Eng-"land are called groſs liars. Therefore, they humbly in-"treat, that his majeſty would be pleaſed to take the fore-"mentioned evils and grievances into his princely conſi-"deration, and, as a wiſe phyſician, apply ſuch ſpeedy "remedies as may both cure the preſent diſtemper, and "preſerve the church and ſtate from thoſe plagues with "which their neighbours had not been a little diſtreſſed." But this addreſs was ſtopt in its progreſs, and never reached the king's ears.

In purſuance of his majeſty's declaration, all books relating to the *arminian* controverſy were called in by proclamation and ſuppreſſed, and among others *Montague*'s and *Manwaring*'s, which was only a feint to cover a more deadly blow to be reached at the puritans; for at the ſame time *Montague* aud *Manwaring* received the royal pardon, and were preferred to ſome of the beſt livings in the kingdom, (as has been obſerved) while the anſwers to their books, by Dr. *Featly*, Dr. *Goad*, Mr. *Burton*, *Ward*, *Yates*, and *Rouſe*, were not only ſuppreſſed, but the publiſhers queſtioned in the *ſtar-chamber*.

The king put on the ſame thin diſguiſe with regard to papiſts; a proclamation was iſſued out againſt prieſts and jeſuits, and particularly againſt the biſhop of *Chalcedon*; orders were alſo ſent to the lord-mayor of London, to make ſearch after them, and commit them to priſon, but at the ſame time his majeſty appointed commiſſioners to compound

with

with them for their recuſancy; ſo that inſtead of being ſuppreſſed, they became a branch of the revenue, and Sir *Richard Weſton*, a notorious papiſt, was created earl of Portland, and made lord high-treaſurer of England.

When the parliament met according to prorogation, January 20th, they began again with grievances of religion: OLIVER CROMWELL, eſq; being of the committee, reported to the houſe the countenance that was given by Dr. *Neile* biſhop of Wincheſter, to divines who preached arminian and popiſh doctrine; he mentioned the favours that had been beſtowed upon *Montague* and *Manwaring*, who had been cenſured the laſt ſeſſions of parliament; and added, *If this be the way to church-preferment, what may we expect?* Upon debating the king's late declaration, the houſe voted, *That the main end of that declaration was to ſuppreſs the puritan party, and to give liberty to the contrary ſide.* Several warm and angry ſpeeches were likewiſe made againſt the new ceremonies that began now to be introduced into the church, as images of ſaints and angels, crucifixes, altars, lighted candles, &c.

Mr. *Rouſe* ſtood up and ſaid, "— I deſire it may be "conſidered, what new paintings have been laid upon the "old face of the whore of Babylon, to make her ſhew more "lovely. I deſire it may be conſidered, how the ſee of "Rome doth eat into our religion, and fret into the very "banks and walls of it, the laws and ſtatutes of this realm. "I deſire we may conſider the increaſe of arminianiſm, an "error that makes the grace of God lackey after the will of "man.—I deſire we may look into the belly and bowels of "this *Trojan* horſe, to ſee if there be not men in it ready to "open the gates to Romiſh tyranny, for an arminian is the "ſpawn of a papiſt; and if the warmth of favour come upon "him, you ſhall ſee him turn into one of thoſe frogs that "roſe out of the bottomleſs pit; theſe men having kindled "a fire in our neighbour country, are now endeavouring to "ſet this kingdom in a flame."*———

Mr. *Pym* ſaid, "That by the articles ſet forth 1562, by "the catechiſm ſet forth in king *Edward* VIth's days, by "the writings of *Martin Bucer*, and *Peter Martyr*; by the

* Ruſhworth, p. 657-68.

"conſtant

" conſtant profeſſions ſealed with the blood of many martyrs, " as *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and others; by the thirty-ſix articles " of queen *Elizabeth*, and by the articles agreed upon at " Lambeth as the doctrine of the church of England, which " king *James* ſent to Dort, and to Ireland, it appears evi- " dently what is the eſtabliſhed religion of the realm. Let " us therefore ſhew wherein theſe late opinions differ from " thoſe truths; and what men have been ſince preferred " who have profeſſed the contrary hereſies; what pardons " they have had for falſe doctrine; what prohibiting of " books and writings againſt their doctrine, and permitting " of ſuch books as have been for them. Let us enquire " after the abettors, and after the pardons granted to them " that preach the contrary truth before his majeſty. It be- " longs to parliaments to eſtabliſh true religion, and to pu- " niſh falſe. We muſt know what parliaments have done " formerly in religion. Our parliaments have confirmed " general councils. In the time of king *Henry* VIII. the earl " of *Eſſex* was condemned [by parliament] for countenan- " cing books of hereſy. The convocation is but a provincial " ſynod of Canterbury, and cannot bind the whole kingdom. " As for York it is diſtant, and cannot bind us or the laws; " and as for the high commiſſion, it is derived from par- " liament——"*

Sir *John Elliot* ſaid, " ——If there be any difference in " opinion concerning the interpretation of the thirty-nine " articles, it is ſaid, the biſhops and clergy in convocation " have power to diſpute it, and to order which way they " pleaſe. A ſlight thing, that the power of religion ſhould " be left to theſe men! I honour their profeſſion; there are " among our biſhops ſuch as are fit to be made examples " for all ages, who ſhine in virtue, and are firm for religion; " but the contrary faction I like not. I remember a cha- " racter I have ſeen in a diary of king *Edward* VI. where " he ſays of the biſhops, that *ſome for age, ſome for ignorance,* " *ſome for luxury, and ſome for popery, were unfit for diſci-* " *pline and government.* We ſee there are ſome among our " biſhops that are not orthodox, nor ſound in religion as " they ſhould be, witneſs the two biſhops complained of the

* Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 659.

" laſt

"laſt meeting of this parliament; ſhould we be in their "power, I fear our religion would be overthrown. Some of "theſe are *maſters of ceremonies*, and labour to introduce new "ceremonies into the church.——Let us go to the ground "of our religion, and lay down a rule on which all others "may reſt, and then enquire after offenders."*

Mr. *Secretary Cook* ſaid, "That the fathers of the church "were aſleep; but a little to awaken their zeal, it is fit (ſays "he) that they take notice of that hierarchy that is already "eſtabliſhed, in competition with their lordſhips, for they "[the papiſts] have a biſhop conſecrated by the pope; this "biſhop has his ſubaltern officers of all kinds, as vicars-"general; archdeacons, rural deans, apparitors, &c. neither "are theſe nominal or titular officers only, but they all exe-"cute their juriſdictions, and make their ordinary viſitations "throughout the kingdom, keep courts, and determine "eccleſiaſtical cauſes; and, which is an argument of more "conſequence, they keep ordinary intelligence by their "agents in Rome, and hold correſpondence with the nun-"cios and cardinals both at Bruſſels and France. Neither "are the ſeculars alone grown to this height, but the regu-"lars are more active and dangerous.——Even at this time "they intend to hold a concurrent aſſembly with this par-"liament.—" After ſome other ſpeeches of this kind, the houſe of commons entered into the following vow.

"*WE the commons in parliament aſſembled, do claim, pro-"teſt, and avow for truth, the ſenſe of the articles of religion "which were eſtabliſhed by parliament in the thirteenth year "of our late queen* Elizabeth, *which by the publick act of the "church of England, and by the general and current expoſi-"tion of the writers of our church have been delivered unto us. "And we reject the ſenſe of the* jeſuits *and* arminians, *and all "others that differ from us.*"†

* Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 660-61.

"† This proteſtation," Dr. *Blackburne* remarks, "is equivalent at leaſt "to any other *reſolution* of the Houſe. It is found amongſt the moſt authentic "records of parliament. And whatever force or operation it had the mo-"ment it was publiſhed, the ſame it has to this hour; being never revoked "or repealed in any ſucceeding parliament, nor containing any one par-"ticular, which is not in perfect agreement with every part of our preſent "conſtitution, civil and religious." Confeſſional, p. 142.

Biſhop

Biſhop Laud in his anſwer to this proteſtation, has ſeveral remarks. "*Is there by this act* (ſays his lordſhip) *any interpretation of the articles or not? If none, to what end is the act? If a ſenſe or interpretation be declared, what authority have laymen to make it? for interpretation of an article belongs to them only that have power to make it.*" To which it might be anſwered, that the *commons* made no new interpretation of the articles, but avowed for truth the current ſenſe of expoſitors before that time, in oppoſition to the modern interpretation of jeſuits and arminians. *But what authority have* LAYMEN *to make it? Anſwer.* The ſame that they had in the 13th of *Elizabeth* to eſtabliſh them, as the doctrine of the church of England; unleſs we will ſay with Mr. *Collyer*, that neither the ſenſe of the articles, nor the articles themſelves, were eſtabliſhed in that parliament or in any other.* If ſo, they are no part of the legal conſtitution, and men may ſubſcribe the words without putting any ſenſe upon them at all: an admirable way to prevent diverſity of opinions in matters of faith! But his lordſhip adds, "*That it is againſt the king's declaration, which ſays, we muſt take the* GENERAL MEANING *of them, and not draw them aſide any way, but take them in the literal and grammatical ſenſe.*"† Has the king then a power, without convocation or parliament, to interpret and determine the ſenſe of the articles for the whole body of the clergy? By the *general meaning* of the articles the declaration ſeems to underſtand no one determined ſenſe at all. Strange! that ſo learned and wiſe a body of clergy and laity, in convocation and parliament, ſhould eſtabliſh a number of articles with this title, *for the avoiding of diverſity of opinions, and for the eſtabliſhing of conſent touching true religion*, without any one determined ſenſe! The biſhop goes on, and *excepts againſt the current ſenſe of expoſitors*, "*becauſe they may, and perhaps do go againſt the literal ſenſe.*" Will his lordſhip then abide by the literal and grammatical ſenſe? No, but "*if an article bear more ſenſes than one, a man may chooſe what ſenſe his judgment directs him to, provided it be a* SENSE, *according to the analogy of faith, till the church determine a* [particular] SENSE; *but 'tis the wiſdom of the church to re-*

* Eccleſ. Hiſt. p. 747. † Prynne Cant. Doom. p. 164.

quire

"*quire conſent to articles in general as much as may be, and not "require aſſent to particulars.*" His lordſhip had better have ſpoken out, and ſaid, that it would be the wiſdom of the church to require no ſubſcriptions at all. To what ſtraits are men driven to comply with the laws, when their ſentiments differ from the literal and grammatical ſenſe of the articles of the church! Mr. *Collyer* ſays, they have *no eſtabliſhed ſenſe*; king *Charles*, in his declaration, that they are to be underſtood in a *general ſenſe*, but not to be drawn aſide to a particular *determined ſenſe*; biſhop *Laud* thinks, that if the words will bear more ſenſes than one, a man may chooſe what ſenſe his judgment directs him to, provided it be a SENSE, according to the analogy of faith, and all this for avoiding diverſity of opinions! But I am afraid this reaſoning is too wonderful for the reader.

While the parliament were expreſſing their zeal againſt *arminianiſm* and *popery*, a new controverſy aroſe, which provoked his majeſty to diſſolve them, and to reſolve to govern without parliaments for the future; for though the king had ſo lately ſigned the *petition of right* in full parliament, he went on with levying money by his royal prerogative. A bill was depending in the houſe to grant his majeſty the duties of tonnage and poundage; but before it was paſſed, the *cuſtom-houſe* officers ſeized the goods of three eminent merchants, Mr. *Rolls*, Mr. *Chambers*, and Mr. *Vaſſal*, for non-payment. Mr. *Chambers* was fined two thouſand pounds, beſides the loſs of his goods, and ſuffered ſix years impriſonment: Mr. *Rolls*'s warehouſes were locked up, and himſelf taken out of the houſe of commons and impriſoned. This occaſioned ſome warm ſpeeches againſt the *cuſtom-houſe* officers and farmers of the revenues; but the king took all the blame on himſelf, and ſent the houſe word, that what the *officers* had done, was by his ſpecial direction and command, and that it was not ſo much their act as his own. This was a new way of covering the unwarrantable proceedings of corrupt miniſters, and was ſaid to be the advice of the biſhops *Laud* and *Neile*; a contrivance that laid the foundation of his majeſty's ruin. It is a maxim in law, that *the king can do no wrong*, and that all mal-adminiſtrations are chargeable upon his miniſters; yet now, in order to ſcreen his ſervants, his

his majeſty will make himſelf anſwerable for their conduct. So that if the parliament will defend their rights and properties, they muſt charge the king *perſonally*, who in his own opinion *was above law, and accountable for his actions to none but God.* It was moved in the houſe, that notwithſtanding the king's anſwer, the officers of the cuſtoms ſhould be proceeded againſt, by ſeparating their intereſts from the king's: But when the ſpeaker, Sir *John Finch*, was deſired to put the queſtion, he refuſed, ſaying the king had commanded the contrary.* Upon which the houſe immediately adjourned to January 25, and were then adjourned by the king's order to March 2, when meeting again, and requiring the ſpeaker to put the former queſtion, he again refuſed, and ſaid he had the king's order to adjourn them to March 16, but they detained him in the chair, not without ſome tumult and confuſion, till they made the following proteſtation.

1. "Whoſoever ſhall by favour or countenance, ſeem to "extend or introduce popery or arminianiſm, ſhall be re-"puted a capital enemy of the kingdom.

2. "Whoſoever ſhall adviſe the levying the ſubſidies of "*tonnage* and *poundage*, not being granted by parliament, "ſhall be reputed a capital enemy.

3. "If any merchant ſhall voluntarily pay thoſe duties, "he ſhall be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, "and an enemy of the ſame."†

The next day warrants were directed to *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *John Elliot*, *William Coriton*, *Benjamin Valentine*, *John Selden*, eſqrs. and four more of the principal members of the houſe to appear before the council on the morrow: Four of them appeared accordingly, (viz.) Mr. *Hollis*, *Elliot*, *Coriton*, and *Valentine*; who refuſing to anſwer out of parliament for what was ſaid in the houſe, were committed cloſe priſoners to the tower. The ſtudies of the reſt were ordered to be ſealed up, and a proclamation iſſued for apprehending them; though the parliament not being diſſolved, they were actually members of the houſe. On the 10th of March, the king came

* Whitelocke's Memorial, p. 12. Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 669.

† Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 670.

to

to the houſe of lords, and without ſending for the commons, or paſſing one ſingle act, diſſolved the parliament, with a very angry ſpeech againſt the leading members of the lower houſe, whom he called *vipers*, that caſt a miſt of undutifulneſs over moſt of their eyes: "And as thoſe vipers (ſays "his majeſty) muſt look for their reward of puniſhment; "ſo you, *my lords*, muſt juſtly expect from me that favour "that a good king oweth to his loving and faithful nobility."*

The undutifulneſs of the commons was only their keeping the ſpeaker in the chair, after he had ſignified that the king had adjourned them, which his majeſty had no power of doing, and no king before king *James* I. pretended *to adjourn* parliaments, and when he claimed that power, it was complained of as a breach of privilege. It is one thing to prorogue or diſſolve a parliament, and another to adjourn it, the latter being the act of the houſe itſelf, and the conſequence of veſting ſuch a power in the crown might be very fatal; for if the king may adjourn the houſe in the midſt of their debates, or forbid the ſpeaker to put a queſtion when required, it is eaſy to foreſee the whole buſineſs of parliament muſt be under his direction.† The members abovementioned were ſentenced to be impriſoned during the king's pleaſure; and were accordingly kept under cloſe confinement many years, where Sir *John Elliot* died a martyr to the liberties of his country.‡ Mr. *Hollis* was fined a thouſand marks, Sir *John Elliot* two thouſand pounds, *Valentine* five hundred pounds, and *Long* two thouſand marks.

Great were the murmurings of the people upon this occaſion: libels were diſperſed againſt the prime miniſter LAUD; one of which ſays, *Laud, look to thyſelf, be aſſured thy life is*

* Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 672. † Rapin, vol. ii. p. 279, fol. ed.

‡ "An affecting portrait of this gentleman is now in the poſſeſſion of "lord *Elliot*. He is drawn pale, languiſhing, and emaciated;—but diſ-"daining to make the abject ſubmiſſion required of him by the tyrant, he "expired under the exceſſive rigours of his confinement, leaving the por-"trait as a legacy and memento to his poſterity, and to mankind; who, "in the contemplation of ſuch enormities, have reaſon to rejoice

"When vengeance in the lucid air
"Lifts her red arm expos'd and bare."

Belſham's Memoirs of the Houſe of Brunſwick Lunenburgh, vol. i. p. 185, note. ED.

ſought.

*ſought. As thou art the fountain of wickedneſs, repent of thy monſtrous ſins before thou be taken out of this world; and aſſure thyſelf, neither God nor the world can endure ſuch a vile counſellor or whiſperer to live.** But to juſtify theſe proceedings to the world, his majeſty publiſhed *a declaration of the cauſes of diſſolving the laſt parliament.*

The *declaration* vindicates the king's taking the duties of tonnage and poundage, from the examples of ſome of his predeceſſors, and as agreeable to his kingly honour. It juſtifies the ſilencing the predeſtinarian controverſy, and lays the blame of not executing the laws againſt papiſts, upon ſubordinate officers and miniſters in the country: "We pro- "feſs (ſays his Majeſty) that as it is our duty, ſo it ſhall be "our care to command and direct well; but it is the part of "others to perform the miniſterial office; and when we "have done our office, we ſhall account ourſelf, and all cha- "ritable men will account us innocent, both to God and "men; and thoſe that are negligent, we will eſteem cul- "pable, both to God and us." The declaration concludes with a profeſſion that "the king will maintain the true reli- "gion of the church of England, without conniving at "popery or ſchiſm: That he will maintain the rights and "liberties of his ſubjects, provided they do not miſuſe their "liberty, by turning it to licentiouſneſs, wantonly and fro- "wardly reſiſting our lawful and *neceſſary authority*; for we "do expect our ſubjects ſhould yield as much ſubmiſſion to "our royal prerogative, and as ready obedience to our au- "thority and commandments, as has been performed to the "greateſt of our predeceſſors. We will not have our *mini- "ſters* terrified by harſh proceedings againſt them; for as "we expect our miniſters ſhould obey us, they ſhall aſſure "themſelves we will protect them."†

This declaration not quieting the people, was followed by a proclamation, which put an end to all proſpects of recovering the conſtitution for the future. The proclamation declares his majeſty's royal pleaſure, "That ſpreaders of "falſe reports ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed; that ſuch as cheer- "fully go on with their trades, ſhall have all good encou-

* Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 672. † Ibid. vol. ii. Appen. p. 3—10.

"ragement:

"ragement: That he will not overcharge his ſubjects with "any new burdens, but will ſatisfy himſelf with the duties "received by his royal father, which he neither can, nor "will diſpenſe with. And whereas, for ſeveral ill ends, the "calling of another parliament is divulged, his majeſty de-"clares, that the late abuſe having for the preſent driven "his majeſty unwillingly out of that courſe, he ſhall account "it preſumption for any to preſcribe any time to his ma-"jeſty for parliaments, the calling, continuing, ad diſſolving "of which, is always in the king's own power."*——Here was an end of the old Engliſh conſtitution, for twelve years. England was now an abſolute monarchy; the king's proclamations and orders of council were the laws of the land; the miniſters of ſtate ſported themſelves in the moſt wanton acts of power; and the religion, laws, and liberties of this country lay proſtrate and overwhelmed by an inundation of popery and oppreſſion.

This year died the reverend Dr. *John Preſton*, deſcended of the family of the *Preſtons* in Lancaſhire. He was born at Heyford in Northamptonſhire, in the pariſh of Bugbrook, 1587, and was admitted of King's college, Cambridge, 1604, from whence he was afterwards removed to Queen's-college, and admitted fellow in the year 1609.† He was an ambitious and aſpiring youth, till having received ſome religious impreſſions from Mr. *Cotton*, in a ſermon preached by him at St. Mary's church, he became remarkably ſerious, and bent all his ſtudies to the ſervice of Chriſt in the miniſtry. When the king came to Cambridge, Mr. *Preſton* was appointed to diſpute before him: The queſtion was, *whether brutes had reaſon, or could make ſyllogiſms?* Mr. *Preſton* maintained the affirmative; and inſtanced in a hound, who coming to a place where three ways meet, ſmells one way and the other; but not finding the ſcent, runs down the third with full cry, concluding that the hare not being gone either of the two firſt ways, muſt neceſſarily be gone the third. The argument had a wonderful effect on the audi-

* Ruſhworth, vol. ii. p. 3.

† Clarke's Life of Dr. Preſton; annexed to his GENERAL MARTYROLOGY, p. 75.

ence, and would have opened a door for Mr. *Preſton*'s preferment, had not his inclinations to puritaniſm been a bar in the way. He therefore reſolved upon an academical life, and took upon him the care of pupils, for which he was qualified beyond moſt in the univerſity. Many gentlemen's ſons were committed to his care, who trained them up in the ſentiments of the firſt reformers; for he affected the very ſtile and language of *Calvin*. When it came to his turn to be catechiſt, he went through a whole body of divinity with ſuch general acceptance, that the outward chapel was uſually crouded with ſtrangers before the fellows came in, which created him envy. Complaint was made to the vice-chancellor of this unuſual way of catechiſing, and that it was not ſafe to ſuffer Dr. *Preſton* to be thus adored, unleſs they had a mind to ſet up *puritaniſm*, and pull down the hierarchy; it was therefore agreed in the convocation-houſe, that no ſtranger, neither townſman nor ſcholar, ſhould upon any pretence come to thoſe lectures, which were only deſigned for the members of the college.

There was little preaching in the univerſity at this time, except at St. Mary's, the lectures at Trinity and St. Andrews being prohibited; Mr. *Preſton* therefore, at the requeſt of the townſmen and ſcholars of other colleges, attempted to ſet up an evening ſermon at St. Buttolph's, belonging to Queen's-college; but when Dr. *Newcomb*, commiſſary to the biſhop of Ely, heard of it, he came to the church and forbad it, commanding that evening prayers only ſhould be read: There was a vaſt croud, and earneſt entreaty that Mr. *Preſton* might preach, at leaſt for that time, but the commiſſary was inexorable, and to prevent further importunities, went home with his family; after he was gone, Mr. *Preſton* was prevailed with to preach; and becauſe much time had been ſpent in debates, they adventured for once to admit the ſervice, that the ſcholars might be preſent at their college prayers. Next day the *commiſſary* went to Newmarket, and complained both to the biſhop and king; he repreſented the danger of the hierarchy, and the progreſs of non-conformity among the ſcholars, and aſſured them that Mr. *Preſton* was in ſuch high eſteem, that he would carry all before him if he was not thoroughly dealt with.

Being

Being called before his ſuperiors, he gave a plain narrative of the fact; and added, that he had no deſign to affront the biſhop or his commiſſary. The biſhop ſaid, the king was informed that he was an enemy to *forms of prayer*, which Mr. *Preſton* denying, he was ordered to declare his judgment upon that head, in a ſermon at St. Buttolph's church, and ſo was diſmiſſed.

Some time after, king *James* being at Newmarket, Mr. *Preſton* was appointed to preach before him, which he performed with great applauſe, having a fluent ſpeech, a commanding voice, and a ſtrong memory, to deliver what he had prepared without the aſſiſtance of notes. The king ſpake familiarly to him; and though his majeſty expreſſed a diſlike to ſome of his puritan notions, he commended his oppoſing the arminians. And the duke of *Buckingham* not knowing what friends he might want among the populace, perſuaded the king to admit him one of the prince's chaplains in ordinary, and to wait two months in the year, which he did. Soon after this he was choſen preacher of Lincoln's-inn, and upon the reſignation of Dr. *Chadderton*, maſter of Emanuel college, in the year 1622, at which time he took his degree of doctor of divinity. The doctor was a fine gentleman, a complete courtier, and in high eſteem with the duke of *Buckingham*, who thought by his means to ingratiate himſelf with the *puritans*,* whoſe power was growing very formidable in parliament. The duke offered him the biſhoprick of Glouceſter, but the doctor refuſed, and choſe rather the lecture-ſhip of Trinity church, which he kept till his death. By his intereſt in the duke and the prince, he did conſiderable ſervice for many ſilenced miniſters; he was in waiting when king *James* died, and came up with the young king and duke in a cloſe coach to London. But ſome time after the duke having changed meaſures, and finding that he could neither gain over the puritans to his arbitrary deſigns, nor ſeparate the doctor from their intereſts, he reſolved to ſhake hands with his chaplain. The doctor foreſeeing the ſtorm, was content to retire quietly to his college, where it is appre-

* "But *Preſton*, who was as great a politician as the duke," ſays Mr. *Granger*, "was not to be over-reached." ED.

hended he would have felt ſome further effects of the duke's diſpleaſure, if God in his providence had not cut him out work of a different nature, which engaged all his thoughts to the time of his death.

Dr. *Preſton* lived a ſingle life, being never married; nor had he any *cure of ſouls*. He had a ſtrong conſtitution, which he wore out in his ſtudy and in the pulpit. His diſtemper was a conſumption in the lungs, for which, by the advice of phyſicians, he changed the air ſeveral times; but the failure of his appetite with other ſymptoms of a general decay, prevailed with him at length to leave off all medicine, and reſign himſelf to the will of God. And being deſirous of dying in his native country, and among his old friends, he retired into Northamptonſhire, where he departed this life in a moſt pious and devout manner, in the forty-firſt year of his age; and was buried in Fawſley church, old Mr. *Dod*, miniſter of the place, preaching his funeral ſermon to a numerous auditory, July 20th, 1628. Mr. *Fuller** ſays, "He was an excellent preacher, a ſubtle diſputant, a great "politician; ſo that his foes muſt confeſs, that (if not having "too little of the dove) he had enough of the ſerpent. "Some will not ſtick to ſay, he had parts ſufficient to ma- "nage the broad-ſeal, which was offered him, but the con- "ditions did not pleaſe. He might have been the duke's "right hand, but his grace finding that he could not bring "him nor his party off to his ſide, he would uſe him no "longer;" which ſhews him to be an honeſt man. His practical works and ſermons were printed by his own order after his deceaſe.

* Book xi. p. 131.

CHAP. IV.

From the Diſſolution of the third Parliament of King CHARLES I. *to the Death of Archbiſhop* ABBOT.

THE ancient and legal government of England, by king, lords, and commons, being now ſuſpended by the royal will and pleaſure, his majeſty reſolved to ſupply the neceſſities of the ſtate, by ſuch other methods as his council ſhould adviſe, who gave a *looſe* to their actions, being no longer afraid of a parliamentary enquiry, and above the reach of ordinary juſtice. Inſtead of the authority of king and parliament, all publick affairs were directed by proclamations of the king and council, which had the force of ſo many laws, and were bound upon the ſubject under the ſevereſt penalties. They levied the duties of tonnage and poundage, and laid what other impoſts they thought proper upon merchandize, which they let out to farm to private perſons; the number of monopolies was incredible; there was no branch of the ſubject's property that the miniſtry could diſpoſe of, but was bought and ſold. They raiſed above a million a year by taxes on *ſoap*, *ſalt*, *candles*, *wine*, *cards*, *pins*, *leather*, *coals*, &c. *even to the ſole gathering of rags.* Grants were given out for *weighing hay and ſtraw within three miles of London*; *for gaugeing red herring barrels, and butter caſks*; *for marking iron, and ſealing lace*;* with a great many others; which being purchaſed of the crown, muſt be paid for by the ſubject. His majeſty claimed a right in *caſes of neceſſity* (of which *neceſſity* himſelf was the ſole judge) to raiſe money by *ſhip writs*, or royal mandates, directed to the ſheriffs of the ſeveral counties, to levy on the ſubject the ſeveral ſums of money therein demanded, for the maintenance and ſupport of the *royal navy.* The like was demanded for the royal army, by the name of *coat and conduct money*, when they were to march; and when they were in

* Stevens's Hiſtorical Account of all Taxes, p. 183-4. 2d edit.

quarters,

quarters, the men were billeted upon private houſes. Many were put to death by martial law, who ought to have been tried by the laws of the land; and others by the ſame martial law were exempted from the puniſhment, which by law they deſerved. Large ſums of money were raiſed by commiſſions under the great ſeal, to compound for *depopulations, for nuiſances in building between high and low water mark, for pretended encroachments on the foreſts*, &c. beſide the *exorbitant fines* of the ſtar-chamber and high commiſſion court; and the extraordinary projects of *loans, benevolences, and free gifts*. Such was the calamity of the times, that no man could call any thing his own longer than the king pleaſed; or might ſpeak or write againſt theſe proceedings, without the utmoſt hazard of his liberty and eſtate.

The church was governed by the like arbitrary and illegal methods; Dr. LAUD, biſhop of London, being prime miniſter, purſued his wild ſcheme of *uniting the two churches of England and Rome*,* without the leaſt regard to the rights of conſcience, or the laws of the land, and very ſeldom to the canons of the church, bearing down all who oppoſed him with unrelenting ſeverity and rigour. To make way for this union, the *churches* were not only to be repaired, but ornamented with pictures, paintings, images, altar-pieces, &c. the *forms of publick worſhip* were to be decorated with a number of pompous rites and ceremonies, in imitation of

* Dr. *Grey* is much diſpleaſed with Mr. *Neal* for this repreſentation of *Laud*'s views; but, without bringing any direct evidences to refute it, he appeals to the anſwer of *Fiſher*, and the teſtimonies of Sir *Edward Deering* and *Limborch* to ſhew, that the archbiſhop was not a papiſt. This may be admitted, and the proofs of it are alſo adduced by Dr. *Harris*, [Life of Charles I. p. 207,] yet it will not be ſo eaſy to acquit *Laud* of a partiality for the *church*, though not the *court*, of Rome, according to the diſtinction *May* makes in his parliamentary hiſtory. It will not be ſo eaſy to clear him of the charge of ſymbolizing with the church of Rome in its two leading features, *ſuperſtition* and *intolerance*. Under his primacy the church of England, it is plain, aſſumed a very popiſh appearance. "Not only "the pomps of ceremonies was daily increaſed, and innovations of great "ſcandal brought into the church; but, in point of doctrine, many fair "approaches made towards Rome." Even *Heylin* ſays, "the doctrines "are altered in many things; as, for example, the pope not antichriſt, "pictures, free-will, &c.; the thirty-nine articles ſeeming patient, if not "ambitious alſo, of ſome catholick ſenſe."——May's Parliamentary Hiſtory, p. 22-3; and Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 252. ED.

the

the church of Rome; and the *puritans*, who were the profeſſed enemies of every thing that looked like popery, were to be ſuppreſſed or driven out of the land. To accompliſh the latter, his lordſhip preſented the king with certain conſiderations for ſettling the church, which were ſoon after publiſhed with ſome little variation, under the title of *Inſtructions to the two Archbiſhops, concerning certain orders to be obſerved, and put in execution by the ſeveral Biſhops.*

Here his majeſty commands them to ſee, that his declaration for ſilencing the predeſtinarian controverſy be ſtrictly obſerved; and that ſpecial care be taken of the lectures and afternoon ſermons, in their ſeveral dioceſes, concerning which he is pleaſed to give the following inſtructions:*

1. "That in all pariſhes the afternoon ſermons be turned "into catechizing by queſtion and anſwer, where there is "not ſome great cauſe to break this ancient and profit-"able order.

2. "That every lecturer read divine ſervice before lecture "in ſurplice and hood.

3. "That where there are lectures in market-towns, "they be read by grave and orthodox divines; and that "they preach in gowns, and not in cloaks, as too many "do uſe.

4. "That no lecturer be admitted, that is not ready and "willing to take upon him a living with cure of ſouls.

5. "That the biſhops take order, that the ſermons of the "lecturers be obſerved.

6. "That none under noblemen, and men qualified by "law, keep a private chaplain.

7. "That care be taken, that the prayers and catechiſings "be frequented, as well as ſermons." Of all which his majeſty requires an account once a year.

By virtue of theſe inſtructions, the biſhop of London ſummoned before him all miniſters and lecturers in and about the city, and in a ſolemn ſpeech inſiſted on their obedience. He alſo ſent letters to his archdeacons, requiring them to ſend

* A liberal mind will reprobate theſe inſtructions, as evading argument, preventing diſcuſſion and enquiry, breathing the ſpirit of intolerance and perſecution, aud indicating timidity. ED.

him

him liſts of the ſeveral lecturers within their archdeaconries, as well in places exempt as not exempt, with the places where they preached, and their quality or degree; as alſo the names of ſuch gentlemen, who being not qualified, kept chaplains in their own houſes. His lordſhip required them further, to leave a copy of the king's inſtructions concerning lecturers with the parſon of every pariſh, and to ſee that they were duly obſerved.

Theſe LECTURERS were chiefly *puritans*, who not being ſatisfied with a full conformity, ſo as to take upon them *a cure of ſouls*, only preached in the afternoons, being choſen and maintained by the people. They were ſtrict calviniſts, warm and affectionate preachers, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a religious obſervance of the Lord's-day, by a bold oppoſition to popery and the new ceremonies, and by an uncommon ſeverity of life. Their manner of preaching gave the biſhop a diſtaſte to ſermons, who was already of opinion that they did more harm than good, inſomuch that on a faſt day for the plague then in London, prayers were ordered to be read in all churches, but not a ſermon to be preached, leſt the people ſhould wander from their own pariſhes. The *lecturers* had very popular talents, and drew great numbers of people after them. Biſhop *Laud* would often ſay, "They were the moſt dangerous enemies of the "ſtate, becauſe by their prayers and ſermons they awakened "the people's diſaffection, and therefore muſt be ſuppreſſed."

Good old archbiſhop *Abbot* was of another ſpirit, but the reins were taken out of his hands. He had a good opinion of the *lecturers*, as men who had the proteſtant religion at heart, and would fortify their hearers againſt the return of popery.* When Mr. *Palmer*, lecturer of St. Alphage in Canterbury, was commanded to deſiſt from preaching by the archdeacon, becauſe he drew great numbers of factious people after him, and did not wear the ſurplice, the archbiſhop authorized him to continue: The like he did by Mr. *Udnay*, of Aſhford, for which he was complained of, as not enforcing the king's inſtructions, whereby the commiſſioners (as they ſay) were made a ſcorn to the factious, and the archdeacon's juriſdiction inhibited. But in the dioceſe of

* Prynne's Introd. p. 94, 361, 373.

London

London biſhop *Laud* proceeded with the utmoſt ſeverity. Many lecturers were put down, and ſuch as preached againſt *arminianiſm* or the new ceremonies, were ſuſpended and ſilenced; among whom were the reverend Mr. *John Rogers* of Dedham, Mr. *Daniel Rogers* of Wethersfield, Mr. *Hooker* of Chelmsford, Mr. *White* of Knightſbridge, Mr. *Archer*, Mr. *William Martin*, Mr. *Edwards*, Mr. *Jones*, Mr. *Dod*, Mr. *Hilderſham*, Mr. *Ward*, Mr. *Saunders*, Mr. *James Gardiner*, Mr. *Foxley*, and many others.

The reverend Mr. *Bernard*, lecturer of St. Sepulchre's, London, having uſed this expreſſion in his prayer before ſermon, *Lord open the eyes of the queen's majeſty, that ſhe may ſee Jeſus Chriſt, whom ſhe has pierced with her infidelity, ſuperſtition, and idolatry*,* was ſummoned before the high commiſſion January 28th, and upon his humble ſubmiſſion was diſmiſſed; but ſome time after, in his ſermon at St. Mary's in Cambridge, ſpeaking offenſive words againſt *arminianiſm* and the new ceremonies, biſhop *Laud* ſent for a copy of his ſermon, and having cited him before the high commiſſion, required him to make an open recantation of what he had ſaid, which his conſcience not ſuffering him to do, he was ſuſpended from his miniſtry, excommunicated, fined one thouſand pounds, condemned in coſts of ſuit, and committed to New Priſon, where he lay ſundry months, being cruelly uſed, and almoſt ſtarved for want of neceſſaries, of which he complained to the biſhop in ſundry letters, but could get no relief unleſs he would recant. Mr. *Bernard* offered to confeſs his ſorrow and penitence for any overſights, or unbecoming expreſſions in his ſermons, which would not be accepted; ſo that in concluſion he was utterly ruined.

Mr. *Charles Chauncey*, miniſter of Ware, having ſaid in a ſermon, *that the preaching of the goſpel would be ſuppreſſed, and that there was much atheiſm, popery, arminianiſm, and hereſy crept into the church*, was queſtioned for it in the high commiſſion, and not diſmiſſed till he had made an open recantation, which we ſhall meet with hereafter.

Mr. *Peter Smart*, one of the prebendaries of Durham, and miniſter of that city, was impriſoned by the high com-

* Ruſhworth, vol. ii. p. 32, 140. Prynne, p. 365, 367.

miſſion

miſſion of York this ſummer, for a ſermon preached from theſe words, *I hate all thoſe that love ſuperſtitious vanities, but thy law do I love*; in which he took occaſion to ſpeak againſt images and pictures, and the late pompous innovations. He was confined four months before the commiſſioners exhibited any articles againſt him, and five more before any proctor was allowed him. From York he was carried up to Lambeth, and from thence back again to York, and at length was deprived of his prebend, degraded, excommunicated, fined five hundred pounds, and committed cloſe priſoner, where he continued eleven years, till he was ſet at liberty by the long parliament in 1640. He was a perſon of a grave and reverend aſpect,* but died ſoon after his releaſe: The ſeverity of a long impriſonment having contributed to the impairing his conſtitution.†

The king's inſtructions and the violent meaſures of the prime miniſter, brought a great deal of buſineſs into the *ſpiritual courts*; one or other of the puritan miniſters was

* Fuller's Church Hiſtory, b. ii. p. 173.

† "Here the hiſtorian," remarks biſhop *Warburton*, "was much at a "loſs for his confeſſor's good qualities, while he is forced to take up with "his *grave and reverend aſpect*." It might have ſcreened this paſſage from his lordſhip's ſneer and ſarcaſm that theſe are the words of *Fuller*, whoſe hiſtory furniſhed the whole paragraph, and whoſe deſcription of Mr. *Smart* goes into no other particulars. His lordſhip certainly did not wiſh Mr. *Neal* to have drawn a character from his own invention. Not to urge that the countenance is the index of the mind. It appears, as Dr. *Grey* obſerves, that the proceedings againſt *Smart* commenced in the high commiſſion court in Durham. See Wood's Athenæ Oxon, vol. ii. p. 11. The Doctor, and *Nelſon* in his Collections, vol. i. p. 518-19, produce ſome paragraphs from *Smart*'s ſermon to ſhew the ſtrain and ſpirit of it. There was printed a virulent tract at Durham, 1736, entitled, "An illuſtration "of Mr. *Neal*'s hiſtory of the puritans, in the article of *Peter Smart*, "A. M." It is a detail of the proceedings againſt *Smart*, and of ſubſequent proceedings in parliament againſt Dr. *Coſins* upon the complaint of *Smart*; whom the author aims to repreſent in a very unfavourable point of view; but without neceſſity, as the very proſecution of him ſhews, that he muſt have been very offenſive to thoſe who were admirers of the ſuperſtitions and ceremonies againſt which he inveighed. He was afterwards not only ſet at liberty, but by the order of the lords, iu 1642, was reſtored to his prebend in Durham, and was preſented to the vicarage of Aycliff in the ſame dioceſe. Nelſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 406. The puritans, by whom he was eſteemed a protomartyr, it is ſaid, raiſed 400l. a year for him by a ſubſcription. Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 177. Ed.

every

every week ſuſpended or deprived, and their families driven to diſtreſs; nor was there any proſpect of relief, the clouds gathering every day thicker over their heads, and threatening a violent ſtorm. This put them upon projecting a farther ſettlement in New-England, where they might be delivered from the hands of their oppreſſors, and enjoy the free liberty of their conſciences; which gave birth to a ſecond grand colony in North-America, commonly known by the name of the MASSACHUSETS-BAY. Several perſons of quality and ſubſtance about the city of London engaging in the deſign, obtained a charter dated March 4, 1628-9, wherein the gentlemen and merchants therein named, and all who ſhould thereafter join them, were conſtituted a body corporate and politick, by the name of the governor and company of the MASSACHUSETS-BAY in NEW-ENGLAND. They were empowered to elect their own governor, deputy-governor, and magiſtrates,* and to make ſuch laws as they ſhould think fit for the good of the plantation, not repugnant to the laws of England. Free liberty of conſcience was likewiſe granted to all who ſhould ſettle in thoſe parts, to worſhip God in their own way.* The new planters being all puritans, made their application to the reverend Mr. *Higginſon*, a ſilenced miniſter in Leiceſterſhire, and to Mr. *Skelton* another ſilenced miniſter of Lincolnſhire, to be their chaplains, deſiring them to engage as many of their friends as were willing to embark with them. The little fleet that went upon this expedition, conſiſted of ſix ſail of tranſports, from four to twenty guns, with about three hundred and fifty paſſengers, men, women, and children. They carried with them one hundred and fifteen head of cattle, as horſes, mares, cows, &c. forty-one goats, ſix pieces of cannon for a fort, with muſkets, pikes, drums, colours, and a large quantity of ammunition and proviſion. The fleet ſailed May 11, 1629, and arrived the 24th of June following at a place called by the natives, Neumkeak, but by the new planters, Salem, which in the Hebrew language ſignifies *peace*.

RELIGION being the chief motive of their retreating into theſe parts, that was ſettled in the firſt place. Auguſt the

* This is a miſtake: the charter did not once mention liberty of conſcience or toleration. Gordon's Hiſtory of the American War, v. i. p. 19.

6th

6th being appointed for the ſolemnity of forming themſelves into a religious ſociety, the day was ſpent in faſting and prayer; and thirty perſons who deſired to be of the communion, ſeverally in the preſence of the whole congregation, declared their conſent to a confeſſion of faith which Mr. *Higginſon* had drawn up, and ſigned the following covenant with their hands.

" We covenant with our Lord, and one with another.
" We bind ourſelves in the preſence of God, to walk toge-
" ther in all his ways, according as he is pleaſed to reveal
" himſelf to us in his bleſſed word of truth, and do profeſs
" to walk as follows, through the power and grace of our
" Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

" We avouch the Lord to be our God, and ourſelves to
" be his people, in the truth and ſimplicity of our ſpirits.

" We give ourſelves to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to
" the word of his grace, for the teaching, ruling, and ſanc-
" tifying us, in matters of worſhip and converſation, reſolv-
" ing to reject all canons and conſtitutions of men in worſhip.

" We promiſe to walk with our brethren with all watch-
" fulneſs and tenderneſs, avoiding jealouſies, ſuſpicions,
" backbitings, cenſurings, provokings, ſecret riſings of
" ſpirit againſt them; but in all offences to follow the rule
" of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to bear and forbear, give
" and forgive, as he hath taught us.

" In publick or private we will willingly do nothing to
" the offence of the church, but will be willing to take ad-
" vice for ourſelves and ours, as occaſion ſhall be preſented.

" We will not in the congregation be forward, either to
" ſhew our own gifts and parts in ſpeaking, or ſcrupling, or
" in diſcovering the weakneſſes or failings of our brethren;
" but attend an ordinary call thereunto, knowing how much
" the Lord may be diſhonoured, and his goſpel, and the
" profeſſion of it, ſlighted by our diſtempers, and weak-
" neſſes in publick.

" We bind ourſelves to ſtudy the advancement of the
" goſpel in all truth and peace, both in regard of thoſe that
" are within or without, no way ſlighting our ſiſter churches,

* Neal's Hiſtory of New-England, p. 126.

" but

"but uſing their counſel as need ſhall be; not laying a "ſtumbling-block before any, no not the *Indians*, whoſe "good we deſire to promote, and ſo to converſe as we may "avoid the very appearance of evil.

"We do hereby promiſe to carry ourſelves in all lawful "obedience to thoſe that are over us in church or common-"wealth, knowing how well-pleaſing it will be to the Lord, "that they ſhould have encouragement in their places by "our not grieving their ſpirits by our irregularities.

"We reſolve to approve ourſelves to the Lord in our "particular callings, ſhunning idleneſs, as the bane of any "ſtate; nor will we deal hardly or oppreſſingly with any, "wherein we are the Lord's ſtewards.

"Promiſing alſo, to the beſt of our ability, to teach our "children and ſervants the knowledge of God, and of his "will, that they may ſerve him alſo. And all this not by "any ſtrength of our own, but by the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, "whoſe blood we deſire may ſprinkle this our covenant made "in his name."

After this they choſe Mr. *Skelton* their paſtor, Mr. *Higginſon* their teacher, and Mr. *Houghton* their ruling elder, who were ſeparated to their ſeveral offices by the impoſition of the hands of ſome of the brethren appointed by the church to that ſervice.* The firſt winter proved a fatal one to the infant colony, carrying off above one hundred of their company, and among the reſt Mr. *Houghton* their elder, and Mr. *Higginſon* their teacher, the latter of whom not being capable of undergoing the fatigues of a new ſettlement, fell into a hectick, and died in the forty-third year of his age. Mr. *Higginſon* had been educated in Emanuel-college, Cambridge, proceeding M. A. being afterwards parſon of one of the five churches in Leiceſter, where he continued for ſome years, till he was deprived for non-conformity; but ſuch were his talents for the pulpit, that after his ſuſpenſion, the town obtained liberty from biſhop *Williams* to chuſe him for their lecturer, and maintained him by their voluntary contributions, till *Laud* being at the head of church affairs, he was articled againſt in the high commiſſion, and expected

* Mather's Hiſt. N. E. b. iii. p. 74, 76.

every

every hour a ſentence of perpetual impriſonment: This induced him to accept of an invitation to remove to New-England, which coſt him his life. Mr. *Skelton*, the other miniſter, was a Lincolnſhire divine, who being ſilenced for non-conformity, accepted of a like invitation, and died of the hardſhips of the country, Auguſt 2, 1634. From this ſmall beginning is the Maſſachuſet province grown to the figure it now makes in the American world.

Next ſummer the *governor* went over with a freſh recruit of two hundred miniſters, gentlemen, and others, who were forced out of their native country by the heat of the *Laudean* perſecution. Upon their embarkation they left behind them a paper, which was ſoon after publiſhed, entitled, *The humble requeſt of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects, the governor and company lately gone for New-England, to the reſt of their brethren in, and of the church of England, for the obtaining of their prayers, and removal of ſuſpicions and miſconſtructions of their intentions.* Wherein they intreat the reverend fathers and brethren of the church of England to recommend them to the mercies of God in their conſtant prayers, as a new church now ſpringing out of their bowels: "For you "are not ignorant (ſay they) that the ſpirit of God ſtirred "up the apoſtle *Paul* to make a continual mention of the "church of Philippi, which was a colony from Rome. Let "the ſame ſpirit, we beſeech you, put you in mind that are "the Lord's remembrancers, to pray for us without ceaſing; "and what goodneſs you ſhall extend to us in this, or any "other chriſtian kindneſs, we, your brethren in Chriſt, ſhall "labour to repay in what duty we are, or ſhall be able to "perform; promiſing, ſo far as God ſhall enable us, to give "him no reſt on your behalf, wiſhing our heads and hearts "may be fountains of tears for your everlaſting welfare, "when we ſhall be in our poor cottages in the wilderneſs, "overſhadowed with the ſpirit of ſupplication, through the "manifold neceſſities and tribulations which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably befall us."

When it appeared that the planters could ſubſiſt in their new ſettlement, great numbers of their friends with their families flocked after them every ſummer. In the ſucceeding twelve years of archbiſhop *Laud's* adminiſtration, there went

went over about four thouſand planters,* who laid the foundation of ſeveral little towns and villages up and down the country, carrying over with them in materials, money, and cattle, &c. not leſs than to the value of one hundred and ninety-two thouſand pounds, beſides the merchandize intended for traffick with the *Indians*. Upon the whole, it has been computed, that the four ſettlements of New-England, viz. Plymouth, the Maſſachuſets-Bay, Connecticut, and Newhaven, all which were accompliſhed before the beginning of the civil wars, drained England of four or five hundred thouſand pounds in money, (a very great ſum in thoſe days) and if the perſecution of the *puritans* had continued twelve years longer, it is thought that a fourth part of the riches of the kingdom would have paſſed out of it through this channel.

The chief leaders of the people into theſe parts were the *puritan miniſters*, who being hunted from one dioceſe to another, at laſt choſe this wilderneſs for their retreat, which has proved (through the over-ruling providence of God) a great acceſſion to the ſtrength and commerce of theſe kingdoms. I have before me a liſt of ſeventy-ſeven divines, who became paſtors of ſundry little churches and congregations in that country before the year 1640, all of whom were in orders in the church of England. The reader will meet with an account of ſome of them in the courſe of this hiſtory; and I muſt ſay, though they were not all of the firſt rank for deep and extenſive learning, yet they had a better ſhare of it than moſt of the neighbouring clergy; and, which is of more conſequence, they were men of ſtrict ſobriety and virtue; plain, ſerious, affectionate preachers, exactly conformable in ſentiment to the doctrinal articles of the church of England, and took a great deal of pains to promote chriſtian knowledge, and a reformation of manners in their ſeveral pariſhes.

To return to England. Though Dr. *Davenant*, the learned biſhop of Saliſbury, had declared for the doctrine of *univerſal redemption* at the ſynod of Dort, he was this year brought into trouble for touching upon the point of *predeſtination*,† in his Lent ſermon before the king, on *Romans*

* Mather's Hiſt. N. E. b. i. p. 17, 23. † Fuller, b. xi. p. 138.

vi. 23.

vi. 23. *The gift of God is eternal life, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* This was conſtrued as a contempt of the *king's injunctions*, for which his lordſhip was two days after ſummoned before the privy council, where he preſented himſelf upon his knees, and ſo had continued, for any favour he received from any of his own function then preſent; but the temporal lords bid him riſe and ſtand to his defence. The accuſation was managed by Dr. *Haſenet*, archbiſhop of York; *Laud* walking by all the while in ſilence, without ſpeaking a word. *Harſenet* put him in mind of his obligations to king *James*; of the piety of his preſent *majeſty's inſtructions*; and then aggravated his contempt of them with great vehemence and acrimony. Biſhop *Davenant* replied with mildneſs, that he was ſorry that an eſtabliſhed doctrine of the church ſhould be ſo diſtaſted; that he had preached nothing but what was expreſsly contained in the ſeventeenth article, and was ready to juſtify the truth of it. It was replied, that the doctrine was not gainſaid, but the king had commanded theſe queſtions ſhould not be debated, and therefore his majeſty took it more offenſively that any ſhould do it in his own hearing. The biſhop replied, that he never underſtood that his majeſty had forbid the handling any doctrine compriſed in the articles of the church, but only the raiſing new queſtions, or putting a new ſenſe upon them, which he never ſhould do; that in the king's declaration all the thirty-nine articles are confirmed, among which the ſeventeenth of *predeſtination* is one; that all miniſters are obliged to ſubſcribe to the truth of this article, and to continue in the true profeſſion of that as well as the reſt; the biſhop deſired it might be ſhewn wherein he had tranſgreſſed his majeſty's commands, when he had kept himſelf within the bounds of the article, and had moved no new or curious queſtions. To which it was replied, that it was the king's pleaſure, that for the peace of the church theſe high queſtions might be forborn. The biſhop then ſaid, he was ſorry he underſtood not his majeſty's intention, and that for time to come he would conform to his commands.* Upon this he was diſmiſſed without further trouble, and was after ſome time admitted to kiſs the king's hand, who did not fail to remind

* Prynne, p. 173, 176.

him

him that the doctrine of *predeſtination* was too big for the people's underſtanding, and therefore he was reſolved not to give leave for diſcuſſing that controverſy in the pulpit. Hereupon the biſhop retired, and was never afterwards in favour at court.

Soon after Mr. *Madye*, lecturer of Chriſt-church, London, was, cited before the high commiſſion, and [March 10, 1630] was, by act of court, prohibited to preach any more within the dioceſe of London, becauſe he had diſobeyed the king's declaration, by preaching on *predeſtination*. Dr. *Cornelius Burges*, Mr. *White*, the famous Dr. *Prideaux*, Mr. *Hobbes* of Trinity-college, and Mr. *Cook* of Brazen-noſe, with others, ſuffered on the ſame account.

But Dr. *Alexander Leighton*, a Scots divine, and father of the worthy and celebrated prelate of that name, ſo highly commended by biſhop *Burnet* in the Hiſtory of his Life and Times, met with ſevere uſage in the ſtar-chamber, for venturing to write againſt the hierarchy of the church.* This divine had publiſhed during the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, an *appeal to the parliament*; or, *Zion's plea againſt prelacy*,†

* Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 55, 56, 57.

† Dr. *Harris*, who had read by far the greateſt part of this piece, ſays; that "it was written with ſpirit, and more ſenſe and learning than the "writers of that ſtamp uſually ſhewed in their productions;" and adds, "I "cannot, for my life, ſee any thing in it deſerving ſo heavy a cenſure." Life of Charles I. p. 225. His calling the queen "a daughter of Heth," as Mr. *Pierce* obſerves, meant no more than that ſhe was a papiſt. Biſhop *Tillotſon* afterwards uſed a not much better expreſſion concerning foreign popiſh princes, without giving any umbrage, in ſtiling them "the people "of theſe abominations." Such language had much countenance from the taſte and ſpirit of the age. *Whitlocke*, as well as *Heylin*, repreſents Dr. *Leighton* as charged with exciting the parliament to *kill all the biſhops, and ſmite them under the fifth rib*; and other writers have repeated the accuſation: a circumſtance not noticed by Mr. *Neal*. It appears to be ungrounded, for Mr. *Pierce* could not find it in the books, but only a call on the parliament utterly to root out the hierarchy. Nor did it form any one of the articles of information againſt Dr. *Leighton* in the ſtar-chamber. Pierce's Vindication, p. 177; and Ruſhworch, vol. i. p. 55. It greatly aggravated the injuſtice and cruelty of the ſentence paſſed on him; that his book was printed for the uſe of the parliament only, and not in England, but in Holland. The heads were previouſly ſanctioned by the approbation of five hundred perſons under their hands, whereof ſome were members of parliament. And when the parliament was diſſolved, he returned without

wherein he ſpeaks not only with freedom, but with very great rudeneſs and indecency againſt BISHOPS; calling them *men of blood*, and ſaying, that we do not read of a greater perſecution and higher indignities done towards God's people in any nation than in this, ſince the death of queen *Elizabeth*. He calls the prelacy of the church antichriſtian. He declaims vehemently againſt the canons and ceremonies; and adds, that the church has her laws from the ſcripture, and that no king may make laws for the houſe of God. He ſtiles the queen a daughter of *Heth*, and concludes with ſaying, what pity it is that ſo ingenuous and tractable a king ſhould be ſo monſtrouſly abuſed by the biſhops, to the undoing of himſelf and his ſubjects. Now though the warmth of theſe expreſſions can no ways be juſtified, yet let the reader conſider whether they bear any proportion to the ſentence of the court. The cauſe was tried June 4, 1630. The defendant, in his anſwer, owned the writing of the book, denying any ill intention; his deſign being only to lay theſe things before the next parliament for their conſideration. Nevertheleſs, the court adjudged unanimouſly, that for this offence *the doctor ſhould be committed to the priſon of the Fleet for life, and pay a fine of ten thouſand pounds; that the* HIGH COMMISSION *ſhould degrade him from his miniſtry; and that then he ſhould be brought to the pillory at Weſtminſter, while the court was ſitting, and be whipt; after whipping, be ſet upon the pillory a convenient time, and have one of his ears cut off, one ſide of his noſe ſlit, and be branded in the face with a double S. S. for a ſower of ſedition: That then he ſhould be carried back to priſon, and after a few days be pilloried a ſecond time in Cheapſide, and be there likewiſe whipt, and have the other ſide of his noſe ſlit, and his other ear cut off, and then be ſhut up in cloſe priſon for the remainder of his life.* Biſhop *Laud* pulled off his cap while this mercileſs ſentence was pronouncing, and gave God thanks for it!

Between paſſing the ſentence and execution, the doctor made his eſcape out of priſon, but was retaken in Bedfordſhire, and brought back to the Fleet. On Friday, Nov. 6,

bringing any copies of it into the land, but made it his ſpecial care to ſuppreſs them. A Letter from General Ludlow to Dr. Hollingworth, printed at Amſterdam, 1692, p. 23. ED.

part

part of the ſentence was executed upon him (ſays biſhop LAUD in his diary) after this manner: "He was ſeverely "whipt before he was put in the pillory. 2. Being ſet in "the pillory, he had one of his ears cut off. 3. One ſide "of his noſe ſlit. 4. Branded on the cheek with a red-hot "iron with the letters S. S. On that day ſeven-night, his "ſores upon his back, ear, noſe, and face, being not yet "cured, he was whipt again at the pillory in Cheapſide, "and had the remainder of his ſentence executed upon him, "by cutting off the other ear, ſlitting the other ſide of his "noſe, and branding the other cheek."* He was then carried back to priſon, where he continued in cloſe confinement for ten years, till he was releaſed by the long parliament.† The doctor was between forty and fifty years of age, of a low ſtature, a fair complexion, and well known for his learning and other abilities: but his long and cloſe confinement had ſo impaired his health, that when he was releaſed he could hardly walk, ſee, or hear. The ſufferings of this learned man moved the people's compaſſion; and, I believe, the records of the inquiſition can hardly furniſh an example of equal ſeverity.

To make the diſtance between the church and the puritans yet wider, and the terms of conformity more difficult, biſhop *Laud* introduced ſundry pompous innovations in imitation of popery, that had no foundation in the laws of the realm, or the canons of the church. Theſe were inforced both upon clergy and laity, with all the terrors of the *high commiſſion*, to the ruin of many families, and the raiſing very great diſturbances in all parts of the kingdom.

St. Catherine Creed Church in the city of London, having been lately repaired, was ſuſpended from all divine ſervice till it was again conſecrated; the formality of which being very extraordinary, may give us an idea of the ſuperſtition of this prelate. On Sunday, January 16, 1630, biſhop LAUD came thither about nine in the morning, attended with ſeveral of the high commiſſion, and ſome civilians.‡ At his approach to the weſt door of the church, which was ſhut

* Ruſhworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 57, 58.

† Pierce, p. 179, 181. ‡ Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 77.

and guarded by halberdeers, ſome who were appointed for that purpoſe, cried with a loud voice, *Open, open, ye everlaſting doors, that the king of glory may come in*; and preſently the doors being opened, the biſhop with ſome doctors and principal men entered. As ſoon as they were come within the place, his lordſhip fell down upon his knees, and with eyes lifted up, and his arms ſpread abroad, ſaid, *This place is holy; the ground is holy: In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, I pronounce it holy.* Then walking up the middle aiſle towards the chancel, he took up ſome of the duſt, and threw it into the air ſeveral times. When he approached near the rail of the communion-table, he bowed towards it five or ſix times, and returning, went round the church with his attendants in proceſſion, ſaying firſt the hundredth, and then the nineteenth pſalm, as preſcribed in the Roman *pontificale.* He then read ſeveral collects, in one of which he *prays God to accept of that beautiful building;* and concludes thus: *We conſecrate this church, and ſeparate it unto thee as holy ground, not to be prophaned any more to common uſe.* In another he prays, *that all that ſhould hereafter be buried within the circuit of this holy and ſacred place, may reſt in their ſepulchres in peace, till Chriſt's coming to judgment, and may then riſe to eternal life and happineſs.** After this, the biſhop, ſitting under a cloth of ſtate in the aiſle of the chancel, near the communion-table, took a written book in his hand, and pronounced curſes upon thoſe who ſhould thereafter profane that holy place by muſters of ſoldiers, or keeping profane law-courts, or carrying burdens through it, and at the end of every curſe he bowed to the eaſt, and ſaid, *Let all the people ſay, Amen.* When the curſes were ended, which were about twenty, he pronounced a like number of bleſſings upon all who had any hand in framing and building of that ſacred and beautiful edifice, and on thoſe who had given or ſhould hereafter give, any chalices, plate, ornaments, or other utenſils; and at the end of every bleſſing he bowed to the eaſt, and ſaid, *Let all the people ſay, Amen.* After this followed the ſermon, and then the ſacrament, which the biſhop conſecrated, and adminiſtered after the following manner:

* Prynne's Compleat Hiſtory, p. 114.

As

As he approached the altar, he made five or ſix low bows, and coming up to the ſide of it, where the bread and wine were covered, he bowed ſeven times; then, after reading many prayers, he came near the bread, and gently lifting up the corner of the napkin, beheld it, and immediately letting fall the napkin, retreated haſtily a ſtep or two, and made three low obeyſances. His lordſhip then advanced, and having uncovered the bread, bowed three times as before; then laid his hand on the cup, which was full of wine, with a cover upon it, which having let go, he ſtepped back, and bowed three times towards it; then came near again, and lifting up the cover of the cup, looked into it, and ſeeing the wine, he let fall the cover again, retired back, and bowed as before: After which the elements were conſecrated, and the biſhop, having firſt received, gave it to ſome principal men in their ſurplices, hoods, and tippets; towards the concluſion, many prayers being ſaid, the ſolemnity of the conſecration ended.

He conſecrated St. Giles's church in the ſame manner, which had been repaired, and part of it new built in his predeceſſor biſhop *Mountain*'s time.* Divine ſervice had been performed, and the ſacrament adminiſtered in it for three or four years ſince that time without exception; but as ſoon as *Laud* was advanced to the biſhoprick of London, he interdicted the church, and prohibited divine ſervice therein, till it ſhould be reconſecrated, which is more than even the canon law requires. Sundry other chapels and churches, which had been built long ſince, were, by the biſhop's direction, likewiſe ſhut up till they were conſecrated in this manner; as Immanuel chapel in Cambridge, built 1584, Sidney-college chapel, built 1596, and ſeveral others.

This method of conſecrating churches was new to the people of England, and in the opinion of the firſt reformers ſuperſtitious and abſurd; for though it is reaſonable there ſhould be publick buildings reſerved and ſet apart for publick worſhip, and that at the firſt opening them, prayers ſhould be offered for a divine bleſſing on the ordinances of Chriſt, that may at any time be adminiſtered in them; yet have we not the leaſt ground to believe that biſhops, or any

* Prynne Cant. Doom. p. 117.

other

other dignitaries of the church, can, by their declaration or forms of prayer, hallow the building, or make the ground holy, or introduce a divine preſence or *glory* into the place, as was in the temple of old: Where is their commiſſion? or what example have we of this kind in New Teſtament? The ſynagogues of the Jews were not conſecrated in this manner; nor was the temple of Solomon conſecrated by a prieſt, but by a king. Our Saviour tells his diſciples, "that WHERE-"SOEVER two or three of them ſhould be gathered toge-"ther in his name, he would be in the midſt of them;" and the woman of Samaria, "that the hour was coming, when "neither at that mountain, nor at Jeruſalem, they ſhould "worſhip the Father." Beſides, the changes made by time and various accidents in towns and cities, render it impoſſible to prevent the alienation or profanation of holy ground; for to look no farther than the city of London, would it not be very hard if all the curſes that biſhop *Laud* pronounced in *Creed* church, ſhould reſt upon thoſe who live in houſes built by act of parliament, in places where there were conſecrated churches or churchyards before the fire of London? Archbiſhop *Parker*, therefore, in his *Antiquitates Eccleſiæ Britan.* p. 85, 86, condemns this practice as ſuperſtitious; nor was there any form for it in the publick offices of the church. But this being objected to archbiſhop *Laud* at his trial, as an evidence of his inclinations to popery; we ſhall there ſee his *Grace*'s defence, with the learned reply of the houſe of commons, concerning the antiquity of conſecrating churches.

A proclamation had been publiſhed laſt year, "command-"ing the archbiſhops and biſhops to take ſpecial care that "the pariſh churches in their ſeveral dioceſes, *being places* "*conſecrated to the worſhip of God*, be kept in decent repair, "and to make uſe of the power of the eccleſiaſtical court to "oblige the pariſhioners to this part of their duty."* The judges were alſo required not to interrupt this good work, by too eaſily granting *prohibitions* from the ſpiritual courts. It ſeems, ſundry churches ſince the reformation were fallen to decay; and ſome that had been defaced by the pulling down of images, and other popiſh relicks, had not been de-

* Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 28.

cently

cently repaired, the expence being too heavy for the poorer country pariſhes; it was therefore thought neceſſary to oblige them to their duty; and under colour of this proclamation, LAUD introduced many of the trappings and decorations of popery, and puniſhed thoſe miniſters in the high commiſſion court, that ventured to write or preach againſt them.

His lordſhip began with his own cathedral of St. Paul's, for repairing and beautifying of which, a ſubſcription and contribution was appointed over the whole kingdom. Several houſes and ſhops adjoining to the cathedral were, by injunction of council, ordered to be pulled down, and the owners to accept of a reaſonable ſatisfaction: but if they would not comply, the ſheriff of London was required to ſee them demoliſhed. The church of St. Gregory was pulled down, and the inhabitants aſſigned to Chriſt's church, where they were to aſſemble for the future. The biſhop's heart was in this work, and to ſupport the expence, gave way to many oppreſſions and unjuſtifiable methods of raiſing money by compoſitions with recuſants, commutations of penance, exorbitant fines in the ſtar-chamber and high commiſſion, inſomuch that it became a proverb, that St. Paul's *was repaired with the ſins of the people.* Before the year 1640, above one hundred and thirteen thouſand pounds was expended thereon, with which the body of the church was finiſhed, and the ſteeple ſcaffolded. There was alſo a ſtately portico built at the weſt end, ſupported with pillars of the Corinthian order, and embelliſhed with the ſtatues of king *James* and king *Charles*; but the rebuilding the ſpire and the inſide decorations miſcarried, by the breaking out of the civil war.*

What theſe decorations and ornaments of *paintings*, *carvings*, *altars*, *crucifixes*, *candleſticks*, *images*, *veſtments*, &c. would have been, can only be gueſſed by the faſhion of the times, and by the ſcheme that was now formed to recover and repair the broken relicks of ſuperſtition and idolatry which the reformation had left, or to ſet up others in imitation of them; for though the reformation of Queen *Elizabeth* had deſtroyed a great many monuments of this kind;

* Collyer, Eccleſ. Hiſt. p. 751.

yet

yet ſome were left entire, and others very little defaced.* In the cathedral of Canterbury, over the door of the choir, remained thirteen images, or ſtatues of ſtone; twelve of them repreſenting the twelve apoſtles, and the thirteenth in the middle of them our Saviour Chriſt. Over theſe were twelve other images of popiſh ſaints. In the ſeveral windows of the cathedral were painted the picture of *St. Auſtin* the monk, the firſt biſhop of that ſee, and ſeven large pictures of the Virgin *Mary*, with angels lifting her up to heaven, with this inſcription, *Gaude Maria, ſponſa Dei.* Under the Virgin Mary's feet, were the ſun, moon, and ſtars, and in the bottom of the window this inſcription, *In laudem & honorem beatiſſimæ virginis.* Beſides theſe, were many pictures of God the Father, and of the Holy Ghoſt, and of our Saviour lying in a manger, and a large image of *Thomas Becket*, and others; all which were taken away by the long parliament.

In the cathedral of Durham, there was an altar of marble ſtone ſet upon columns decorated with cherubims, pictures, and images, which coſt above two thouſand pounds. There were three ſtatues of ſtone in the church; one ſtanding in the midſt, repreſenting Chriſt with a golden beard, a blue cap, and ſun rays upon his head, as the record of parliament ſays, (though Dr. *Coſins*, in his vindication, ſays it was miſtaken for the top of biſhop *Hatfield*'s tomb.) There was alſo an image of *God the Father*, and many other carved images, pictures, &c. which the preſent dignitaries of the cathedral held in profound admiration; and to keep up the pomp, they bought copes of maſs prieſts, with crucifixes and images of the trinity embroidered upon them. They had conſecrated knives to cut the ſacramental bread, and great numbers of lighted candles upon the altars on *Sundays* and ſaints' days. On *Candlemas-day* there were no leſs than two hundred, whereof ſixty upon and about the altar; all which were reckoned among the *beauties of the ſanctuary.* "But "theſe fopperies (ſays biſhop *Kennet*) did not perhaps gain "over one papiſt, but loſt both the king and biſhops the "hearts and affections of the proteſtant part of the nation, "and were (as his lordſhip obſerves) contrary to queen "*Elizabeth*'s injunctions, 1559, which appoint, that all *can-*

* Parl. Chron. p. 101.

"*dleſticks*,

" *dleſticks, trentals, rolls of wax, pictures, paintings,* &c. be " removed out of churches."

However, biſhop *Laud* was mightily enamoured with them, and as ſoon as he was tranſlated to Lambeth, repaired the paintings in the windows of that chapel; in one pane of which had been the picture of *Chriſt crucified, with a ſcull and dead men's bones under it; a baſket full of tools and nails, with the high-prieſt and his officers on horſeback, and the two thieves on foot.* In the next were *the two thieves on croſſes;*—Abraham *offering up his ſon* Iſaac, *and the brazen ſerpent on a pole.*—In other panes *were the* pictures *of Chriſt riſing out of the grave, and aſcending up into heaven, with his diſciples kneeling about him.*——*The deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt on the apoſtles, in the ſhape of cloven tongues.*—GOD, *giving the law upon mount Sinai;—his coming down from heaven at the prayer of* Eliſha;—*Chriſt and his twelve apoſtles ſitting in judgment on the world.*——In other parts of the church was painted the *Virgin* Mary, *with the babe Chriſt ſucking at her breaſt;—The wiſe men from the Eaſt coming to adore him;—The hiſtory of the Annunciation, with the picture of the Virgin* Mary, *and of the Holy Ghoſt overſhadowing her, together with the birth of Chriſt.* All which having been defaced at the reformation, were now reſtored, according to the Roman miſſale, and beautified at the archbiſhop's coſt. The like reparations of paintings, pictures, and crucifixes, were made in the king's chapel at Whitehall, Weſtminſter-abbey, and both the univerſities, as was objected to the archbiſhop at his trial, where the reader will meet with his *grace*'s defence of their lawfulneſs and antiquity. The puritans apprehended theſe decorations of churches tended to image worſhip, and were directly contrary to the homily *of the peril of idolatry*; their miniſters therefore preached and wrote againſt them, and in ſome places removed them; for which they were ſeverely handled in the high commiſſion.

Biſhop LAUD had been choſen chancellor of Oxford laſt year, [April 12th, 1630] where the puritans ſoon gave him ſome diſturbance. Mr. *Hill* of Hart-Hall, Mr. *Ford* of Magdalen-hall, Mr. *Giles Thorne* of Baliol-college, and Mr. *Giles Hodges* of Exeter-college, were charged with preaching againſt

* Cant. Doom. p. 59, 60, 61.

arminianiſm

arminianiſm and the new ceremonies in their ſermons at St. Mary's. *Hill* made a public recantation, and was quickly releaſed; but the very texts of the others (ſays Mr. *Fuller**) gave offence: One preached on Numbers xiv. 4. *Let us make us a captain, and let us return into Egypt:* And another on 1 Kings xiii. 2. *And he cried againſt the altar in the word of the Lord, and ſaid, O altar, altar,* &c. Theſe divines, being convened before the vice-chancellor Dr. *Smith*, as offenders againſt the *king's inſtructions*, appealed from the vice-chancellor to the proctors, who received their appeal. Upon this the chancellor complained to the king, and procured the cauſe to be heard before his majeſty at Woodſtock, Aug. 23, when the following ſentence was paſſed upon them: "That Mr. *Ford*, *Thorne*, and *Hodges*, be "expelled the univerſity; that both the proctors be de- "prived of their places for accepting the appeal; and that "Dr. *Prideaux* rector of Exeter-college, and Dr. *Wilkinſon* "principal of Magdalen-Hall, receive a ſharp admonition "for their miſbehaviour in this buſineſs."† Mr. *Thorne* and *Hodges*, after a year's deprivation, deſiring to be reſtored, preached a recantation ſermon, and read a written ſubmiſſion in the convocation houſe on their bended knees, before the doctors and regents;‡ but Mr. *Ford*, making no addreſs to be reſtored, returned to his friends in Devonſhire; and being like to be choſen lecturer or vicar of Plymouth, the inhabitants were required not to chooſe him, upon pain of his majeſty's high diſpleaſure; and in caſe he was choſen, the biſhop of Exeter was commanded not to admit him.

Mr. *Crowder*, vicar of Vell near Nonſuch, was about this time committed cloſe priſoner to Newgate for ſixteen weeks, and then deprived by the *high commiſſion*, without any articles exhibited againſt him, or proof of a crime. It was pretended that matters againſt him were ſo foul, that they were not fit to be read in court; but then they ought to have been certified to him, that he might have had an opportunity to diſprove or confeſs them, which could not be obtained.

* Church Hiſt. b. xi. p. 141. † Ruſhworth. vol. i. part ii. p. 110.

‡ Prynne, Cant. Doom. p. 175.

Mr.

Mr. *Crowder* was a pious man, and preached twice a day, which was an unpardonable crime ſo near the court.

Sundry eminent divines removed to New-England this year; and among others the famous Dr. *Elliot*, the apoſtle of the *Indians*, who, not being allowed to teach ſchool in his native country, retired to America, and ſpent a long and uſeful life in converting the natives, and with indefatigable pains tranſlated the bible into the *Indian language*.

Two very conſiderable puritan divines were alſo removed into the other world by death, viz. Mr. *Arthur Hilderſham*, born at Stechworth, Cambridgeſhire, October 6th, 1563, and educated in Chriſt's-college, Cambridge, of an ancient and honourable family; his mother *Anne Poole* being niece to the cardinal of that name. His father educated him in the popiſh religion; and, becauſe he would not go to Rome at fourteen or fifteen years of age, diſinherited him: but the earl of *Huntingdon*, his near kinſman, provided for him, ſending him to Cambridge, where he proceeded *M. A.* and entered into holy orders. In the year 1587, he was placed by his honourable kinſman abovementioned, at Aſhby-de-la-Zouch in Leiceſterſhire, and inducted into that living ſoon after.* But here he was ſilenced for non-conformity, as in the year 1590, in the year 1605, and again in the year 1611, under which laſt ſuſpenſion he continued many years. In the year 1613 he was enjoined by the high commiſſion not to preach, or exerciſe any part of the miniſterial function, till he ſhould be reſtored. In the year 1615, he was committed to the Fleet by the high commiſſion, for refuſing the oath *ex officio*, where he continued three months, and was then releaſed upon bond. In November 1616, the high-commiſſion proceeded againſt him, and pronounced him refractory and diſobedient to the orders, rites and ceremonies of the church; and becauſe he refuſed to conform, declared him a ſchiſmatick, fined him two thouſand pounds, excommunicated him, and ordered him to be attached and committed to priſon, that he might be degraded of his miniſtry: But Mr. *Hilderſham* wiſely abſconded, and kept out of the way. In the year 1625, he was reſtored to his living; but

* Clarke's Life of Hilderſham, annexed to his GENERAL MARTYROLOGY, p. 114.

when

when *Laud* had the aſcendant, he was ſilenced again for not reading divine ſervice in the ſurplice and hood, and was not reſtored till a few months before his death. Though he was a non-conformiſt in principle, as appears by his laſt will and teſtament, yet he was a perſon of great temper and moderation:* he loved and reſpected all good men, and oppoſed the ſeparation of the *Browniſts*, and the ſemi-ſeparation of Mr. *Jacob*. His lectures on the 51ſt pſalm, and his other printed works, as well as the encomiums of Dr. *Willet* and Dr. *Preſton*, ſhew him to have been a moſt excellent divine: What a pity was it that his uſefulneſs in the church ſhould be ſo long interrupted! He died March 4, 1631, in the ſixty-ninth year of his age, having been miniſter of Aſhby-de-la-Zouch (as the times would ſuffer him) above forty-three years.

Mr. *Robert Bolton*, was born at Blackburn in Lancaſhire, 1572, educated firſt in Lincoln-college, and afterwards in Brazen-noſe-college, Oxford, of which he was fellow. Here he became famous for his lectures in moral and natural philoſophy, being an excellent Grecian,† and well verſed in ſchool divinity, while he continued a profane wicked man. During his reſidence at college, he contracted an acquaintance with one *Anderton* a popiſh prieſt, who, taking advantage of his mean circumſtances, would have perſuaded him to reconcile himſelf to the church of Rome, and go over to one of the Engliſh ſeminaries in Flanders. Mr. *Bolton* accepted the motion, and appointed a place of meeting to conclude the affair: but *Anderton* diſappointing him, he returned to the college, and fell under ſtrong convictions for his former miſſpent life; ſo that he could neither eat nor ſleep, or enjoy any peace of mind for ſeveral months; till at length, by prayer and humiliation, he received comfort. Upon this, he reſolved to enter upon the miniſtry, in the thirty-fifth year of his age. About two years after he was preſented to the living of Broughton in Northamptonſhire, where he continued till his death. He was a moſt awaken-

* "He diſſented not from the church in any article of faith, but only "about wearing the ſurplice, baptiſing with the croſs, and kneeling at the "ſacrament." Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. i. p. 371. 8vo. Ed.

† The Greek language was ſo familiar to him, that he could ſpeak it with almoſt as much facility as his mother tongue. Ed.

ing

ing and authoritative preacher, having the moſt ſtrong maſculine and oratorical ſtile of any of the age in which he lived. He preached twice every Lord's-day, beſides catechiſing. Upon every holy day, and every Friday, before the ſacrament, he expounded a chapter: His conſtant courſe was to pray ſix times a day, twice in ſecret, twice with his family, and twice with his wife, beſides many days of private humiliation that he obſerved for the proteſtant churches in Germany. He was of a comely grave preſence, which commanded reſpect in all companies; zealous in the cauſe of religion, and yet ſo prudent as to eſcape being called in queſtion all the time he lived in Northamptonſhire. At length he was ſeized with a tertian ague, which, after fifteen weeks, put a period to his valuable and uſeful life, December 17, 1631, in the ſixtieth year of his age. He made a moſt devout and exemplary end, praying heartily for all his friends that came to ſee him; bidding them make ſure of heaven, and bear in mind what he had formerly told them in his miniſtry, proteſting that what he had preached to them for twenty years, was the truth of God, as he ſhould anſwer it at the tribunal of Chriſt. He then retired within himſelf, and ſaid, *Hold out faith and patience, your work will ſpeedily be at an end.* The Oxford hiſtorian* calls him a moſt religious and learned puritan, a painful and conſtant preacher, a perſon of great zeal towards God, charitable and bountiful; but above all, an excellent caſuiſt for afflicted conſciences: His eloquent and excellent writings will recommend his memory to lateſt poſterity.†

About the year 1627, there was a ſcheme formed by ſeveral gentlemen and miniſters to promote preaching in the country, by ſetting up lectures in the ſeveral market-towns of England; and to defray the expence a ſum of money was raiſed by voluntary contribution, for the purchaſing ſuch

* Athenæ Oxon, vol. i. p. 479; ſee alſo Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p. 586.

† When he lay at the point of death, one of his friends, taking him by the hand, aſked him if he was not in great pain: "Truly," ſaid he, "the "greateſt pain I feel is your cold hand;" and preſently expired. His book "on Happineſs" was the moſt celebrated of his works, and has gone through many editions.——Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. i. p. 365, 8vo.; and Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p. 591. Ed.

impropriations

impropriations as were in the hands of the laity, the profits of which were to be parcelled out into ſalaries of forty or fifty pounds per annum for the ſubſiſtence of their lecturers; the money was depoſited in the hands of the following miniſters and gentlemen, in truſt for the aboveſaid purpoſes, under the name and character of FEOFFEES, viz. Dr. *William Gouge*, Dr. *Sibbs*, Dr. *Offspring*, and Mr. *Davenport*, of the clergy; *Ralph Eyre* and *Simon Brown*, eſqrs. of Lincoln's-inn, and *C. Sherman*, of Gray's-inn, and *John White*, of the Middle-Temple, eſqrs. lawyers; Mr. *John Gearing*, Mr. *Richard Davis*, Mr. *G. Harwood*, and Mr. *Francis Bridges*, citizens of London. There were at this time three thouſand eight hundred and forty-five pariſh churches appropriated to cathedrals, or to colleges, or impropriated as *lay fees* to private perſons, having formerly belonged to abbies. The gentlemen abovementioned dealt only in the latter, and had already bought in thirteen impropriations, which coſt between five and ſix thouſand pounds. Moſt people thought this a very laudable deſign, and wiſhed the *feoffees* good ſucceſs; but biſhop *Laud* looked on them with an evil eye, and repreſented them to the king as in a conſpiracy againſt the church, becauſe, inſtead of reſtoring the impropriations they purchaſed to the ſeveral livings, they kept them in their own hands for the encouragement of factious and ſeditious lecturers, who were to depend upon their patrons, as being liable to be turned out if they neglected their duty.* He added further, that the *feoffees* preferred chiefly non-conformiſt miniſters, and placed them in the moſt popular market-towns, where they did a great deal of miſchief to the hierarchy. For theſe reaſons an information was brought againſt them in the *Exchequer* by Mr. Attorney-General NOY, as an illicit ſociety, formed into a body corporate, without a grant from the king, for the purchaſing *rectories*, *tithes*, *prebendaries*, &c. which were regiſtered in a book, and the profits not employed according to law.

The defendants appeared, and in their anſwer declared, that they apprehended *impropriations* in the hands of laymen, and not employed for the maintenance of preachers,

* Fuller's Church Hiſtory, b. xi. p. 136. Appeal, p. 13. Prynne, p. 379, 385. Ruſhworth, vol. i. part 2d, p. 150.

were

were a damage to the church; that the purchaſing of them for the purpoſes of religion was a pious work, and not contrary to law, it being notorious, that *impropriations* are frequently bought and ſold by private perſons; that the donors of this money gave it for this and ſuch other good uſes as the defendants ſhould think meet, and not for the endowment of perpetual vicars; that they had not converted any of the money to their own uſe, nor erected themſelves into a body corporate; and that to their knowledge they had never preſented any to a church, or place in their diſpoſal, who was not conformable to the doctrine and diſcipline of the church of England, and approved of by the ordinary of the place. But notwithſtanding all they could ſay, the court was of opinion, that their proceedings were contrary to law, and decreed that their feoffment ſhould be cancelled; that the impropriations they had purchaſed ſhould be confiſcated to the king, and the *feoffees* themſelves fined in the ſtar-chamber; however, the proſecution was dropt as too invidious, it appearing in court by the receipts and diſburſements, that the *feoffees* were out of pocket already above one thouſand pounds. The odium of this proſecution fell upon *Laud*, whoſe chancellor told him upon this occaſion, that he was miſerably cenſured by the ſeparatiſts; upon which he made this reflection in his diary, *Pray God give me patience, and forgive them.*

But his lordſhip had very little patience with thoſe who oppoſed his proceedings. We have ſeen his zeal for *pictures and paintings in churches*, which ſome of the puritans venturing to cenſure in their ſermons and writings, were expoſed to the ſevereſt puniſhments: Among theſe were the reverend Mr. *John Hayden* of Devonſhire, who being forced to abſcond, was apprehended in the dioceſe of Norwich by biſhop *Harſenet*, who, after he had taken from him his horſe and money, and all his papers, cauſed him to be ſhut up in cloſe priſon for thirteen weeks;* after which, when the juſtices would have admitted him to bail at the quarter-ſeſſions, his lordſhip ſent him up to the high commiſſion, who deprived him of his miniſtry and orders, and ſet a fine upon him for preaching againſt *decorations* and *images in churches*. In the

* Uſurpation of Prelates, p. 161-62.

year

year 1634, Mr. *Hayden* venturing to preach occaſionally, without being reſtored, was apprehended again and ſent to the Gatehouſe by archbiſhop *Laud*, and from thence to Bridewell, where he was whipt and kept to hard labour; here he was confined in a cold dark dungeon during a whole winter, being chained to a poſt in the middle of a room, with irons on his hands and feet, having no other food but bread and water, and a pad of ſtraw to lie on. Before his releaſe he was obliged to take an oath, and give bond, that he would preach no more, but depart the kingdom in a month, and not return. Biſhop *Harſenet* did not live to ſee the execution of this part of the ſentence,* though for his zeal againſt the puritans he was promoted to the archbiſhoprick of York, and made a privy-counſellor. Some time before his deceaſe he not only perſecuted the *non-conformiſts*, but complained of the CONFORMABLE PURITANS, as he called them, becauſe they complied out of policy and not in judgment. How hard is the caſe, when men ſhall be puniſhed for *not conforming*, and be complained of *if they conform!* Queen *Elizabeth* uſed to ſay, ſhe would never trouble herſelf about the *conſciences* of her ſubjects, if they did but outwardly comply with the laws; whereas this prelate would ranſack the very heart.

Henry Sherfield, eſq; a bencher of Lincoln's-inn, and recorder of the city of Sarum, was tried in the ſtar-chamber, May 20th, 1632,† for taking down ſome painted glaſs out of one of the windows of St. Edmund's church in Saliſbury, in which were ſeven pictures of *God the Father* in form of a little old man in a blue and red coat, with a pouch by his ſide: One repreſents him creating the ſun and moon with a pair of compaſſes, others as working on the buſineſs of the ſix days creation, and at laſt he ſits in an elbow chair at reſt.‡ Many ſimple people, at their going in and out of church, did reverence to this window (as they ſaid) becauſe the Lord their God was there. This gave ſuch offence to the recorder, who was alſo a juſtice of peace, that he moved the

* Fuller's Church Hiſtory, b. xi. p. 144.

† Ruſhworth, part ii. vol. i. p. 153—156.

‡ Prynne's Cant. Doom. p. 102.

pariſh at a veſtry for leave to take it down, and ſet up a new window of white glaſs in the place, which was accordingly granted, ſix juſtices of the peace being preſent. Some time after Mr. *Sherfield* broke with his ſtaff the pictures of God the Father, in order to new glaze the window; an account of which being tranſmitted to London, an information was exhibited againſt him in the *ſtar-chamber*, Feb. 8, 1632-3. The information ſets forth, "that being evil affected to the "diſcipline of the church, he, with certain confederates, "without conſent of the biſhops, had defaced and pulled "down a fair and coſtly window in the church, containing "the hiſtory of the creation, which had ſtood there ſome "hundred years, and was a great ornament to it; which "profane act might give encouragement to other ſchiſma-"tical perſons to commit the like outrages."

Mr. *Sherfield* in his defence ſays, that the church of St. Edmund's was a *lay fee*, and exempted from the juriſdiction of the biſhop of the dioceſe; that the defendant, with the reſt of the pariſhioners, had lawful power to take down the glaſs; and that it was agreed by a veſtry that the glaſs ſhould be changed, and the window made new; and that accordingly he took down a quarry or two in a quiet and peaceable manner; but he avers, that the true hiſtory of the creation was not contained in that window, but a falſe and impious one: *God the Father* was painted like an old man with a blue coat, and a pair of compaſſes, to ſignify his compaſſing the heavens and the earth. In the fourth day's work there were fowls of the air flying up from God their maker, which ſhould have been the fifth day. In the fifth day's work a naked man is laying upon the earth aſleep, with ſo much of a naked woman as from the knees upward growing out of his ſide, which ſhould have been the ſixth day; ſo that the hiſtory is falſe.

Further, this defendant holds it to be impious, to make an image or picture of *God the Father*, which he undertakes to prove from ſcripture, from canons and councils, from the mandates and decrees of ſundry emperors, from the opinions of ancient doctors of the church, and of our moſt judicious divines ſince the reformation. He adds, that *his belief* is agreeable to the doctrine of the church of England, and to

the homilies, which ſay, that pictures of God are monuments of ſuperſtition, and ought to be deſtroyed; and to queen *Elizabeth*'s injunctions, which command, that *all pictures and monuments of idolatry ſhould be removed out of churches, that no memory of them might remain in walls, glaſs windows, or elſewhere:* which injunction is confirmed by the canons of the 13th of *Elizabeth*. Mr. *Sherfield* concludes his defence with denying, that he was diſaffected to the diſcipline of the church of England, or had encouraged any to oppoſe the government of it under the reverend biſhops.

Though it is hard to make a tolerable reply to this defence, yet biſhop *Laud* ſtood up and ſpake in excuſe of the painter, ſaying, God the Father was called in ſcripture the *ancient of days*; adding, however, that for his own part, he did not ſo well approve of pictures of things inviſible; but be the paintings better or worſe, he inſiſted ſtrongly, that Mr. *Sherfield* had taken them down in contempt of the epiſcopal authority, for which he moved, that he might be fined a thouſand pounds, and removed from his recorderſhip of the city of Sarum; that he be committed cloſe priſoner to the Fleet till he pay his fine, and then be bound to his good behaviour. To all which the court agreed, except to the fine, which was mitigated to five hundred pounds.

The reverend Mr. *John Workman*, lecturer of St. Stephen's church, Glouceſter, in one of his ſermons, aſſerted, that pictures or images were no ornaments to churches; *that it was unlawful to ſet up images of Chriſt or ſaints, in our houſes, becauſe it tended to idolatry, according to the homily.** For which he was ſuſpended by the high commiſſion, excommunicated, and obliged to an open recantation in the court at Lambeth, in the cathedral of Glouceſter, and in the church of St. *Michael*'s; he was alſo condemned in coſts of ſuit and impriſoned. Mr. *Workman* was a man of great piety, wiſdom, and moderation, and had ſerved the church of St. Stephen's fifteen years; in conſideration whereof, and of his numerous family, the city of Glouceſter had given him an annuity of twenty pounds per annum, under their common ſeal, a little before his troubles; but for this act of charity, the mayor, town-clerk, and ſeveral of the aldermen,

* Prynne, p. 107, 109.

were

were cited before the high commiſſion, and put to one hundred pounds charges, and the annuity was cancelled. After this Mr. *Workman* ſet up a little ſchool, of which archbiſhop *Laud* being informed, inhibited him, as he would anſwer the contrary at his peril. He then fell upon the practice of phyſick, which the archbiſhop likewiſe abſolutely forbid; ſo that being deprived of all methods of ſubſiſtence, he fell into a melancholy diſorder and died.

Our biſhop was no leſs watchful over the preſs than the pulpit, commanding his chaplains to expunge out of all books that came to be licenſed, ſuch paſſages as diſallowed of *paintings, carvings, drawings, gildings*; *erecting, bowing, or praying before images and pictures*; as appeared by the evidence of Dr. *Featly* and others at his trial.

This great prelate would have ſtretched out his arm not only againſt the puritans in England, but even to reach the factories beyond ſea, had it been in his power. The Engliſh church at Hamburgh managed their affairs according to the Geneva *diſcipline*, by elders and deacons. In Holland they conformed to the diſcipline of the States, and met them in their ſynods and aſſemblies, with the conſent of king *James*, and of his preſent majeſty, till ſecretary *Windebank*, at the inſtance of this prelate, offered ſome propoſals to the privy-council for their better regulation:* The propoſals conſiſted of ten articles, 1. "That all chaplains of Engliſh "regiments in the Low Countries ſhall be exactly conform-"able to the church of England. 2. That the merchants "reſiding there ſhall admit of no miniſter to preach among "them, but one qualified as before. 3. That if any one "after his ſettlement among them proves a *non-conformiſt*, "he ſhall be diſcharged in three months. 4. That the Scots "factories ſhall be obliged to the ſame conformity. 5. That "no miniſter abroad ſhall ſpeak, preach, or print any thing "to the diſadvantage of the Engliſh diſcipline and ceremo-"nies. 6. That no conformiſt miniſter ſhall ſubſtitute a "non-conformiſt to preach for him in the factories. 7. "That the king's agents ſhall ſee the ſervice of the church "of England exactly performed in the factories.—The laſt

* Collyer's Eccleſ. Hiſt. p. 752-3. Prynne's Cant. Doom. p. 389.

"articles forbid the Engliſh miniſters in Holland to hold "any claſſical aſſemblies, and eſpecially not to ordain mini- "ſters, becauſe by ſo doing they would maintain a ſtand- "ing nurſery for non-conformity and ſchiſm." Theſe propoſals were diſpatched to the factories, and the biſhop wrote in particular to Delft, that it was his majeſty's expreſs command, that their miniſters ſhould conform themſelves in all things to the doctrine and diſcipline of the church of England, and to all the orders preſcribed in the canons, rubrick, and liturgy; and that the names of ſuch as were refractory ſhould be ſent over to him. But it was not poſſible to ſucceed in the attempt, becauſe moſt of the Engliſh congregations, being ſupported by the States, muſt by ſo doing have run the hazard of loſing their maintenance, and of being diſſolved, as was repreſented to the king by a petition in the name of all the Engliſh miniſters in the Low Countries. However, though the biſhop could not accompliſh his deſigns abroad, we ſhall find him hereafter retaliating his diſappointment upon the French and Dutch churches at home.

His lordſhip met with better ſucceſs in Scotland for the preſent, as being part of his majeſty's own dominions. He had poſſeſſed the king with vaſt notions of glory in bringing the kirk of Scotland to an exact conformity with England; a work which his father had attempted, but left imperfect. The king readily fell in with the biſhop's motion, and determined to run all hazards for accompliſhing this important deſign, having no leſs veneration for the ceremonies of the church of England than the biſhop himſelf. There had been biſhops in Scotland for ſome years, but they had little more than the name, being ſubject to an aſſembly that was purely preſbyterian. To advance their juriſdiction, the king had already renewed the high commiſſion, and aboliſhed all general aſſemblies of the kirk, not one having been held in his reign; yet ſtill (ſays the noble hiſtorian*) there was no form of religion, no liturgy, nor the leaſt appearance of any *beauty of holineſs*. To redreſs theſe grievances, as well as to ſhew the Scots nation the pomp and grandeur of the Engliſh hierarchy, his majeſty reſolves upon a progreſs into his native country to be crowned, and accordingly ſet out from

† Clarendon, vol. i. p. 81.

London,

London, May 13th, attended by ſeveral noblemen and perſons of quality; and among others by biſhop *Laud.* June 18th, [1633] his majeſty was crowned at Edinburgh, the ceremony being managed by the direction of his favourite biſhop, who thruſt away the biſhop of Glaſgow from his place, becauſe he appeared without the coat of his order, which being an *embroidered one*, he ſcrupled to wear, being a moderate churchman.*

On the 20th of June the parliament met, and voted the king a large ſum of money. After which his majeſty propoſed to them two acts relating to religion; one was *concerning his royal prerogative, and the apparel of kirkmen*; the other, a bill for *the ratification of former acts touching religion.* It being the cuſtom in Scotland for king, lords, and commons, to ſit in one houſe, when the queſtion was put for the firſt bill, his majeſty took a paper out of his pocket, and ſaid, *Gentlemen, I have all your names here, and I will know who will do me ſervice, and who will not, this day.* Nevertheleſs it was carried in the negative; thirteen lords, and the majority of the commons, voting againſt it. The lords ſaid, they agreed to the act ſo far as related to his majeſty's *prerogative*, but diſſented from that part of it which referred to the *apparel of kirkmen*, fearing that under that cover the *ſurplice* might be introduced. But his majeſty ſaid, he would have no diſtinction, and commanded them to ſay, *yes*, or *no*, to the whole bill. The king marked every man's vote, and upon caſting them up the clerk declared it was carried in the affirmative: which ſome of the members denying, his majeſty ſaid, the clerk's declaration muſt ſtand, unleſs any one would go to the bar and accuſe him of falſifying the record of parliament, at the peril of his life.

This manner of treating the whole repreſentative body of the nation, diſguſted all ranks and orders of his ſubjects. A writing was immediately diſperſed abroad, ſetting forth how grievous it was for a king to overawe and threaten his parliament in that manner; and that the ſame was a breach of privilege; that parliaments were a mere pageantry, if the clerk might declare the votes as he pleaſed, and no ſcrutiny be allowed. Lord *Balmerino*, in whoſe cuſtody this libel was

* Ruſhworth, part ii. vol. i. p. 182. ‡ Ibid. p. 183.

found,

found, was condemned to loſe his head for it, but was afterwards pardoned.

After eight days the parliament was diſſolved, but the king would not look upon the diſſenting lords, or admit them to kiſs his hand. The act concerning the *apparel of miniſters*, ſays, that "Whereas it was agreed in the parliament of 1606, that what order ſoever his majeſty's father of bleſſed memory, ſhould preſcribe for the apparel of kirkmen, and ſend in writ to his *clerk of regiſter*, ſhould be a ſufficient warrant for inſerting the ſame in the books of parliament, to have the ſtrength of any act thereof; the preſent parliament agrees, that the ſame power ſhall remain with our ſovereign lord that now is, and his ſucceſſors." The bill touching religion ratifies and approves all acts and ſtatutes made before, about the liberty and freedom of the true kirk of God, and the religion at preſent profeſſed within this kingdom, and ordains the ſame to ſtand in full force as if they were particularly mentioned.

The king left his native country July 16th, having loſt a great deal of ground in the affections of his people,* by the

* Dr. *Grey* confronts Mr. *Neal* here with a paſſage from Lord *Clarendon*, to ſhew that his account of the king's reception in Scotland differs widely from this of our author. "The great civility of that people," ſays his lordſhip, "being ſo notorious and univerſal, that they would not appear "unconformable to his majeſty's wiſh in any particular." But this quotation has little or no force againſt Mr. *Neal*, who is not repreſenting the reception the king met with, but the impreſſions left on the minds of the people by the time of his departure. The king's entry and coronation, biſhop *Burnet* ſays, was managed with ſuch magnificence, that all was entertainment and ſhew: yet, he adds, "that the king left Scotland much "diſcontented." The proceedings on the bill concerning the royal prerogative, &c. ſhew, that every propoſal from the court was not pleaſing. *Whitlocke* (Memoirs, p. 18) tells us, that though the king was crowned with all ſhew of affection and duty, and gratified many with new honours; yet, before he left Scotland, ſome began to murmur and afterwards to mutiny; and he was in ſome danger paſſing over Dumfrith. And ſuch in particular was the effect of the proſecution of lord *Balmerino* on the public mind, that the ruin of the king's affairs in Scotland was in a great meaſure owing to it. Dr. *Grey* refers to the preambles to ſome acts paſſed in the Scotch parliament, as proving the high degree of eſteem the king was then in amongſt them; as if an argument were to be drawn from formularies drawn up according to the routine of the occaſion, and compoſed, probably, by a court lawyer: as if ſuch formularies were proof againſt matter of fact. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, vol. i. p. 24—31. 12mo. ED.

contempt

contempt he poured upon the Scots clergy, and his high behaviour in favour of the Engliſh ceremonies. His majeſty was attended throughout his whole progreſs by *Laud* biſhop of London, which ſervice his lordſhip was not obliged to, and no doubt would have been excuſed from, if the deſign of introducing the Engliſh liturgy into Scotland had not been in view.* He preached before the king in the royal chapel at Edinburgh, which ſcarce any Engliſh man had ever done before, and inſiſted principally upon the benefit of the *ceremonies of the church*, which he himſelf obſerved to the height. It went againſt him to own the Scots *preſbyters* for miniſters of Chriſt; taking all occaſions to affront their character, which created a high diſguſt in that nation, and laid the foundation of thoſe reſentments that they expreſſed againſt him under his ſufferings.

When the king left Scotland, he erected a new biſhoprick at Edinburgh; and about two months after, *Laud*, being then newly advanced to the province of Canterbury, framed articles for the reformation of his majeſty's royal chapel in that city, which were ſent into Scotland under his majeſty's own hand, with a declaration, that they were intended as a pattern for all cathedrals, chapels, and pariſh churches in that kingdom.† The articles appoint, "that prayers be read twice "a day in the choir, according to the Engliſh liturgy, till "ſome courſe be taken to make one that may fit the cuſtom "and conſtitution of that church. That all that receive the "ſacrament in the chapel do it *kneeling*. That the dean of "the chapel always come to church in his *whites*, and preach "in them. That the *copes* which are conſecrated to *our uſe* "be carefully kept, and uſed at the celebration of the ſacra-"ment; and that all his majeſty's officers and miniſters of "ſtate be obliged, at leaſt once a year, to receive the ſacra-"ment at the royal chapel, kneeling, for an example to the "reſt of the people." Thus were the liberties of the kirk of Scotland invaded by an Engliſh biſhop, under the wing of the ſupremacy, without conſent of parliament or general aſſembly. The Scots miniſters in their pulpits preached

* Clarendon, vol. i. p. 81, 82.

† Ruſhworth, part 2d, vol. ii. p. 205, 206.

againſt

againſt the Engliſh hierarchy, and warned the people againſt ſurrendering up the liberties of their kirk into the hands of a neighbouring nation, that was undermining their diſcipline; ſo that when the new liturgy came to be introduced about four years after, all the people as one man roſe up againſt it.

The king was no ſooner returned from Scotland than Dr. ABBOT archbiſhop of Canterbury died. He was born at Guilford in Surry 1562, and educated in Baliol-college, Oxford, where he was a celebrated preacher. In the year 1597, he proceeded doctor in divinity, and was elected maſter of univerſity-college: Two years after he was made dean of Wincheſter, and was one of thoſe divines appointed by king *James* to tranſlate the New Teſtament into Engliſh. In the year 1609, he was conſecrated biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, from thence he was tranſlated to London, and upon the death of archbiſhop *Bancroft*, to Canterbury, April 9th, 1611, having never been rector, vicar, or incumbent, in any pariſh church in England. Lord *Clarendon** has leſſened the character of this excellent prelate, contrary to almoſt all other hiſtorians, by ſaying that "he was a man "of very moroſe manners, and of a very ſour aſpect, which "in that time was called gravity; that he neither under-"ſtood nor regarded the conſtitution of the church; that "he knew very little of ancient divinity, but adhered ſtifly "to the doctrine of *Calvin*, and did not think ſo ill of his "diſcipline as he ought to have done; but if men prudently "forbore a publick reviling and railing at the hierarchy, "let their private practice be as it would, he would give "them no diſturbance; that his houſe was a ſanctuary to "diſaffected perſons, and that he licenſed their writings, by "which means his ſucceſſor [*Laud*] had a very difficult taſk to reduce things to order." The Oxford hiſtorian,† who was no friend to our archbiſhop's principles, confeſſes that he was a pious grave perſon, exemplary in his life and converſation, a plauſible preacher, and that the many things he has written ſhew him to be a man of parts, learning and vigilance; an able ſtateſman, and of unwearied ſtudy, though

* Clarendon, vol. i. p. 88-9. † Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 499.

over-

overwhelmed with buſineſs. *Fuller** ſays, he was an excellent preacher, and that his ſeverity towards the clergy was only to prevent their being puniſhed by lay-judges, to their greater ſhame. Mr. *Coke* and Dr. *Welwood*† add, that he was a prelate of primitive ſanctity, who followed the true intereſts of his country, and of the reformed churches at home and abroad; that he was a divine of good learning, great hoſpitality, and wonderful moderation, ſhewing upon all occaſions an unwillingneſs to ſtretch the king's prerogative or the act of uniformity, beyond what was conſiſtent with law, or neceſſary for the peace of the church; this brought him into all his troubles, and has provoked the writers for the prerogative, to leave a blot upon his memory, which on this account will be reverenced by all true lovers of the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of their country; and if the court had followed his wiſe and prudent counſels, the miſchiefs that befel the crown and church ſome years after his death, would have been prevented. We have mentioned his *caſual homicide* in the year 1621, which occaſioned his keeping an annual faſt as long as he lived, and maintaining the widow. Notwithſtanding this misfortune, if he would have betrayed the proteſtant religion, and been the dupe of the prerogative, he might have continued in high favour with his prince; but for his ſteady oppoſition to the arbitrary meaſures of *Buckingham* and *Laud*, and for not licenſing *Sibthorp*'s ſermon, he was ſuſpended from his archiepiſcopal juriſdiction, [1628,‡] whereupon he retired to Croydon, having no more intereſt at court, or influence in the government of the church; here he died in his archiepiſcopal palace, Auguſt 4th, 1633, aged ſeventy-one, and was buried in Trinity-church in Guilford, the place of his nativity, where he had erected and endowed an hoſpital for men and women. There is a fine monument over his grave, with his effigies in full proportion, ſupported by ſix pillars of the dorick order of black marble, ſtanding on ſix pe-

* Church Hiſtory, b. xi. p. 123.

† Welwood's Memoirs, p. 36, edit. 1718.

‡ Ruſhorth, vol. i. p. 435.

deſtals

deſtals of piled books, with a large inſcription thereon to his memory.*

* In addition to our author's character of archbiſhop *Abbot*, it may be obſerved, that Dr. *Warner* has entered largely into the deſcription of it, "not only," he ſays, "in conformity to the rule he preſcribed to himſelf "in his work, but," he adds, "to reſcue the memory of this prelate from "the injury done to it by Lord *Clarendon*, with ſo notorious a partiality as "does no honour to his hiſtory." The doctor ſums up his view of archbiſhop *Abbot*'s character, by ſaying, "That he was a man of good parts "and learning as a divine; that he was a prelate of a very pious, exemplary "converſation; and an archbiſhop who underſtood the conſtitution of his "country in church and ſtate, to which he ſtedfaſtly adhered, without any "regard to the favour or the frowns of princes." The learned tranſlator of Moſheim alſo cenſures Lord *Clarendon*'s account of this eminent prelate as moſt unjuſt and partial: and in a long note, ably and judiciouſly appreciates the archbiſhop's merit and excellence. It was, he ſhews, by the zeal and dexterity of *Abbot*, that things were put into ſuch a ſituation in Scotland as afterwards produced the entire eſtabliſhment of the epiſcopal order in that nation. It was by the mild and prudent counſels of *Abbot*, when he was chaplain to the lord high-treaſurer *Dunbar*, that there was paſſed a famous act of the general aſſembly of Scotland, which gave the king the authority of calling all general aſſemblies, and inveſted the biſhops (or their deputies) with various powers of interference and influence over the Scotch miniſters. Theſe facts confute the charge of his diſregarding the conſtitution of the church. It deſerves to be mentioned, that this prelate had a conſiderable hand in the tranſlation of the New Teſtament now in uſe. Moſheim's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. iv. p. 513, and note (f.) 1768. Warner's Eccleſ. Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 522—24. Granger's Biogr. Hiſtory of England, vol. i. p. 341. 8vo. ED.

CHAP. V.

From the Death of Archbiſhop ABBOT *to the beginning of the Commotions in Scotland, in the Year* 1637.

DR. LAUD was now at the pinnacle of preferment, being tranſlated to the ſee of Canterbury two days after archbiſhop *Abbot*'s death. His *grace* was likewiſe chancellor of the univerſities of Oxford and Dublin, privy-counſellor for England and Scotland, firſt commiſſioner of the Exchequer, and one of the committee for trade, and for the king's revenues: He was alſo offered a cardinal's cap [Auguſt 17,] which he declined (as he ſays) becauſe *there was ſomething dwelt within him which would not ſuffer it, till Rome was otherwiſe than it was.* We are now to ſee how he moved in this high ſphere. Lord *Clarendon* admits, "that the archbiſhop had all his life eminently oppoſed "*Calvin*'s doctrine, for which reaſon he was called a papiſt; "and it may be (ſays his lordſhp) the *puritans* found the "more ſevere and rigorous uſage for propagating the ca-"lumny. He alſo intended, that the diſcipline of the church "ſhould be felt as well as ſpoken of." The truth of this obſervation has appeared in part already, and will receive ſtronger evidence from the ſeven enſuing years of his government.

The archbiſhop's antipathy to *calviniſm*, and zeal for the external beauty of the church, carried him to ſome very imprudent and unjuſtifiable extremes; for if the puritans were too ſtrict in *keeping holy the ſabbath*, his *grace* was too lax in his indulgence, by encouraging revels, may-games, and ſports, on that ſacred day.

Complaint having been made to the lord chief-juſtice *Richardſon*, and baron *Denham*, in their Weſtern circuit, of great inconveniences ariſing from *revels*, *church-ales*, and *clerk-ales*, on the Lord's-day, the two judges made an order at the aſſizes for ſuppreſſing them, and appointed the clerk

to

to leave copies of the order with every pariſh miniſter, who was to give a note under his hand, to publiſh it in his church yearly, the firſt Sunday in *February*, and the two Sundays before *Eaſter*.* Upon the return of the circuit the judges required an account of the execution of their order, and puniſhed ſome perſons for the breach of it; whereupon the archbiſhop complained to the king of *their* invading the epiſcopal juriſdiction, and prevailed with his majeſty to ſummons them before the council. When they appeared, *Richardſon* pleaded that the *order* was made at the requeſt of the juſtices of the peace, and with the unanimous conſent of the whole bench, and juſtified it from the following precedents: Sept. 10, *Eliz.* 38th, the juſtices aſſembled at Bridgwater ordered, that no *church ale*, *clerk ale*, or *bid ale*, be ſuffered; ſigned by *Popham*, lord chief juſtice and ten others. The ſame order was repeated 1599, and 41ſt of *Eliz.* and again at *Exeter*, 1615, and 13th of *Jac.* and even in the preſent king's reign, 1627, with an order for the miniſter of every pariſh church to publiſh it yearly. But notwithſtanding all the *chief juſtice* could alledge, he received a ſharp reprimand, and a peremptory injunction to revoke his order at the next aſſizes; which he did in ſuch a manner as loſt him his credit at court for the future; for he then declared to the juſtices, "that he thought he had done God, "the king, and his country good ſervice, by that *good order* "that he and his brother *Denham* had made, for ſuppreſſing "unruly *wakes* and *revels*, but that it had been miſreported "to his majeſty, who had expreſsly charged him to reverſe "it; accordingly (ſays he) I do, as much as in me lies, re-"verſe it, declaring the ſame to be null and void, and that "all perſons may uſe their recreations at ſuch meetings as "before." This reprimand and injunction almoſt broke the judge's heart, for when he came out of the council-chamber he told the earl of *Dorſet* with tears in his eyes, that he had been miſerably ſhaken by the archbiſhop, and was like to be choaked with his lawn-ſleeves.

Laud having thus humbled the judge, and recovered his epiſcopal authority from neglect, took the affair into his own hand, and wrote to the biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Oct. 4th,

* Prynne's Cant. Doom. p. 153.

[1633] for fuller information. In his letter he takes notice that there had been of late ſome noiſe in Somerſetſhire about the *wakes*; that the judges had prohibited them under pretence of ſome diſorders, by which argument (ſays he) any thing that is abuſed may be quite taken away; but that his majeſty was diſpleaſed with *Richardſon*'s behaviour at the two laſt aſſizes, and eſpecially the laſt; being of opinion, that the *feaſts* ought to be kept for the recreation of the people, of which he would not have them debarred under any frivolous pretences, to the gratifying of the humouriſts, who were very numerous in thoſe parts, and united in crying down the feaſts; his *grace* therefore requires the biſhop to give him a ſpeedy account how theſe feaſts had been ordered.

Pierce biſhop of Bath and Wells, in anſwer to this letter, acquaints the archbiſhop, "That the late ſuppreſſion of the "*revels* was very unacceptable, and that the reſtitution of "them would be very grateful to the gentry, clergy, and "common people;* for proof of which he had procured the "hands of ſeventy-two of his clergy, in whoſe pariſhes "theſe feaſts are kept; and he believes that if he had ſent "for an hundred more he ſhould have had the ſame anſwer "from them all; but theſe ſeventy-two (ſays his lordſhip) "are like the ſeventy-two interpreters that agreed ſo ſoon "in the tranſlation of the *Old Teſtament* in the Greek." He then proceeds to explain the nature of theſe feaſts: "There "are (ſays he) in Somerſetſhire, not only feaſts of dedica-"tion [or revel-days] but alſo church-ales, clerk-ales, and "bid-ales."

"*The Feaſts of dedication* are in memory of the dedica-"tion of their ſeveral churches; thoſe churches which are "dedicated to the Holy Trinity have their feaſts on Trinity "Sunday; and ſo all the feaſts are kept upon the Sunday "before or after the ſaint's day to whom the churches are "dedicated, becauſe the people have not leiſure to obſerve "them on the week days; this (ſays his lordſhip) is accep-"table to the people, who otherwiſe go into tipling-"houſes, or elſe to conventicles.

"*Church ales* are when the people go from afternoon "prayers on Sunday to their lawful ſports and paſtimes in the

* Cant. Doom. p. 142.

"church-

"church-yard, or in the neighbourhood, in ſome publick-
"houſe, where they drink and make merry. By the bene-
"volence of the people at theſe paſtimes, many poor pa-
"riſhes have caſt their bells, and beautified their churches,
"and raiſed ſtocks for the poor; and there had not been
"obſerved ſo much diſorder at them as is commonly at fairs
"or markets.

"*Clerk ales*, [or leſſer church ales] are ſo called, be-
"cauſe they were for the better maintenance of the pa-
"riſh clerk; and there is great reaſon for them, (ſays his
"lordſhip) for in poor country pariſhes, where the wages
"of clerk are but ſmall, the people, thinking it unfit that
"the clerk ſhould duly attend at church and not gain by his
"office, ſend him in proviſion, and then come on Sundays
"and feaſt with him, by which means he ſells more ale, and
"taſtes more of the liberality of the people, than their
"quarterly payment would amount to in many years; and
"ſince theſe have been put down, many miniſters have com-
"plained to me (ſays his lordſhip) that they are afraid they
"ſhall have no pariſh clerks.

"*A bid ale* is when a poor man, decayed in his ſubſtance,
"is ſet up again by the liberal benevolence and contribution
"of his friends at a *Sunday*'s feaſt."

The people were fond of theſe recreations, and the biſhop recommends them, as bringing the people more willingly to church; as tending to civilize them, and to compoſe differences among them; and as ſerving to increaſe love and unity, foraſmuch as they were in the nature of feaſts of charity, the richer ſort keeping in a manner open houſe; for which and ſome other reaſons his lordſhip thinks them fit to be retained.

But the juſtices of peace were of another mind, and ſigned an humble petition to the king, in which they declare that theſe *revels* had not only introduced a great profanation of the *Lord's-day*, but riotous tipling, contempt of authority, quarrels, murders, &c. and were very prejudicial to the peace, plenty, and good government of the country, and therefore they pray that they may be ſuppreſſed. Here we obſerve the *laity* petitioning for the religious obſervation of the Lord's-day, and the *biſhop* with his clergy pleading for the profanation of it.

To

To encourage theſe diſorderly aſſemblies more effectually, archbiſhop *Laud* put the king upon republiſhing his father's declaration of the year 1618, *concerning lawful ſports to be uſed on Sundays after divine ſervice*; which was done accordingly, Oct. 18th, with this remarkable addition. After a recital of the words of king *James*'s declaration, his majeſty adds, "Out of a like pious care for the ſervice of God, and "for ſuppreſſing of thoſe humours that oppoſe truth, and "for the eaſe, comfort, and recreation of his majeſty's well-"deſerving people, he doth ratify his *bleſſed father*'s decla-"ration, the rather, becauſe of late in ſome counties of the "kingdom his majeſty finds, that, under pretence of taking "away an *abuſe*, there hath been a general forbidding, not "only of ordinary meetings, but of the *feaſts of the dedica-"tion of churches*, commonly called *wakes*; it is therefore "his will and pleaſure, that theſe feaſts with others ſhall be "obſerved, and that all neighbourhood and freedom with "man-like and lawful exerciſes be uſed; and the juſtices of "the peace are commanded not to moleſt any in their re-"creations, having firſt done their duty to God, and con-"tinuing in obedience to his majeſty's laws." And he does further will, "that publication of this his command be "made by order from the biſhops, through all the pariſh "churches of their ſeveral dioceſes reſpectively."

This declaration revived the controverſy of the morality of the ſabbath, which had ſlept for many years; Mr. *Theophilus Bradbourne*, a Suffolk miniſter, had publiſhed in the year 1628, *a defence of the moſt ancient and ſacred ordinance of God, the ſabbath-day*, and dedicated it to the king. But Mr. *Fuller*† obſerves, "That the poor man fell into the "ambuſh of the high-commiſſion, whoſe well-tempered ſeve-"rity ſo prevailed with him, that he became a convert, and "conformed quietly to the church of England." *Francis White*, biſhop of Ely, was commanded by the king to confute *Bradbourne*; after him appeared Dr. *Pocklington*, with his *Sunday no ſabbath*; and after him *Heylin* the archbiſhop's chaplain, and others. Theſe divines, inſtead of ſoftening ſome rigours in *Bradbourne*'s ſabbatarian ſtrictneſs, ran into the contrary extreme, denying all manner of *divine right* or

† Book xi. p. 144.

moral

moral obligation to the obſervance of the whole, or any part of the *Lord's-day*, making it depend entirely upon *eccleſiaſtical authority*, and to oblige no further than to the few hours of publick ſervice; and that in the intervals, not only walking (which the ſabbatarians admitted) but *mixed dancing*, *maſques*, *interludes*, *revels*, &c. were lawful and expedient.

Inſtead of convincing the ſober part of the nation, it ſtruck them with a kind of horror, to ſee themſelves invited, by the authority of the king and church, to that which looked ſo like a contradiction to the *command of God*. It was certainly out of character for biſhops and clergymen, who ſhould be the ſupports of religion, to draw men off from exerciſes of devotion in their families and cloſets, by enticing them to publick recreations. People are forward enough of themſelves to indulge theſe liberties, and need a check rather than a ſpur; but the wiſdom of theſe times was different. The court had their *balls*, *maſquerades*, *and plays*, on the Sunday evenings, while the youth of the country were at their *morrice-dances*, *may-games*, *church and clerk ales*, and all ſuch kinds of revelling.

The revival of this declaration was charged upon archbiſhop *Laud* at his trial, but his *grace* would not admit the charge, though he confeſſed his judgment was in favour of it. It was to be publiſhed in all pariſh churches either by the miniſter, or any other perſon, at the diſcretion of the biſhop, and therefore the putting this hardſhip on the clergy was *their* act and deed; but *Laud* knew it would diſtreſs the *puritans*, and purge the church of a ſet of men, for whom he had a perfect averſion. The reaſon given for obliging them to this ſervice was, becauſe the two judges had enjoined the miniſters to read their order againſt revels in the churches; and therefore it was proper to have it reverſed by the ſame perſons and in the ſame place.†

The ſevere preſſing this declaration made ſad havock among the puritans for ſeven years. Many poor clergymen ſtrained their conſciences in ſubmiſſion to their ſuperiors. Some after publiſhing it, immediately read the fourth com-

* Dr. *Warner* adopts theſe remarks. Ed.

† Fuller's Church Hiſtory, b. xi. p. 148.

mandment

mandment to the people, *Remember the ſabbath day to keep it holy*; adding, *this is the law of God*; the other, *the injunction of man.* Some put it upon their curates, whilſt great numbers refuſed to comply upon any terms whatſoever. *Fuller** ſays, "that the archbiſhop's moderation in his own "dioceſe was remarkable, ſilencing but three, in whom alſo "was a concurrence of other non-conformities; but that his "adverſaries imputed it not to his charity but policy, *fox-like*, preying fartheſt from his own den, and inſtigating "other biſhops to do more than he would appear in himſelf." Sir *Nath. Brent*, his grace's vicar-general, atteſted upon oath at the archbiſhop's trial, that he gave him a ſpecial charge to convene all miniſters before him who would not read the *book of ſports* on the Lord's-day, and to ſuſpend them for it; and that he gave particular order to ſuſpend the three following Kentiſh miniſters by name, (viz.) Mr. *Player*, Mr. *Hieron*, and Mr. *Culmer*.† Whereupon he did, againſt his judgment, ſuſpend them all *ab officio & beneficio*, though the king's declaration (as has been obſerved) does not oblige the *miniſter* to read it, nor authorize the biſhops to inflict any puniſhment on the refuſers. When the ſuſpended miniſters repaired to Lambeth, and petitioned to be reſtored, the archbiſhop told them, *if they did not know how to obey, he did not know how to grant their petition.* So their ſuſpenſion continued till the beginning of the commotions in Scotland, to the ruin of their poor families; Mr. *Culmer* having a wife and ſeven children to provide for.§

* Book xi. p. 148. † Prynne's Cant. Doom. p. 149.

§ Dr. *Grey* introduces here a long quotation from *Anthony Wood*, and refers to a bad character of Mr. *Culmer* drawn by Mr. *Lewis* in Dr. *Calamy*'s continuation of ejected miniſters, to ſhew what ſmall reaſon Mr. *Neal* had to defend him. It ſhould ſeem from thoſe authorities, that he was a man of a warm and violent temper, and ſome heavy charges are brought againſt him. But not to ſay that prejudice appears to have drawn his picture, admitting the truth of every thing alledged againſt him, it is irrelevant to the vindication of archbiſhop *Laud*, whoſe ſeverity againſt Mr. *Culmer* had not for its object his general deportment, or any immorality, but his not reading the book of ſports; *i. e.* a royal invitation to men to give themſelves up to diſſipating, riotous, and intemperate diverſions on a day ſacred to ſobriety. See on Mr. Culmer's character, Palmer's Nonconformiſt's Memorial, vol. ii. p. 77. ED.

Several clergymen of other dioceſes were alſo ſilenced, and deprived on the ſame account; as, Mr. *Thomas Wilſon* of Otham, who being ſent for to Lambeth, and aſked whether he had read the book of ſports in his church, anſwered no; whereupon the archbiſhop replied immediately, *I ſuſpend you for ever from your office and benefice till you read it*; and ſo he continued four years, being cited into the high commiſſion, and articled againſt for the ſame crime. Mr. *Wrath* and Mr. *Erbery* were brought up from Wales, Mr. *William Jones* from Glouceſterſhire, with divers others, and cenſured by the high commiſſion (of which the archbiſhop was chief) for not reading the declaration, and not bowing his body at the bleſſed name of Jeſus, &c.* To theſe may be added Mr. *Whitfield* of Ockly, Mr. *Garth* of Woverſh, Mr. *Ward* of Pepper-Harrow, Mr. *Farrol* of Purbright, and Mr. *Pegges* of Wexford, to whom the archbiſhop ſaid, that he ſuſpended him *ex nunc prout ex tunc*, in caſe he did not read the king's declaration for ſports, on the Sunday ſe'nnight following.

The reverend and learned Mr. *Lawrence Snelling*, rector of Paul's-Cray, was not only ſuſpended by the high commiſſion at Lambeth for four years, but deprived and excommunicated, for not reading the declaration, &c.† He pleaded in his own defence the laws of God and of the realm, and the authority of councils and fathers; he added, that the king's declaration did not enjoin *miniſters* to read it, nor authorize the biſhops or high commiſſioners to ſuſpend or puniſh miniſters for not reading it; that it being merely a *civil*, not an *eccleſiaſtical declaration* enjoined by any canons or authority of the church, no eccleſiaſtical court could take cognizance of it. All which Mr. *Snelling* offered to the commiſſioners in writing, but the archbiſhop would not

* Prynne's Cant. Doom. p. 151.

† Dr. *Grey*, to impeach the fairneſs of Mr. *Neal*, quotes here *Ruſhworth*, to ſhew that ſentence was paſſed on Mr. *Snelling* for omitting to "read the "litany and wear the ſurplice, and for not bowing, or making any corporal "obeyſance at hearing or reading the name of Jeſus." It is true, that on theſe premiſes alſo the ſentence of *deprivation* was paſſed; but it appears from *Ruſhworth*, that he had been *previouſly* ſuſpended *ab officio & beneficio*, and excommunicated, ſolely on the ground of refuſing to read the book of ſports; and that this offence was the primary cauſe of the deprivation. Ruſhworth's Collections, vol. ii. part ii. p. 460-61. Ed.

admit

admit it, ſaying in open court, that *whoſoever ſhould make ſuch a defence, it ſhould be burnt before his face, and he laid by the heels.* Upon this he was perſonally and judicially admoniſhed to read the declaration within three weeks, which he refuſing, was ſuſpended *ab officio & beneficio.* About four months after he was judicially admoniſhed again, and refuſing to comply, was excommunicated, and told, that unleſs he conformed before the ſecond day of next term, he ſhould be deprived; which was accordingly done, and he continued under the ſentence many years, to his unſpeakable damage.

"It were endleſs to go into more particulars; how many "hundred godly miniſters in this and other dioceſes (ſays Mr. "*Prynne**) have been ſuſpended from their miniſtry, ſequeſ-"tered, driven from their livings, excommunicated, proſe-"cuted in the high commiſſion, and forced to leave the "kingdom for not publiſhing this *declaration*, is experimen-"tally known to all men."* Dr. *Wren*, biſhop of Norwich, ſays, that great numbers in his dioceſe had declined it, and were ſuſpended; that ſome had ſince complied, but that ſtill there were *thirty* who peremptorily refuſed and were excommunicated. This the biſhop thinks a ſmall number, although if there were as many in other dioceſes, the whole would amount to near eight hundred.

To render the *Common-prayer book* more unexceptionable to the papiſts, and more diſtant from puritaniſm, the archbiſhop made *ſundry alterations*† in the later editions, without the ſanction of convocation or parliament. In the collect for the royal family, the *princeſs Elizabeth and her children were left out*, and theſe words were expunged, *O God, who art the father of thine elect, and of their ſeed*; as tending towards particular election or predeſtination.‡ In the prayer for the fifth of November were theſe words, *root out that antichriſtian and babyloniſh ſect which ſay of Jeruſalem, Down with it even to the ground. Cut off thoſe workers of iniquity,*

* Cant. Doom. p. 153.

† Dr. *Grey* ſays, that the archbiſhop fully cleared himſelf in this particular, by informing us, [Troubles and Trial, p. 357,] "that the alterations were "made either by the king himſelf, or ſome other about him, when he was "not at court." ED.

‡ Cant. Doom. p. 111-12.

whoſe religion is rebellion, whoſe faith is faction, whoſe practice is murdering both ſoul and body; which in the laſt edition are thus changed, *Root out the antichriſtian and babyloniſh ſect* OF THEM, *which ſay of Jeruſalem, Down with it. ——Cut off thoſe workers of iniquity, who turn religion into rebellion*, &c. The deſign of which alteration was to relieve the papiſts, and to turn the prayer againſt the *puritans*, upon whom the popiſh plot was to have been fathered. In the epiſtle for *Palm Sunday*, inſtead of IN *the name of Jeſus*, as it was heretofore, it is now according to the laſt tranſlation, AT *the name of Jeſus every knee ſhall bow*. But it was certainly very high preſumption, for a ſingle clergyman or any number of them, to alter a ſervice-book eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, and impoſe thoſe alterations upon the whole body of the clergy.

The puritans always excepted againſt *bowing at the name of Jeſus*; it appeared to them very ſuperſtitious, as if worſhip was to be paid to a name, or to the name of JESUS, more than to that of CHRIST or IMMANUEL. Nevertheleſs it was enjoined by the eighteenth canon, and in compliance with that injunction, our laſt tranſlators inſerted it into their text, by rendering ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, *in the name of Jeſus*, as it was before both in the bible and common-prayer-book, *at the name of Jeſus*, as it now ſtands; however, no penalty was annexed to the neglect of this ceremony, nor did any ſuffer for it, till biſhop LAUD was at the head of the church, who preſſed it equally with the reſt, and cauſed above twenty miniſters to be fined, cenſured, and put by their livings, *for not bowing at the name of* JESUS, *or for preaching againſt it.**

On the third of November was debated before his majeſty in council, the queſtion about removing the communion-table in St. Gregory's church near St. Paul's, from the middle of the chancel to the upper end of it, and placing it there in form of an altar. This being enjoined upon the churchwardens by the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, without the conſent of the pariſhioners, they oppoſed it, and appealed to the court of arches, alledging that the book of common-prayer, and eighty-ſecond canon, gave liberty to place the communion-table where it might ſtand with moſt

* Uſurpation of Prelates, p. 165.

convenience.

convenience. His majeſty being informed of the appeal, and acquainted by the archbiſhop, that it would be a leading caſe all over England, was pleaſed to order it to be debated before himſelf in council, and after hearing the arguments on both ſides, declared that the liberty given by the eighty-ſecond canon was not to be underſtood ſo, as if it were to be left to the diſcretion of the pariſh, much leſs to the fancies of a few humourous perſons, but to the judgment of the ordinary [or biſhop] to whoſe place it properly belonged to determine theſe points; he therefore confirmed the act of the *ordinary*, and gave commandment, that if the pariſhioners went on with their *appeal*, the dean of the *arches*, who was then attending at the hearing of the cauſe, ſhould confirm the order of the dean and chapter.† This was a ſovereign manner of putting an end to a controverſy, very agreeable to the archbiſhop.

When the ſacrament was adminiſtered in pariſh churches, the communion-table was uſually placed in the middle of the chancel, and the people received round it, or in their ſeveral places thereabouts; but now all communion-tables were ordered to be fixed under the eaſt wall of the chancel with the ends north and ſouth in form of an altar; they were to be raiſed two or three ſteps above the floor, and encompaſſed with rails. Archbiſhop *Laud* ordered his *vicar-general* to ſee this alteration made in all the churches and chapels of his province; to accompliſh which, it was neceſſary to take down the galleries in ſome churches, and to remove ancient monuments. This was reſented by ſome conſiderable families, and complained of as an injury to the dead, and ſuch an expence to the living, as ſome country pariſhes could not bear; yet thoſe who refuſed to pay the rates impoſed by the archbiſhop for this purpoſe, were fined in the ſpiritual courts contrary to law.‖ It is almoſt incredible, what a ferment the making this alteration *at once*, raiſed among the common people all over England. Many miniſters and churchwardens were excommunicated, fined, and obliged to do penance, for neglecting the biſhop's injunctions. Great num-

† Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 2d, p. 207.

‖ Prynne's Cant. Doom. p. 100, 101.

bers refuſed to come up to the rails and receive the ſacrament, for which ſome were fined, and others excommunicated, to the number of ſome hundreds, ſay the committee of the houſe of commons at the archbiſhop's trial.

Books were written for and againſt this new practice, with the ſame earneſtneſs and contention for victory, as if the life of religion had been at ſtake. Dr. *Williams*, biſhop of Lincoln, publiſhed two treatiſes againſt it, one intituled, *a letter to the vicar of Grantham*; the other, *the holy table, name, and thing*; filled with ſo much learning, and that learning ſo cloſely and ſolidly applied, (ſays lord *Clarendon*) as ſhewed he had ſpent his time in his retirement with his books very profitably. Dr. *Heylin*, who anſwered the biſhop, argued from the words of queen *Elizabeth*'s injunctions, 1559; from the orders and advertiſements of 1562 and 1565; from the practice of the king's chapels and cathedrals; and finally, from the preſent king's declaration, recommending a conformity of the pariſh churches to their cathedrals. The biſhop, and with him all the puritans, inſiſted upon the practice of primitive antiquity, and upon the eighty-ſecond canon of 1603, which ſays, "We appoint, that the table for the "celebration of the holy communion ſhall be covered with "a fair linen cloth at the time of adminiſtration, and ſhall "then be placed in ſo good ſort within the church or chan-"cel, as thereby the miniſter may more conveniently be "heard of the communicants in his prayer, and the commu-"nicants may more conveniently, and in more numbers "communicate." They urged the rubrick in the common-prayer-book; that altars in churches were a popiſh invention, of no greater antiquity in the chriſtian church than the ſacrifice of the maſs; and inſiſted ſtrenuouſly on the diſcontinuance of them ſince the reformation. But the archbiſhop, being determined to carry his point, proſecuted the affair with unjuſtifiable rigour over all the kingdom, puniſhing thoſe who oppoſed him, without regard to the laws of the land. This occaſioned a ſort of ſchiſm among the biſhops, and a great deal of uncharitableneſs among the inferior clergy; for thoſe biſhops who had not been beholden to *Laud* for their preferments, nor had any farther expectations, were very cool in the affair, while the archbiſhop's creatures, in many

many places, took upon them to make theſe alterations by their own authority, without the injunctions or directions of their dioceſans, which laid the foundation of many law-ſuits. Thoſe who oppoſed the alterations were called *doctrinal puritans*, and the promoters of them *doctrinal papiſts*.

The court clergy were of the latter ſort, and were vehemently ſuſpected of an inclination to popery, becauſe of their ſuperſtitious bowing to the altar, not only in time of divine ſervice, but at their going in and out of church. This was a practice unknown to the laity of the church of England before this time, but archbiſhop *Laud* introduced it into the royal chapel at Whitehall, and recommended it to all the clergy by his example; for when he went in and out of chapel, a lane was always made for him to ſee the altar, and do reverence towards it. All his majeſty's chaplains, and even the common people, were enjoined the ſame practice. In the new body of ſtatutes for the cathedral of Canterbury, drawn up by his *grace*, and confirmed under the great-ſeal, the dean and prebendaries are obliged by oath, to bow to the altar at coming in and going out of church; which could ariſe from no principle but a belief of the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament or altar; or from a ſuperſtitious imitation of the pagans worſhipping towards the eaſt.†

To make the adoration more ſignificant, the *altars* in cathedrals were adorned with the moſt pompous furniture, and all the veſſels underwent a ſolemn conſecration. The cathedral of Canterbury was furniſhed, according to biſhop *Andrews*'s model, who took it from the Roman miſſal, with two *candleſticks* and *tapers*, a *baſin* for oblations, a *cuſhion* for the ſervice-book, a *ſilver gilt caniſter* for the wafers, like a wicker baſket lined with cambrick lace, the *tonne* on a cradle; a *chalice* with the image of Chriſt and the loſt ſheep, and of the wiſe men and ſtar, engraven on the ſides and on the cover. The chalice was covered with a linen napkin, called the *aire*, embroidered with coloured ſilk; two *patins*, the *tricanale* being a round ball with a ſcrew cover, out of which iſſued three pipes, for the water of mixture; a *credentia* or ſide table, with a baſin and ewer on napkins, and a towel to waſh before the conſecration; three *kneeling ſtools*

† Collyer's Eccleſ. Hiſt. p. 762.

covered

covered and ſtuffed, the *foot-pace* with three aſcents, covered with a turkey carpet; three *chairs* uſed at ordinations, and the *ſeptum* or *rail* with two aſcents. Upon ſome altars there was a pot called the *incenſe* pot, and a *knife* to cut the ſacramental bread.

The conſecration of this furniture was after this manner; the archbiſhop in his cope, attended by two chaplains in their ſurplices, having bowed ſeveral times towards the altar, read a portion of ſcripture; then the veſſels to be conſecrated were delivered into the hands of the archbiſhop, who, after he had placed them upon the altar, read a form of prayer, deſiring God to bleſs and accept of theſe veſſels, which he ſeverally touched and elevated, offering them up to God, after which they were not to be put to common uſe. We have ſeen already the manner of his grace's conſecrating the ſacramental elements at Creed-church; there was a little more ceremony in cathedrals, where the wafers and wine, being firſt placed with great ſolemnity on the *credentia* or ſide-table, were to be removed from thence by one of the archbiſhop's chaplains, who, as ſoon as he turns about his face to the altar with the elements in his hands, bows three times, and again when he comes to the foot of it, where he preſents them upon his knees, and lays them upon the altar for conſecration. How far the bringing theſe inventions of men into the worſhip of God, is chargeable with ſuperſtition, and with a departing from the ſimplicity of the chriſtian inſtitution, I leave with the reader; but ſurely the impoſing them upon others under ſevere penalties, without the ſanction of convocation, parliament, or royal mandate, was not to be juſtified.

The lecturers or afternoon preachers, giving his *grace* ſome diſturbance, notwithſtanding the attempts already made to ſuppreſs them, the king ſent the following injunctions to the biſhops of his province: 1. "That they ordain no "clergyman without a preſentation to ſome living. Or, 2. "Without a certificate that he is provided of ſome void "church. Or, 3. Without ſome place in a cathedral or "collegiate church. Or, 4. Unleſs he be a fellow of ſome "college. Or, 5. A maſter of arts of five years ſtanding,

* Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 2d, p. 214.

"living

" living at his own charge. Or, 6. Without the intention " of the biſhop to provide for him."* By virtue of theſe injunctions no chaplainſhip to a nobleman's family, or any invitation to a lecture, could qualify a perſon for ordination without a living.

In the annual account the archbiſhop gave the king of the ſtate of his province this year, we may obſerve how much the ſuppreſſing of theſe popular preachers lay upon his mind. " The biſhop of Bath and Wells (ſays his grace) has taken " a great deal of pains in his late viſitation, to have all the " king's inſtructions obſerved, and particularly he has put " down ſeveral lecturers in market-towns, who were bene- " ficed in other dioceſes, becauſe he found, when they had " preached factious ſermons, they retired without the reach " of his juriſdiction.

" And whereas his majeſty's inſtructions require, that " *lecturers* ſhould turn their afternoon ſermons into catechi- " ſings, ſome *parſons* or *vicars* object againſt their being in- " cluded, becauſe *lecturers* are only mentioned; but the bi- " ſhops will take care to clear their doubts, and ſettle their " practice.

" The biſhop of Peterborough† had ſuppreſſed a ſeditious " lecture at Repon, and put down ſeveral *monthly lectures*, " kept with a faſt, and managed by a moderator. He had " alſo ſuppreſſed a meeting called the *running lecture*, be- " cauſe the lecture went from village to village.

* Dr. *Grey* truly obſerves, that none of theſe injunctions were *new*; but only an enforcement of the 33d canon of 1603. He refers the reader to Biſhop *Gibſon*'s Codex, p. 162, and might have referred to his own work, entitled " A ſyſtem of Engliſh Eccleſiaſtical Law" extracted from the Codex, p. 43-4. But though theſe injunctions were not formed for the occaſion, the application of them at that time was particularly directed againſt the lecturers, who are pointed at, in the king's letter which accompanied the injunctions, as perſons " wandering up and down to the ſcandal of their " calling, and to get a maintenance falling upon ſuch courſes as were moſt " unfit for them, both by humouring their auditors, and otherways altoge- " ther unſufferable." It is eaſy to perceive what dictated this repreſenta- tion. " By reaſon of theſe ſtrict rules" ſays *Ruſhworth*, " no lecture " whatſoever was admitted to be a canonical title." Ed.

† It ſhould be of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, ſays Dr. *Grey*, from Laud's Trials and Troubles, p. 527. Ed.

" The

" The biſhop of St. Aſaph ſays, that his dioceſe is, with-
" out exception, abating the increaſe of Romiſh recuſants in
" ſome places, by their ſuperſtitious concourſe to St. *Wini-*
" *fred*'s well.

" The biſhop of Landaff certifies, that he has not one
" ſtubborn non-conformiſt, or ſchiſmatical miniſter, within
" his dioceſe, and but two lecturers.

" All the biſhops declare, that they take ſpecial care of
" that branch of his majeſty's inſtructions relating to *calvi-*
" *niſm*, or preaching upon the predeſtinarian points; and the
" archbiſhop prays his majeſty, that no layman whatſoever,
" and leaſt of all the *companies* of the city of London, or *cor-*
" *porations*, ſhould under any pretence have power to put in,
" or turn out, any lecturer, or other miniſter."

In this account the reader will obſerve very little complaint of the growth of popery, which we ſhall ſee preſently was at a prodigious height; but all the archbiſhop's artillery is pointed againſt the puritan clergy, who were the moſt determined and reſolved proteſtants in the nation.

Towards the cloſe of this year came on the famous trial of *William Prynne*, eſq; barriſter at law, and member of Lincoln's-inn, for his *Hiſtriomaſtix*,* a book written againſt plays,

* This book is a thick quarto, containing 1006 pages. It abounded with learning, and had ſome curious quotations; but it was a very tedious and heavy performance; ſo that it was not calculated to invite many to read it. This circumſtance expoſes the weakneſs, as the ſeverity of the ſentence againſt him does the wickedneſs, of thoſe who purſued the author with ſuch barbarity. He was a man of ſour and auſtere principles, of great reading, and moſt aſſiduous application to ſtudy. It was ſuppoſed, that, from the time of his arrival at man's eſtate, he wrote a ſheet for every day of his life. " His cuſtom," Mr. *Wood* informs us, " was, when he ſtudied, to put on a " long quilted cap, which came an inch over his eyes, ſerving as an umbrella " to defend them from too much light; and ſeldom eating a dinner, would " every three hours, or more, be maunching a roll of bread, and now and " then refreſh his exhauſted ſpirits with ale." To this *Butler* ſeems to allude in his addreſs to his muſe:

" Thou that with ale or viler liquors,
" Didſt inſpire *Withers*, *Prynne*, and *Vicars*;
" And teach them, though it were in ſpight,
" Of nature and their ſtars to write."

His works amounted to forty volumes folio and quarto. The moſt valuable, and a very uſeful performance, is his " Collection of Records" in four large volumes. Harris's Life of Charles I. p. 226-7. Wood's Athenæ Oxon,

plays, maſques, dancing, &c. The information ſets forth, that though the author knew that the queen and lords of the council were frequently preſent at thoſe diverſions, yet he had railed againſt theſe and ſeveral others, as *may-poles*, *chriſtmas-keeping*, *dreſſing houſes with ivy*, *feſtivals*, &c. that he had aſperſed the queen, and commended factious perſons; which things are of dangerous conſequence to the realm and ſtate.† The cauſe was heard in the *Star-chamber*, Feb. 7th, 1633. The council for Mr. *Prynne* were Mr. *Atkyns*, afterwards a judge of the common-pleas, Mr. *Jenkins*, *Holbourne*, *Herne*, and *Lightfoot*. For the king was Mr. attorney-general *Noy*. The council for the defendant pleaded, that he had handled the argument of *ſtage-plays* in a learned manner, without deſigning to reflect on his ſuperiors;§ that the book had been licenſed according to law; and that if any paſſages may be conſtrued to reflect on his majeſty, or any branch of his government, he humbly begs pardon. But Mr. Attorney aggravated the charge in very ſevere language, and pronounced it a malicious and dangerous libel. After a full hearing he was ſentenced *to have his book burnt by the hands of the common hangman, to be put from the bar, and to be for ever incapable of his profeſſion, to be turned out of the ſociety of Lincoln's-Inn, to be degraded at Oxford, to ſtand in the pillory at Weſtminſter and Cheapſide, to loſe both his ears, one in each place,*

Oxon, vol. ii. p. 315; and Granger's Biog. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 230, 8vo. The proſecution of Mr. *Prynne* originated with archbiſhop *Laud*, who on a Sunday morning went to *Noy*, the attorney-general, with the charges againſt him. *Prynne* had inſtigated the reſentment of *Laud* and other prelates by his writing againſt arminianiſm aud the juriſdiction of the biſhops, and by ſome prohibitions he had moved and got to the high commiſſion court.—— Tantœne animis cœleſtibus iræ. Whitlocke's Memoirs, p. 18. Ed.

† Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 2d, p. 221.

§ A paſſage quoted by Dr. *Grey*, from lord *Cottington*'s ſpeech, at the trial of Mr. *Prynne*, will afford a ſpecimen of the ſpirit and ſtile of the Hiſtriomaſtix: "Our Engliſh ladies," he writes, "ſhorn and frizzled ma-"dams, have loſt their modeſty; that the devil is only honoured in dancing; "that they that frequent plays are damned; and ſo are all that do not con-"cur with him, in his opinion, whores, panders, foul incarnate devils, "Judas's to their Lord and Maſter." But this way of ſpeaking was iu the taſte of the times; and the ſpeech of lord *Dorſet*, given above, ſhews that a nobleman did not come behind him in ſevere and foul language. Ed.

to

to pay a fine of five thouſand pounds, and to ſuffer perpetual impriſonment. Remarkable was the ſpeech of the earl of *Dorſet* on this occaſion: "Mr. *Prynne*, (ſays he) I declare you to be "a ſchiſm-maker in the church, a ſedition-ſower in the com- "monwealth, a wolf in ſheep's clothing; in a word, *omnium* "*malorum nequiſſimus.* I ſhall fine him ten thouſand pounds, "which is more than he is worth, yet leſs than he deſerves. "I will not ſet him at liberty, no more than a plagued man "or a mad dog, who though he can't bite will foam: he is "ſo far from being a ſocial ſoul, that he is not a rational "ſoul. He is fit to live in dens with ſuch beaſts of prey, as "wolves and tygers, like himſelf; therefore I condemn him "to perpetual impriſonment; and for corporal puniſhment "I would have him branded in the forehead, ſlit in the noſe, "and have his ears chopt off."* A ſpeech more fit for an American ſavage than an Engliſh nobleman!

A few months after, Dr. *Baſtwick*, a phyſician at Colcheſter, having publiſhed a book, intitled *Elenchus religionis papiſticæ*, with an appendix, called *Flagellum pontificis & epiſcoporum Latialium*, which gave offence to the Engliſh biſhops, becauſe it denied the divine right of the order of biſhops above preſbyters, was cited before the high commiſſion, who diſcarded him from his profeſſion, [1634,] excommunicated him, fined him one thouſand pounds, and impriſoned him till he recanted.†

Mr. *Burton*, B. D. miniſter of Friday-ſtreet, having publiſhed two exceptionable ſermons, from *Prov.* xxiv. 21, 22, intitled, *For God and the King*, againſt the late innovations, had his houſe and ſtudy broke open by a ſerjeant at arms, and himſelf committed cloſe priſoner to the Gatehouſe, where he was confined ſeveral years.

Theſe terrible proceedings§ of the commiſſioners made many conſcientious non-conformiſts retire with their families to

* Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 2d, p. 233, 240.

† Dr. *Grey*'s remark here as doing credit to himſelf, deſerves to be quoted: "The ſeverity of the ſentence," ſays the doctor, "I am far from "juſtifying." ED.

§ "The puniſhment of theſe men, who were of the three great pro- "feſſions," ſays Mr. *Granger*, "was ignominious and ſevere: Though "they

to Holland and New-England, for fear of falling into the hands of men, *whoſe tender mercies were cruelty.*

Among others who went over this year, was the reverend and learned Mr. *John Cotton*, B. D. Fellow of Emanuel-college, Cambridge, and miniſter of Boſton in Lincolnſhire, where he was in ſuch repute, that Dr. *Preſton* and others from Cambridge frequently viſited him; he was an admired preacher, and of a moſt meek and gentle diſpoſition: he became a non-conformiſt upon this principle, *That no church had power to impoſe indifferent ceremonies, not commanded by Chriſt, on the conſciences of men.** He therefore omitted ſome of the ceremonies, and adminiſtered the ſacrament to ſuch as deſired it without kneeling; for which he was informed againſt in the high commiſſion; and *Laud* being now at the head of affairs, the biſhop of Lincoln his dioceſan could not protect him. Mr. *Cotton* applied to the earl of *Dorſet* for his intereſt with the archbiſhop, but the earl ſent him word, that *if he had been guilty of drunkenneſs, uncleanneſs, or any ſuch leſſer fault, he could have got his pardon, but the ſin of puritaniſm and non-conformity* (ſays his lordſhip) *is unpardonable, and therefore you muſt fly for your ſafety.* Upon this he travelled to London in diſguiſe, and took paſſage for New-England, where he arrived Sept. 3, 1633, and ſpent the remainder of his days, to the year 1652.

Mr. *John Davenport*, B. D. and vicar of Coleman-ſtreet, London, reſigned his living, and retired to Holland this ſummer, 1633.† He had fallen under the reſentments of his dioceſan biſhop *Laud*, for being concerned in the *feoffments*, which, together with ſome notices he received of being proſecuted for non-conformity, induced him to embark for Amſterdam,

"they were never objects of eſteem, they ſoon became objects of pity. "The indignity and ſeverity of their puniſhment gave general offence; "and they were no longer regarded as criminals, but confeſſors." While theſe proſecutions were carried on with unrelenting ſeverity, *Chowney*, a fierce papiſt, who wrote a book in defence of the popiſh religion, and of the church of Rome, averring it to be the true church, was not only not puniſhed, or even queſtioned for his performance; but was permitted to dedicate it to the archbiſhop, and it was favoured with his patronage.

Granger's Biogr. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 192; and Whitlocke's Memoirs, p. 211. ED.

* Mather's Hiſt. N. E. b. iii. p. 18, &c. † Ibid. b. iii. p. 52.

ſterdam, where he continued about three years, and then returning to England, he ſhipped himſelf with ſome other families for New-England, where he began the ſettlement of New-Haven in the year 1637. He was a good ſcholar, and an admired preacher, but underwent great hardſhips in the infant colony, with whom he continued till about the year 1670, when he died.

The reverend Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, fellow of Emanuel-college, Cambridge, and lecturer of Chelmsford in Eſſex, after four years exerciſe of his miniſtry, was obliged to lay it down for non-conformity, though 47 conformable miniſters in the neighbourhood ſubſcribed a petition to the biſhop [*Laud*] in which they declare, that *Mr. Hooker was for doctrine orthodox, for life and converſation honeſt, for diſpoſition peaceable, and in no wiſe turbulent or factious.** Notwithſtanding which he was ſilenced by the ſpiritual court, 1630, and bound in a recognizance of fifty pounds to appear before the high commiſſion; but by the advice of his friends, he forfeited his recognizance and fled to Holland; here he continued about two years fellow-labourer with old Mr. *Forbes* a Scotſman at Delft, from whence he was called to aſſiſt Dr. *Ames* at Rotterdam, upon whoſe death he returned to England, and being purſued by the biſhop's officers from place to place, he embarked this ſummer for New-England, and ſettled with his friends upon the banks of Connecticut River, where he died in the year 1647. He was an awakening preacher, and a conſiderable practical writer, as appears by his books of *Preparation for Chriſt*, *contrition*, *humiliation*, &c.

The reverend and learned Dr. *William Ames*, educated at Cambridge, under the famous Mr. *Perkins*, fled from the perſecution of archbiſhop *Bancroft*, and became miniſter of the Engliſh church at the Hague, from whence he was invited by the ſtates of *Frieſland* to the divinity chair in the univerſity of *Franeker*, which he filled with univerſal reputation for twelve years. He was in the ſynod of Dort, and informed king *James*'s ambaſſador at the Hague, from time to time, of the debates of that venerable aſſembly. He wrote ſeveral treatiſes in *Latin* againſt the *Arminians*, which, for their conciſeneſs and perſpicuity, were not equalled by

* Mather's Hiſt. N. E. b. iii. p. 60.

any

any of his time. His other works are, *Manuductio Logica, Medulla Theologiæ, Caſes of Conſcience, Analyſis on the Book of Pſalms, Notes on the firſt and ſecond Epiſtles of Peter, and upon the Catechiſtical heads.* After twelve years Dr. *Ames* reſigned his profeſſorſhip, and accepted of an invitation to the Engliſh congregation at Rotterdam, the air of *Franeker* being too ſharp for him, he being troubled with ſuch a difficulty of breathing, that he concluded every winter would be his laſt; beſides, he had a deſire to be employed in the delightful work of preaching to his own countrymen, which he had diſuſed for many years. Upon his removal to Rotterdam he wrote his *freſh ſuit againſt ceremonies*; but his conſtitution was ſo ſhattered, that the air of Holland did him no ſervice; upon which he determined to remove to New-England, but his *aſthma* returning at the beginning of the winter before he ſailed, put an end to his life at Rotterdam, where he was buried Nov. 14, N. S. 1633. Next ſpring his wife and children embarked for New-England, and carried with them his valuable library of books, which was a rich treaſure to the country at that time. The doctor was a very learned divine, a ſtrict calviniſt in doctrine, and of the perſuaſion of the *independents*, with regard to the ſubordination and power of claſſes and ſynods.*

Archbiſhop *Laud* being now chancellor of the univerſity of Dublin, and having a new vice-chancellor [*Wentworth*] diſpoſed to ſerve the purpoſes of the prerogative, turned his thoughts againſt the calviniſts of that kingdom, reſolving to bring the church of Ireland to adopt the articles of the church of England. Archbiſhop *Uſher*, and ſome of his brethren, being informed of the deſign, moved in convocation, that their own articles, ratified by king *James* in the year 1615, might be confirmed; but the motion was rejected,

* He filled the divinity chair with admirable abilities. His fame was ſo great, that many came from remote nations to be educated under him. In "an hiſtorical and critical account of *Hugh Peters*," London, 1751, is a quotation from a piece of his in theſe words: "Learned *Ameſius* breathed "his laſt breath into my boſom, who left his profeſſorſhip in Frizeland to "live with me, becauſe of my church's independency at Rotterdam. He "was my colleague, and choſen brother to the church, where I was an "unworthy paſtor."

Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 198-9. 8vo. Ed.

becauſe

becauſe it was ſaid, they were already fortified with all the authority the church could give them, and that a further confirmation would imply a defect. It was then moved on the other ſide, that for ſilencing the popiſh objections of a diſagreement among proteſtants, a canon ſhould be paſſed for approving the articles of the church of England, which was done only with one diſſenting voice; one calviniſt (ſays Mr. *Collyer*) having looked deeper into the matter than the reſt.

The canon was in theſe words: "For the manifeſtation "of our agreement with the church of England, in the con- "feſſion of the ſame chriſtian faith and doctrine of the ſacra- "ment, we do receive and approve the book of articles "of religion, agreed upon by the archbiſhops and biſhops, "&c. in the year 1562, for the avoiding diverſity of opi- "nions, and for eſtabliſhing conſent touching true religion; "and therefore if any hereafter ſhall affirm, that any of "theſe articles are in any part ſuperſtitious or erroneous, or "ſuch as he may not with a good conſcience ſubſcribe unto, "let him be excommunicated."*

The Iriſh biſhops thought they had loſt nothing by this canon, becauſe *they had ſaved their own articles*, but *Laud* took advantage of it during the time of his chancellorſhip; for hereby the church of Ireland denounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt all that affirmed any of the thirty-nine articles to be ſuperſtitious or erroneous, that is, againſt the whole body of the puritans; and *Fuller*† adds, that their own articles, which condemned arminianiſm, and maintained the morality of the ſabbath, were utterly excluded.

This ſummer the reverend Mr. *Thomas Sheppard*, M. A. fled to New-England. He had been lecturer at Earl's-Coln in Eſſex ſeveral years, but when *Laud* became biſhop of London his lecture was put down, and himſelf ſilenced; he then retired into the family of a private gentleman, but the biſhop's officers following him thither, he travelled into Yorkſhire, where *Neile* archbiſhop of that province commanded him to ſubſcribe or depart the country; upon this he went to Hedon in Northumberland, where his labours

* Bib. Reg. §. 13, No. 13. † Church Hiſt. b. xi. p. 149.

were

were proſpered to the converſion of ſome ſouls; but the biſhop of Durham, by the direction of archbiſhop *Laud*, forbad his preaching in any part of his dioceſe, which obliged him to take ſhipping at Yarmouth for New-England; here he continued paſtor of the church at Cambridge till his death, which happened Aug. 25, 1649, in the forty-fourth year of his age.* He was a hard ſtudent, an exemplary chriſtian, and an eminent practical writer, as appears by his *Sincere Convert*, and other practical works that go under his name.

The reverend Mr. *John Norton* went over in the ſame ſhip with Mr. *Sheppard*,† being driven out of Hertfordſhire by the ſeverity of the times. He ſettled at Ipſwich in New-England, and was afterwards removed to Boſton, where he died in the year 1665. Mr. *Fuller* ſays, he was a divine of no leſs learning than modeſty, as appears ſufficiently by his numerous writings.

His *grace* of Canterbury, having made ſome powerful efforts to bring the churches of Scotland and Ireland to an uniformity with England, reſolved, in his metropolitical viſitation this ſummer, to reduce the Dutch and French churches (which were ten in number, having between five and ſix thouſand communicants) to the ſame conformity; for this purpoſe he tendered them theſe three articles of enquiry.

1. "Whether do you uſe the Dutch or French liturgy?

2. "Of how many deſcents are you ſince you came into "England?

3. "Do ſuch as are born here in England conform to "the Engliſh ceremonies?"

The miniſters and elders demurred upon theſe queſtions, and inſiſted upon their charter of privileges granted by king *Edward* VI. and confirmed no leſs than five times in the reign of king *James*, and twice by king *Charles* himſelf, by virtue of which they had been exempt from all archiepiſcopal and epiſcopal juriſdiction till this time; yet *Laud*, without any regard to their charter, ſent them the two following injunctions by his vicar-general.

1. "That all that were born in England of the Dutch "and Walloon congregations, ſhould repair to their pariſh "churches.

* Mather's Hiſt. of New England, b. iii. p. 86, &c. † Id. p. 34.

2. "That thoſe who were not natives, but came from "abroad, while they remained ſtrangers, might uſe their own "diſcipline as formerly."

In this emergence the Dutch and Walloon churches petitioned for a toleration, and ſhewed the inconveniences that would ariſe from the archbiſhop's injunctions; as, that if all their children born in England were taken from their communion, their churches muſt break up and return home; for as they came into England for the liberty of their conſciences, they would not continue here after it was taken from them.* They deſired therefore it might be conſidered what damages would ariſe to the kingdom by driving away the foreigners with their manufactures, and diſcouraging others from ſettling in their room. The mayor and corporation of Canterbury aſſured his *grace*, that above twelve hundred of their poor were maintained by the foreigners, and others interceded with the king in their favour; but his majeſty anſwered, *We muſt believe our archbiſhop of Canterbury*, who uſed their deputies very roughly, calling them a neſt of ſchiſmatics, and telling them it were better to have no foreign churches, than to indulge their non-conformity. In concluſion, he aſſured them by a letter dated Aug. 19, 1635, that his majeſty was reſolved his injunctions ſhould be obſerved, viz. *That all their children of the ſecond deſcent born in England, ſhould reſort to their pariſh churches*,† and (ſays his *grace*) I do expect all obedience and conformity from you, and if you refuſe, I ſhall proceed againſt the natives according to the laws and canons eccleſiaſtical. Accordingly ſome of their churches were interdicted, others ſhut up, and the aſſemblies diſſolved; their miniſters being ſuſpended, many of their people left the kingdom, eſpecially in the dioceſe of Norwich, where biſhop *Wren* drove away three thouſand manufacturers in wool, cloth, &c. ſome of

* It is ſaid that *Richelieu* made the following ſpeech on this exacted conformity: "If a king of England, who is a proteſtant, will not permit two "diſciplines in his kingdom, why ſhould a king of France, who is a papiſt, "admit two religions?" Mrs. Macaulay's Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 145, note. 8vo. ED.

† Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 2d, p. 273.

whom

whom employed a hundred poor people at work; to the unſpeakable damage of the kingdom.

As a farther mark of diſregard to the foreign proteſtants, the king's ambaſſador in France was forbid to frequent their religious aſſemblies. "It had been cuſtomary (ſays lord "*Clarendon*) for the ambaſſadors employed in any parts "where the reformed religion was exerciſed, to frequent "their churches, and to hold correſpondence with the moſt "powerful perſons of that religion, particularly the Engliſh "ambaſſadors at Paris conſtantly frequented the church at "*Charenton*; but the contrary to this was now practiſed, "and ſome advertiſements, if not inſtructions, given to the "ambaſſador, to forbear any commerce with the men of that "religion. Lord *Scudamore*, who was the laſt ambaſſador "before the beginning of the long parliament, inſtead of "going to *Charenton*, furniſhed his chapel after the new "faſhion, with candles upon the altar, &c. and took care "to publiſh upon all occaſions, that the *church of England* "*looked not on the hugonots as a part of their communion*; which "was likewiſe induſtriouſly diſcourſed at home. This made "a great many foreign proteſtants leave the kingdom, and "tranſport themſelves into foreign parts." The church of England by this means loſt the eſteem of the reformed churches abroad, who could hardly pity her, when a few years after ſhe ſunk down into the deepeſt diſtreſs.

To give another inſtance of the archbiſhop's diſaffection to the foreign proteſtants, the queen of *Bohemia*, the king's ſiſter, ſolicited the king in the moſt preſſing manner, to admit of a publick collection over England for the poor perſecuted miniſters of the palatinate, who were baniſhed their country for their religion. Accordingly the king granted them a *brief* to go through the kingdom; but when it was brought to the archbiſhop he excepted againſt the following clauſe:* *Whoſe caſes are the more to be deplored, becauſe this extremity is fallen upon them for their ſincerity and conſtancy* IN THE TRUE RELIGION, WHICH WE TOGETHER WITH THEM PROFESSED, *and which we are all bound in conſcience to maintain to the utmoſt of our powers. Whereas theſe religious and godly*

* Cyp. Ang. Collyer, vol. ii. p. 764-5.

perſons, being involved among others their countrymen, might have enjoyed their eſtates and fortunes, if with other back-ſliders in the times of trial they would have ſubmitted themſelves to the ANTICHRISTIAN YOKE, *and have renounced or diſſembled the profeſſion of their religion.* His *grace* had two exceptions to this paſſage: 1. "The religion of the *palatine* churches is affirmed to be the ſame with ours, which he denied, becauſe they were calviniſts, and becauſe their miniſters had not epiſcopal ordination. 2. He objected to the church of Rome's being called an *antichriſtian yoke*, becauſe it would then follow, that ſhe was in no capacity to convey ſacerdotal power in ordinations, and conſequently the benefit of the prieſthood, and the force of holy miniſtrations, would be loſt in the Engliſh church, foraſmuch as ſhe has no orders but what ſhe derives from the church of Rome. *Laud* having acquainted the king with his exceptions, they were expunged in another draught. But the collection not ſucceeding in this way, Dr. *Sibbes*, *Gouge*, and other divines of the puritan party, ſigned a private recommendatory letter, deſiring their friends to enlarge their charity, *as to men of the ſame faith and profeſſion with themſelves*, and promiſing to ſee to the right diſtribution of the money; but as ſoon as *Laud* heard of it, he cited the divines before the high commiſſion, and put a ſtop to the collection.

This year [1634] put an end to the life of the reverend Mr. *Hugh Clarke*, born at Burton-upon-Trent, 1563, and educated partly at Cambridge, and partly at Oxford. He was firſt miniſter of Oundle in Northamptonſhire, and then of Woolſton in Warwickſhire, from whence he was ſuſpended, and afterwards excommunicated, for expounding upon the catechiſm. At length he was indicted for high treaſon, becauſe he had prayed, *that God would forgive the queen* [Elizabeth] *her ſins*,* but was acquitted. He was an awakening preacher, of

* Here biſhop *Warburton* cenſures Mr. *Neal* as guilty of "an unfair re-"preſentation." His lordſhip adds, "that they were the ſins of perſecu-"ting the holy diſcipline which he prayed for the remiſſion of; and *that*, "reflecting on her adminiſtration, was the thing which gave offence." The biſhop is certainly right in this conſtruction of Mr. *Clarke*'s prayer; but there is no occaſion, methinks, for the charge he brings againſt Mr. *Neal*, who does not refer the expreſſion, nor inſinuate that it was to be referred, to the

of a warm ſpirit, and a robuſt conſtitution, which he wore out with preaching twice every Lord's-day, and frequently on the week days. His miniſtry met with great ſucceſs even to his death, which happened Nov. 6th, 1634, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age.*

About the ſame time died the reverend and pious Mr. *John Carter*, a man that feared God from his youth, and was always employed in acts of devotion and charity. He was born in Kent, 1554, and educated in Clare-hall, Cambridge. He was firſt miniſter of Bramford in Suffolk for thirty-four years, and then rector of Bedſtead in the ſame county; and though often in trouble for his non-conformity, he made a ſhift, by the aſſiſtance of friends, to maintain his liberty without any ſinful compliance. He was mighty in prayer, frequent and fervent in preaching, and a reſolute champion againſt popery, arminianiſm, and the new ceremonies. He lived to a good old age, and died ſuddenly, as he was laying down to ſleep, in the eightieth year of his age, greatly lamented by all who had a taſte of practical religion and undiſſembled piety.† His funeral ſermon was preached before a vaſt concourſe of people from theſe words, *My father, my father, the chariots of Iſrael, and the horſemen thereof!*

Conformity to the new ceremonies and the king's injunctions was now preſſed with the utmoſt rigour. The reverend Mr. *Crook*, of Brazen-Noſe college, and Mr. *Hobbes*, of Trinity college, Oxford, were enjoined a publick recantation for reflecting upon the *arminians*.

Mr. *Samuel Ward*, of Ipſwich, having preached againſt the book of ſports, and bowing at the name of *Jeſus*, added, that *the church of England was ready to ring changes in reli-*

the perſonal vices of the queen; but rather the contrary; for he ſpeaks of it as the ground on which Mr. *Clarke* was indicted for high treaſon. He might well ſuppoſe, that his reader would underſtand the language as pointing to the oppreſſions of her government, and the ſeverities which the puritans ſuffered under it. This would have been perfectly clear, had Mr. *Neal* added from his author, that this prayer, though in modeſt expreſſions, was offered up, when the perſecution of the non-conformiſts was becoming hot. ED.

* Clarke's Lives annexed to his GENERAL MARTYROLOGY, p. 127.

† Ut ſupra, p. 132.

gion;

*gion; and that the goſpel ſtood a tip-toe, ready to be gone to America.** For which he was ſuspended, and enjoined a publick recantation. Another underwent the ſame cenſure, for ſaying, *it was ſuſpicious that the night was approaching, becauſe the ſhadows were ſo much longer than the body, and ceremonies more in force than the power of godlineſs.*

The reverend Mr. *Chauncey*, late miniſter of Ware, but now of Marſton-Lawrence, in the dioceſe of Peterborough, was impriſoned, condemned in coſts of ſuit, and obliged to read the following recantation, for oppoſing the railing in the communion-table:

"WHEREAS I *Charles Chauncey*, clerk, late vicar of "Ware, ſtand convicted for oppoſing the ſetting up a rail "round the communion-table, and for ſaying it was an inno- "vation, a ſnare to men's conſciences, a breach of the ſecond "commandment, an addition to God's worſhip, and that "which drove me from the place, I do now, before this ho- "nourable court, acknowledge my great offence, and prot ſt "I am ready to declare upon oath, that I am now perſuaded "in my conſcience, that kneeling at the communion is a law- "ful and commendable geſture; that the rail is a decent and "convenient ornament, and that I was much to blame for "oppoſing it; and do promiſe from henceforth, never by "word or deed to oppoſe that, or any other laudable rites "and ceremonies uſed in the church of England."†

After this he was judicially admoniſhed and diſcharged; but the recantation went ſo much againſt his conſcience, that he could enjoy no peace till he had quitted the church of England, and retired to New-England, where he made an open acknowledgment of his ſin.

The churchwardens of Beckington in Somerſetſhire were excommunicated by the biſhop of Bath and Wells, for refuſing to remove the communion-table from the middle of the chancel to the eaſt end, and not pulling down the ſeats to make room for it. They produced a certificate, that their communion-table had ſtood time out of mind in the

* Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 2d, p. 285. Prynne, p. 285.

† Prynne, p. 95, 97, 100. Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 2d, p. 301, 316.

midſt

midſt of the chancel; that the ground on which it was placed was raiſed a foot, and incloſed with a decent wainſcot border, and that none went within it but the miniſter, and ſuch as he required. This not availing, they appealed to the *arches*, and at laſt to the king; but their appeal was rejected. After they had remained excommunicated for a year, they were caſt into the common jail, where they continued till the year 1637, and were then obliged to do publick penance in the pariſh church of Beckington, and two others, the ſhame of which broke their hearts; one of them declaring upon his death-bed ſoon after, that the penance and ſubmiſſion, ſo much againſt his conſcience, had ſunk his ſpirits, and was one principal cauſe of his death.*

In the archbiſhop's metropolitical viſitation this ſummer, Mr. *Lee*, one of the prebendaries of Litchfield, was ſuſpended, for churching refractory women in private, for being averſe to the good orders of the church, and for ordering the bell-man to give notice in open market of a ſermon.† Mr. *Randal*, of Tuddington, near Hampton-court, Middleſex, was ſuſpended for preaching a ſermon above an hour long on Sunday in the afternoon, though it was a farewell ſermon to the exerciſe of catechizing. His *grace*'s account of his province this year gives a farther relation of the ſufferings of the puritans:‖ He acquaints his majeſty, that the French and Dutch churches had not as yet thoroughly complied with his injunctions.——That in the dioceſe of London, Dr. *Houghton*, rector of Aldermanbury, Mr. *Simpſon*, curate and lecturer of St. Margaret Fiſh-ſtreet, Mr. *John Goodwin*, vicar of Coleman-ſtreet, and Mr. *Viner*, of St. Lawrence Old-Jewry, had been convened for breach of canons, and had ſubmitted; to whom his *grace* might have added Dr. *Sibbes*, Dr. *Taylor*, Dr. *Gouge*, Mr. *White*, of Dorſetſhire, and about twenty more; ſome of whom fled into Holland, and others retired into New-England. The biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* certified, that he had not one ſingle lecture in any corporation town, and that all afternoon ſermons were turned into catechizings in all pariſhes.——In the dioceſe of

* Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 2d, p. 300. † Prynne, p. 381.

‖ Collyer's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 763.

Norwich

Norwich were many puritans, but that Mr. *Ward* of Yarmouth was in the high-commiſſion.——From the dioceſe of Llandaff, Mr. *Wroth* and Mr. *Earbury*, two noted ſchiſmaticks, were brought before the high-commiſſion.——And that in the dioceſe of Glouceſter, were ſeveral popular and factious miniſters.

It muſt be confeſſed, that the zeal of the puritans was not always well-regulated; nor were their miniſters ſo much on their guard in the pulpit or converſation as they ought, conſidering the number of *informers* that entered all their churches, that inſinuated themſelves into all publick converſation, and like ſo many locuſts, covered the land. Theſe were ſo numerous and corrupt, that the king was obliged to bring them under certain regulations; for no man was ſafe in publick company, nor even in converſing with his friends and neighbours. Many broke up houſe-keeping, that they might breathe in a freer air; which the council being informed of, a proclamation was publiſhed, [July 21, 1635] forbidding all perſons, except ſoldiers, mariners, merchants, and their factors, to depart the kingdom without his majeſty's licence.

But notwithſtanding this prohibition, numbers went to New-England this ſummer; and among others the reverend Mr. *Peter Bulkley*, B. D. and fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge. He was ſon of Dr. *Edward Bulkley*, of Bedfordſhire, and ſucceeded him at Woodhill or Odel in that county. Here he continued above twenty years, the biſhop of Lincoln conniving at his non-conformity: But when Dr. *Laud* was at the helm of the church, and the biſhop of Lincoln in diſgrace, *Bulkley* was ſilenced by the vicar-general Sir *Nathaniel Brent*; upon which he ſold a very plentiful eſtate, and tranſported himſelf and his effects to New-England, where he died in the year 1658-9, and the ſeventy-ſeventh of his age. He was a thundering preacher, and a judicious divine, as appears by his treatiſe *of the Covenant*, which paſſed through ſeveral editions, and was one of the firſt books publiſhed in that country.*

Mr. *Richard Mather*, educated in Brazen-Noſe college, Oxon, and miniſter of Toxteth near Liverpool for about

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 394, folio edit.

fifteen

fifteen years, a diligent and ſucceſsful preacher, was ſuſpended for non-conformity in the year 1633, but by the interceſſion of friends, after ſix months he was reſtored. Next ſummer the archbiſhop of *York* ſending his viſitors into Lancaſhire, this good man was again ſuſpended by Dr. *Coſins*, upon an information that he had not worn the ſurplice for fifteen years. After this, no interceſſion could obtain the liberty of his miniſtry; upon which he took ſhipping at Briſtol, and arrived at Boſton in New-England, Auguſt 17, 1635. He ſettled at Dorcheſter, and continued with his people, a plain and profitable preacher to the year 1669, when he died. This was the grandfather of the famous Dr. *Cotton Mather*.

In Scotland the fire was kindling apace, which in three years time ſet both kingdoms in a flame. The reſtoring epiſcopacy by the violent methods already mentioned, did not ſit eaſy upon the people; the new Scots biſhops were of biſhop *Laud*'s principles; they ſpoke very favourably of popery in their ſermons, and caſt ſome invidious reflections on the *reformers:* They declared openly for the doctrines of *Arminius*; for ſports on the ſabbath; and for the *liturgy* of the Engliſh *church*; which was imagined to be little better than the maſs.* This loſt them their eſteem with the people, who had been trained up in the doctrines and diſcipline of *Calvin*, and in the ſtrict obſervation of the Lord's-day. But the king, to ſupport them, cheriſhed them with expreſſions of the greateſt reſpect and confidence; he made eleven of them privy-counſellors; the archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* was lord-chancellor, and the biſhop of *Roſs* was in nomination to be lord high-treaſurer; divers of them were of the *Exchequer*, and had engroſſed the beſt ſecular preferments, which made them the envy of the nobility and gentry of that nation. The biſhops were ſo ſenſible of this, that they adviſed the king not to truſt the intended alterations in religion to parliaments or general aſſemblies, but to introduce them by his regal authority.

When the king was laſt in Scotland, it was taken notice of as a great blemiſh in the kirk, that it had no *liturgy* or *book of canons*; to ſupply this defect the king gave order to the new biſhops, to prepare draughts of both, and remit

* Burnet's Memoirs of D. Hamilton, p. 29, 30.

them

them to London, to be reviſed by the biſhops *Laud*, *Juxon*, and *Wren*. The book of canons being firſt finiſhed, was preſented to the king, and by him delivered to *Laud* and *Juxon* to examine, alter, and reform at pleaſure, and to bring it as near as poſſible to a conformity with the Engliſh canons. The biſhops having executed their commiſſion, and prepared it for the preſs, the king confirmed it under the great ſeal by letters patent, dated at Greenwich, May 23d, 1635. The inſtrument ſets forth, "that his majeſty, by his royal and ſupreme authority in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, ratifies and confirms the ſaid canons, orders, and conſtitutions, and all and every thing in them contained, and ſtrictly commands all archbiſhops, biſhops, and others exerciſing eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, to ſee them punctually obſerved."

To give the reader a ſpecimen of theſe canons, which were ſubverſive of the whole Scots conſtitution both in kirk and ſtate:

1. "The firſt canon excommunicates all thoſe who affirm the power and prerogative of the king not to be equal with the Jewiſh kings, that is, *abſolute* and *unlimited*.

2. "The ſecond excommunicates thoſe who ſhall affirm, the worſhip contained in the book of Common Prayer, [which was not yet publiſhed] or the government of the kirk, by archbiſhops, biſhops, &c. to be corrupt, ſuperſtitious, or unlawful.

3. "The third reſtrains ordinations to the *quatuor tempora*; that is, the firſt weeks of March, June, September, and December.

5. "The fifth obliges all preſbyters to read, or cauſe to be read, divine ſervice, according to the form of the book of the Scottiſh common-prayer, and to conform to all the offices, parts, and rubricks of it [though not yet publiſhed.]

The book decrees further, "that no aſſembly of the clergy ſhall be called but by the king.

"That none ſhall receive the ſacrament but upon their knees.

"That every eccleſiaſtical perſon, dying without children, ſhall give part of his eſtate to the church.

"That the clergy ſhall have no private meetings for expounding ſcripture.

"That

"That no clergyman ſhall conceive prayer, but pray only "by the printed form, to be preſcribed in the book of "common-prayer.

"That no man ſhall teach ſchool without a licence from "the biſhop; nor no cenſures of the church be pronounced, "but by the approbation of the biſhop.

"That no preſbyter ſhall reveal any thing in confeſſion, ex- "cept his own life ſhould by the concealment be forfeited."

After ſundry other canons of this nature, as appointing *fonts* for baptiſm, *church ornaments*, *communion-tables*, or *altars*, &c. the book decrees, that no perſon ſhall be admitted to holy orders, or to preach or adminiſter the ſacraments, without firſt ſubſcribing the forementioned canons.

This book was no ſooner publiſhed, than the Scots preſbyters declared peremptorily againſt it;* their objections were of two ſorts; they diſliked the *matter* of the canons, as inconſiſtent with their kirk government, and ſeverer in ſome particulars than thoſe of the church of England: they proteſted alſo againſt the *manner* of impoſing them, without conſent of parliament or general aſſembly. It was thought intolerable vaſſalage, by a people who had aſſerted the independent power of the church, to convene aſſemblies of the clergy, and who had maintained that their decrees were binding, without the confirmation of the crown; to have the king and a few foreign biſhops dictate canons to them, without ſo much as aſking their advice and conſent. Such an high diſplay of the *ſupremacy* could not fail of being highly reſented by a church, that had never yielded it to the king in the latitude in which it had been claimed and exerciſed in England. Beſides it was very prepoſterous to publiſh the book of canons before the book of common-prayer, and to require ſubmiſſion and ſubſcription to things that had no exiſtence; for who could foretel what might be inſerted in the common-prayer-book? or what kind of ſervice might be impoſed upon the kirk? This looked too much like pinning the faith of a whole nation on the *lawn* ſleeves.

To return to England; towards the end of this year it pleaſed God to remove out of this world the reverend Dr.

* Collyer's Eccleſ. Hiſt. p. 764.

Richard

Richard Sibbes, one of the moſt celebrated preachers of his time. He was born at Sudbury 1579, and educated in St. John's-college, Cambridge, where he went through all the degrees. Having entered into the miniſtry, he was firſt choſen lecturer of Trinity church in Cambridge, where his miniſtry was very ſucceſsful, to the converſion and reformation of his hearers. About the year 1618, he was appointed preacher to the honourable ſociety of Gray's-inn, London, in which ſtation he became ſo famous, that beſides the lawyers of the houſe, many of the nobility and gentry frequented his ſermons. In the year 1625, he was choſen maſter of Katherine-hall in the univerſity of Cambridge, the government of which he made a ſhift to continue to his death, though he was turned out of his fellowſhip and lecture in the univerſity for non-conformity, and often cited before the high commiſſion. He was a divine of good learning, thoroughly acquainted with the ſcriptures, a burning and ſhining light, and of a moſt humble charitable diſpoſition; but all theſe talents could not ſcreen him from the fury of the times. His works* diſcover him to have been of an heavenly evangelical ſpirit, the comforts of which he enjoyed at his death, which happened the latter end of this ſummer, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.†

To aggrandize the church yet further, the archbiſhop reſolved to bring part of the buſineſs of Weſtminſter-hall into the eccleſiaſtical courts. The civilians had boldly and unwarrantably oppoſed and proteſted againſt *prohibitions*, and other proceedings at law, in reſtraint of their *ſpiritual courts*, and had procured ſome privileges and orders from the king in favour of the eccleſiaſtical courts, which had greatly offended the gentlemen of the law. But the archbiſhop now went a ſtep further, and prevailed with the king to direct that half the *maſters in chancery* ſhould always be civil lawyers; and to declare that no others, of what condition ſoever, ſhould ſerve him as *maſters of requeſt:* Theſe were

* Of theſe the moſt noted was his "Bruiſed Reed;" to which Mr. *Baxter* tells us, he in a great meaſure owed his converſion. This circumſtance alone, obſerves Mr. *Granger*, would have rendered his name memorable. Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 176. 8vo. ED.

† Clarke's Lives, annexed to his GENERAL MARTYROLOGY, p. 143.

more

more akin to the church than the common lawyers; their places being in the biſhop's diſpoſal, (as *chancellors*, *commiſſaries*, &c.) and therefore it was ſuppoſed their perſons would be ſo too; but this was falſe policy, (ſays the noble hiſtorian*) becauſe it diſguſted a whole learned profeſſion, who were more capable of diſſerving the church in their eſtates, inheritances, and ſtewardſhips, than the church could hurt them in their practice. Beſides, it was wrong in itſelf, for I have never yet ſpoken with one clergyman (ſays his lordſhip) who hath had experience of both litigations, that has not ingenuouſly confeſſed, that he had rather, in reſpect of his trouble, charge, and ſatisfaction to his underſtanding, have three ſuits depending in Weſtminſter-hall, than one in the *arches*, or any eccleſiaſtical court.

As a farther ſtep towards the ſovereign power of the church, *his grace* prevailed with the king to allow the biſhops to hold their eccleſiaſtical courts in their own names, and by their own ſeals, without the king's letters patent under the great ſeal; the judges having given it as their opinion, that a patent under the great ſeal was not neceſſary for examinations, ſuſpenſions, and other church cenſures. This was undoubtedly contrary to law, for by the ſtatute 1 *Edw. cap.* 2, it is declared, "that all eccleſiaſtical juriſ-"diction is immediately from the crown; and that all per-"ſons exerciſing ſuch juriſdiction ſhall have in their ſeals "the *king's-arms*, and ſhall uſe no other ſeal of juriſdic-"tion on pain of impriſonment."† This ſtatute being repealed 1 *Mariæ*, *cap.* 2, was again revived by 1 *Jac. cap.* 25, as has been obſerved.§ Hereupon, in the parliaments of the 3d and 7th of king *James* I. the biſhops were proceeded againſt, and two of them in a manner attainted in a *præmunire* by the houſe of commons, for making citations and proceſſes in their own names, and uſing their own ſeals, contrary to this ſtatute, and to the common law, and in derogation of the prerogative. So that by this conceſſion, the king diſpenſed with the laws, and yielded away the ancient and undoubted right of his crown; and the biſhops

* Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 305-6. † Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 2d, p. 450.

§ Uſurpation of Prelates, p. 92, 115.

were

were brought under a *præmunire*, for exerciſing ſpiritual juriſdiction without any ſpecial commiſſion, patent, or grant, from, by, or under his majeſty; whereas all juriſdiction of this kind ought to have been exerciſed in the king's name, and by virtue of his authority only, ſignified by letters patent under his majeſty's ſeal.

The archbiſhop was no leſs intent upon enlarging his own juriſdiction, claiming a right to viſit the two univerſities *jure metropolitico*, which being referred to the king and council, his majeſty was pleaſed to give judgment againſt himſelf. As chancellor of Oxford his *grace* cauſed a new body of ſtatutes to be drawn up for that univerſity, with a preface, in which are ſome ſevere reflections on good king *Edward* and his government; it ſays, that *the diſcipline of the univerſity was diſcompoſed, and troubled by that king's injunctions, and the flattering novelty of the age.* It then commends the reign of his ſiſter the bloody queen *Mary*, and ſays, *that the diſcipline of the church revived and flouriſhed again in her days, under cardinal* Pool, *when by the much-deſired felicity of thoſe times an inbred candor ſupplied the defect of ſtatutes.** Was this ſpoken like a proteſtant prelate, whoſe predeceſſors in the ſees of London and Canterbury were burnt at Oxford by queen *Mary*, in a moſt barbarous manner! Or rather like one, who was aiming at the return of thoſe *happy times!*

The laſt and moſt extravagant ſtretch of epiſcopal power that I ſhall mention, was *the biſhops framing new articles of viſitation in their own names, without the king's ſeal and authority; and adminiſtering an oath of inquiry to the churchwardens concerning them.*† This was an outrage upon the laws, contrary to the act of ſubmiſſion, 25 *Hen.* VIII. *cap.* 25, and even to the 12th canon of 1603, which ſays, "That "whoſoever ſhall affirm it lawful, for *any ſort of miniſters*,

* An anſwer to Mr. *Neal*, it is urged by Dr. *Grey*, may be ſupplied from *Franland*'s annals of king *Charles* I. according to whom what is applied above to queen *Mary*'s times only, relates to *all former* times, as well as hers, during which the uncertainty of the ſtatutes laſted and put the univerſity to an inconvenience; and who aſſerts, that the preface, mentioned by Mr. *Neal*, was written by Dr. *Peter Turner*, of Merton-college, a doctor of civil law. The reader, however, will, probably, apprehend, that it expreſſed the ſentiments of archbiſhop *Laud*, and was virtually his. ED.

† Uſurpation of Prelates, p. 229, 240.

"or

" or lay-perſons, to aſſemble together, and make rules, or-
" ders, and conſtitutions, in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, *without the*
" *king's authority*, and ſhall ſubmit themſelves to be ruled
" and governed by them, let him be excommunicated."
Which includes the *framers of the orders*, as well as thoſe who act under them. The adminiſtering an oath to church-wardens, without a royal commiſſion, had no foundation in law; for by the common law, no eccleſiaſtical judge can adminiſter an oath (except in caſes of matrimony and teſtaments) without letters patent, or a ſpecial commiſſion under the great ſeal. It was alſo declared contrary to the laws and ſtatutes of the land, by Sir *Edward Coke* and the reſt of the judges, 3 *James*, in the caſe of Mr. *Wharton*, who, being churchwarden of Blackfriars, London, was excommunicated and impriſoned on a *capias excommunicatum*, for refuſing to take an oath, to preſent upon *viſitation articles*; but bringing his *habeas corpus*, he was diſcharged by the whole court, both from his impriſonment and excommunication, for this reaſon, *becauſe the oath and articles were againſt the laws and ſtatutes of this realm, and ſo might and ought to be refuſed.* Upon the whole, the making the *mitre* thus independent of the crown, and not ſubject to a prohibition from the courts of Weſtminſter-hall, was ſetting up *imperium in imperio*, and going a great way towards re-eſtabliſhing one of the heavieſt grievances of the papacy; but the biſhops preſumed upon the felicity of the times, and the indulgence of the crown, which at another time might have involved them in a *præmunire*.

The articles of viſitation differed in the ſeveral dioceſes; the churchwardens' oath was generally the ſame, viz.

" YOU ſhall ſwear, that you, and every of you, ſhall
" duly conſider and diligently enquire of all and every of
" theſe articles given you in charge; and that all affection,
" favour, hope of reward and gain, or fear of diſpleaſure,
" or malice ſet aſide, you ſhall preſent all and every ſuch
" perſon that now is, or of late was within your pariſh, or
" hath committed any offence, or made any default men-
" tioned in any of theſe articles, or which are vehemently
" ſuſpected, or defamed of any ſuch offence or default,
" wherein

"wherein you ſhall deal uprightly and fully, neither pre-
"ſenting nor daring to preſent any contrary to truth, having
"in this action God before your eyes, with an earneſt zeal
"to maintain truth, and to ſuppreſs vice. So help you God,
"and the holy contents of this book."

By virtue of this oath, ſome out of conſcience thought themſelves obliged to preſent their miniſters, their neighbours, and their near relations, not for immorality or neglect of the worſhip of God, but for omitting ſome *ſuperſtitious injunction*. Others acted from revenge, having an opportunity put into their hands to ruin their conſcientious neighbours. Many churchwardens refuſed to take the oath, and were impriſoned, and forced to do penance. But to prevent this for the future, it was declared, *That if any man affirmed, it was not lawful to take the oath of a churchwarden; or that it was not lawfully adminiſtered; or that the oath did not bind; or that the churchwardens need not enquire; or after enquiry need not anſwer, or might leave out part of their anſwers*;* ſuch perſons ſhould be preſented and puniſhed.

Several of the biſhops publiſhed their primary articles of viſitation about this time; as the archbiſhop of *York*, the biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Bath* and *Wells*; but the moſt remarkable and curious were Dr. *Wren*'s biſhop of Norwich, entitled, *Articles to be enquired of within the dioceſe of Norwich, in the firſt viſitation of* Matthew *lord biſhop of Norwich*.† The book contains one hundred and thirty-nine articles, in which are eight hundred and ninety-ſeven queſtions, ſome very inſignificant, others highly ſuperſtitious, and ſeveral impoſſible to be anſwered. To give the reader a ſpecimen of them:——Have you the book of conſtitutions or canons eccleſiaſtical, and a parchment regiſter book, book of common-prayer, and book of homilies?—Is your communion-table ſo placed within the chancel as the canon directs?—Doth your miniſter read the canons once every year?—Doth he pray for the king with his whole title?—Doth he

* Viſit. Art. chap. vi. §. 9.

† Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 2d, p. 186-7. Prynne, p. 374. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 289-90, folio edit.

pray

pray for the archbiſhops and biſhops?—Doth he obſerve all the orders, rites, and ceremonies, preſcribed in the book of common-prayer, and adminiſtering the ſacrament?—Doth he receive the ſacrament kneeling himſelf, and adminiſter to none but ſuch as kneel?—Doth he admit to the ſacrament any notorious offenders or ſchiſmaticks?—Do the ſtrangers of other pariſhes come often, or frequently to your church?—Doth your miniſter baptize with the ſign of the croſs?—Is your miniſter licenſed, and by whom?—Doth he wear the ſurplice while he is reading prayers and adminiſtering the ſacrament?—Doth he catechiſe and inſtruct the youth in the ten commandments?—Doth he ſolemnize marriage without the bans?—Doth he in rogation-days uſe the perambulation round the pariſh?—Doth he every ſix months denounce in the pariſh, [or publickly declare the names of] all ſuch as perſevere in the ſentence of excommunication, not ſeeking to be abſolved:—Doth he admit any excommunicate perſons into the church without a certificate of abſolution?—Is your miniſter a favourer of recuſants?—Is he noted to be an incontinent perſon; a frequenter of taverns, ale-houſes; a common gameſter, or player at dice?—Hath your miniſter read the book of ſports in his church or chapel?—Doth he read the ſecond ſervice at the communion-table?—Doth he uſe conceived prayers before or after ſermon?—With regard to church-yards, are they conſecrated?—Are the graves dug eaſt and weſt, and the bodies buried with their heads to the weſt?—Do your pariſhioners, at going in and out of the church, do reverence towards the chancel?—Do they kneel at confeſſion, ſtand up at the creed, and bow at the glorious name of Jeſus?* &c. with divers articles of the like nature.†

The weight of theſe inquiries fell chiefly upon the puritans, for within the compaſs of two years and four months,

* Cant. Doom. p. 96.

† One article, which Mr. *Neal* has omitted, required, "that the church-"wardens in every pariſh of his dioceſe ſhould inquire, whether any per-"ſons preſumed to talk of religion at their tables and in their families?" Not to ſay the groſs ignorance which this reſtraint would cauſe, it ſhewed the extreme of jealouſy and intolerance; was ſubverſive of the influence and endearments of domeſtic life, and converted each private houſe into a court of inquiſition.

Pillars of Prieſtcraft and Orthodoxy ſhaken, vol. iii. p. 307-8, 1768. Ed.

no leſs than fifty able and pious miniſters were ſuſpended, ſilenced, and otherwiſe cenſured, to the ruin of their poor families, for not obeying one or other of theſe articles; among whom were the reverend Mr. *John Allen*, Mr. *John Ward*, Mr. *William Powel*, Mr. *John Carter*, Mr. *Aſhe*, Mr. *Wm. Bridges*, Mr. *Jeremiah Burroughs*, Mr. *Greenhill*, Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, Mr. *Hudſon*, *Peck*, *Raymond*, *Green*, *Mott*, *Kent*, *Allen*, *Scott*, *Beard*, *Moth*, *Manning*, *Warren*, *Kirrington*, and others, in the dioceſe of Norwich. In other dioceſes were Mr. *Jonathan Burre*, Mr. *William Leigh*, Mr. *Matthew Brownrigge*, Mr. *G. Huntley*, *Vicars*, *Proud*, *Workman*, *Crowder*, *Snelling*, &c. ſome of whom ſpent their days in ſilence; others departed their country into parts beyond ſea; and none were releaſed without a promiſe to conform to the biſhops injunctions *editis & edendis*, i. e. *already publiſhed, or hereafter to be publiſhed.*

Biſhop *Montague*, who ſucceeded *Wren* in the dioceſe of Norwich, 1638, imitated his ſucceſſor in his viſitation articles; it being now faſhionable for every new biſhop to frame ſeparate articles of inquiry, for the viſitation of his own dioceſe. *Montague* pointed his inquiries againſt the *puritan lecturers*, of which he obſerves three ſorts.*

1. Such as were *ſuperinducted into another man's cure*; concerning which he enjoins his viſitors to enquire, Whether the lecturer's ſermons in the afternoons are popular or catechiſtical? Whether he be admitted with conſent of the incumbent and biſhop? Whether he read prayers in his ſurplice and hood? Of what length his ſermons are, and upon what ſubject? Whether he bids prayer, according to the fifty-fifth canon.

2. The ſecond ſort of lecturers are thoſe of *combination*, when the neighbouring miniſters agreed to preach by turns at an adjoining market-town on market-days; inquire who the combiners are, and whether they conform as above?

3. A third ſort are *running lecturers*, when neighbouring chriſtians agree upon ſuch a day to meet at a certain church in ſome country town or village, and after ſermon and dinner to meet at the houſe of one of their diſciples, to repeat, cenſure, and explain the ſermon; then to diſcourſe of ſome

* Prynne, p. 376.

points

points propoſed at a foregoing meeting by the moderator of the aſſembly, derogatory to the doctrine or diſcipline of the church; and in concluſion to appoint another place for their next meeting. If you have any ſuch lecturers preſent them.

Dr. *Pierſe*, biſhop of Bath and Wells, ſuppreſſed all lecturers in market-towns, and elſewhere throughout his dioceſe, alledging, *that he ſaw no ſuch need of preaching now, as was in the apoſtles' days.* He ſuſpended Mr. *Deveniſh*, miniſter of Bridgwater, for preaching a lecture in his own church on a market-day, which had continued ever ſince the days of queen *Elizabeth*; and afterwards, when he abſolved him upon his promiſe to preach it no more, he ſaid to him, *Go thy way, ſin no more, leſt a worſe thing befal thee.** His lordſhip put down all afternoon ſermons on Lord's-days; and ſuſpended Mr. *Corniſh* for preaching a funeral ſermon on the evening. And whereas ſome miniſters uſed to explain the queſtions and anſwers in the catechiſm, and make a ſhort prayer before and after, the biſhop reproved them ſharply for it, ſaying, *that was as bad as preaching*, and charged them to aſk no queſtions, nor receive any anſwers but ſuch as were in the book of common-prayer: and for not complying with this injunction, Mr. *Barret*, rector of Barwick, and ſome others, were enjoined public penance. The biſhop of Peterborough, and all the new biſhops, went in the ſame track; and ſome of them upon this ſad principle, *That afternoon ſermons on Sundays were an impediment to the revels in the evening.*

The church was now in the height of its triumphs, and graſped not only at all ſpiritual juriſdiction, but at the capital preferments of ſtate. This year Dr. *Juxon*, biſhop of London, was declared lord high-treaſurer of England, which is the firſt office of profit and power in the kingdom, and has precedence next to the archbiſhop. *Juxon*'s name had hardly been known at court above two years;† till then he was

* Prynne, p. 377.

† Dr. *Juxon*, having been elected to the ſee of Hereford, before he was conſecrated, was tranſlated on the 19th of September 1633, to that of London. His firſt preferment was, in 1627, to the deanery of Worceſter; but his conſtant connexion with the court was not formed, till the 10th of July 1632, when he was, at the ſuit of archbiſhop *Laud*, ſworn clerk of his ma-

was no more than a private chaplain to the king, and head of a poor college in Oxford. Beſides, *no churchman* had held this poſt ſince the darkeſt times of popery, in the reign of king *Henry* the ſeventh; but *Laud* valued himſelf upon this nomination; *Now* [ſays he, in his Diary] *if the church will not hold up themſelves, under God, I can do no more.** When the ſtaff of treaſurer was put into the hands of *Juxon*, lord *Clarendon* obſerves, "That the nobility were inflamed, and "began to look upon the church as a gulph ready to ſwallow "all the great offices of ſtate, there being other churchmen "in view who were ambitious enough to expect the reſt. "The inferior clergy took advantage of this ſituation of "their affairs, and did not live towards their neighbours of "quality, or patrons, with that civility and good manners as "they uſed to do, which diſpoſed others to withdraw their "countenance and good neighbourhood from them, eſpe-"cially after they were put into the commiſſions of peace, "in moſt counties of England." One of the members of the houſe of commons ſaid, "That the clergy were ſo ex-"alted, that a gentleman might not come near the tail of "their mules; and that one of them had declared openly,

jeſty's cloſet, two years and eight months before he was declared lord high-treaſurer. So that Mr. *Neal*'s expreſſion, *that his name had hardly been known at court above two years*, at which Dr. *Grey* carps, does not greatly deviate from the exact fact. The doctor quotes alſo many teſtimonies to the amiable temper and virtues of biſhop *Juxon*. But though they juſtly reflect honour on his memory, the perſonal virtues of the biſhop did not render the inveſting a *clergyman* with the high office to which he was exalted, a meaſure more politick in itſelf, or leſs obnoxious to the people. And the ſhorter was the time, during which he had been known at court, the fewer opportunities he had enjoyed to diſplay his virtues, and the more probable it was that he owed his dignity, not to the excellence of his own character, but to the influence and views of *Laud*. This circumſtance, together with the vaſt power connected with the office, and the exaltation ſuppoſed to be thus given to the clerical order, created jealouſy and gave offence. In this light Mr. *Neal* places the matter, without impeaching the merit of biſhop *Juxon*. ED.

* Biſhop *Warburton*'s remarks here deſerve attention: "Had he been "content, ſays his lordſhip, "to do nothing, the church had ſtood. Sup-"poſe him to have been an honeſt man and ſincere, which I think muſt be "granted, it would follow that he knew nothing of the conſtitution either "of civil or religious ſociety; and was as poor a churchman as he was a "politician." ED.

"that

"that he hoped to ſee the day, when a clergyman ſhould be "as good a man as any *upſtart Jack gentleman* in the king-"dom." It is certain, the favourable aſpect of the court had very much exalted their behaviour, and their new notions had made them conceive themſelves an order of men above the rank of the laity, for as much as they had the keys of the kingdom of heaven at their girdle, and upon their prieſtly character depended the efficacy of all goſpel inſtitutions. This made ſome of them remarkably negligent of their cures up and down the country; others loſt the little learning they had acquired at the univerſity, and many became very ſcandalous in their lives; though lord *Clarendon** ſays, that there was not one church-man in any degree of favour or acceptance [at court] of a ſcandalous inſufficiency in learning, or of a more ſcandalous condition of life; but on the contrary, moſt of them of confeſſed eminent parts in knowledge, and of virtuous and unblemiſhed lives.

Great numbers of the moſt uſeful and laborious preachers in all parts of the country were buried in ſilence, and forced to abſcond from the fury of the high-commiſſion; among whom were the famous Mr. *John Dod*, Mr. *Whately*, Dr. *Harris*, Mr. *Capel*, and Mr. *John Rogers*, of Dedham, one of the moſt awakening preachers of his age, of whom biſhop *Brownrigge* uſed to ſay, That he did more good with his *wild notes*, than we [the biſhops] with our *ſet muſick*. Yet his great uſefulneſs could not ſcreen him from thoſe ſuſpenſions and deprivations which were the portion of the puritans in theſe times. His reſolutions about ſubſcribing I will relate in his own words: "If I come into trouble for non-"conformity, I reſolve, by God's aſſiſtance, to come away "with a clear conſcience; for though the liberty of my "miniſtry be dear to me, I dare not buy it at ſuch a rate. "I am troubled at my former ſubſcription, but I ſaw men of "good gifts, and of good hearts, (as I thought) go before "me; and I could not prove that there was any thing *con-"trary to the word of God*, though I diſliked the ceremonies, "and knew them to be unprofitable burdens to the church "of God; but if I am urged again I will never yield; it was "my weakneſs before, as I now conceive, which I beſeech

* Vol. i. p. 77.

"God

"God to pardon——Written in the year 1627." But after this the good man was overtaken again, and yielded, which almoſt broke his heart; for he adds, "— For this I "ſmarted, 1631. If I had read over this [my former reſo-"lution] it may be I had not done what I did." How ſevere are ſuch trials to a poor man with a numerous family of children! And how ſore the diſtreſſes of a wounded conſcience!

Others continued to leave their country, according to our bleſſed Saviour's advice, *Matth.* x. 23. *When they perſecute you in this city, flee ye into another.* Among theſe were Mr. *Nathaniel Rogers*, ſon of Mr. *John Rogers* of Dedham, educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge, and ſettled at Aſſington in Suffolk, where he continued five years; but ſeeing the ſtorm that had driven his neighbours from their anchor, and being fearful of his own ſtedfaſtneſs in the hour of temptation, he reſigned his living into the hands of his patron, and forſaking the neighbourhood of his father, and all proſpects of worldly advantage, caſt himſelf and his young family upon the providence of God, and embarked for New-England, where he arrived about the middle of November, 1636, and ſettled with Mr. *Norton*, at Ipſwich, with whom he continued to his death, which happened in the year 1655.

About the ſame time went over Mr. *Lambert Whiteing*, M. A. a Lincolnſhire divine, who continued at Shirbeck near Boſton, unmoleſted till biſhop *Williams*'s diſgrace, after which he was ſilenced by the ſpiritual courts, and forced into New-England, where he arrived with his family this ſummer, and continued an uſeful preacher to a little flock at Lynne till the year 1679, when he died in the eighty-third year of his age.

The ſtar-chamber and high-commiſſion exceeded all the bounds not only of law and equity, but even of humanity itſelf We have related the ſufferings of Mr. *Prynne*, *Burton*, and *Baſtwick*, in the year 1633. Theſe gentlemen, being ſhut up in priſon, were ſuppoſed to employ their time in writing againſt the biſhops and their ſpiritual courts; *Baſtwick* was charged with a book publiſhed 1636, entitled, *Apologeticus ad præſules Anglicanos*; and with a pamphlet called *the new Litany:* The others, with two anonymous books, one entitled, *A divine tragedy, containing a catalogue*

* Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 2d, p. 380, &c.

of

of God's judgments againſt Sabbath breakers; the other, *News from Ipſwich;* which laſt was a ſatire upon the ſevere proceedings of Dr. *Wren* biſhop of that dioceſe. For theſe they were cited a ſecond time into the ſtar-chamber, by virthe of an information laid againſt them by the attorney-general, for *writing and publiſhing ſeditious, ſchiſmatical, and libellous books againſt the hierarchy of the church, and to the ſcandal of the government.* When the defendants had prepared their anſwers, they could not get council to ſign them; upon which they petitioned the court to receive them from themſelves, which would not be admitted; however *Prynne* and *Baſtwick*, having no other remedy, left their anſwers at the office, ſigned with their own hands, but were nevertheleſs proceeded againſt *pro confeſſo*. *Burton* prevailed with Mr. *Holt*, a bencher of Gray's-Inn, to ſign his anſwer; but the court ordered the two chief juſtices to expunge what they thought unfit to be brought into court, and they ſtruck out the whole anſwer, except ſix lines at the beginning, and three or four at the end; and becauſe Mr. *Burton* would not acknowledge it thus purged, he was alſo taken *pro confeſſo*.

In *Baſtwick*'s anſwer the prelates are called *invaders of the king's prerogative, contemners and deſpiſers of the holy ſcriptures, advancers of popery, ſuperſtition, idolatry and profaneneſs*; they are charged with *oppreſſing the king's loyal ſubjects, and with great cruelty, tyranny, and injuſtice.* Mr. *Prynne*'s anſwer reflected upon the hierarchy, though in more moderate and cautious terms. All the defendants offered to maintain their ſeveral anſwers at the peril of their lives; but the court, finding them not filed upon record, would not receive them. The priſoners at the bar cried aloud for *juſtice*, and that their anſwers might be read; but it was peremptorily denied, and the following ſentence paſſed upon them; that *Mr.* Burton *be deprived of his living, and degraded from his miniſtry, as* Prynne *and* Baſtwick *had been from their profeſſions of law and phyſick; that each of them be fined five thouſand pounds; that they ſtand in the pillory at Weſtminſter, and have their ears cut off; and becauſe Mr.* Prynne *had already loſt his ears by ſentence of the court* 1633, *it was ordered that the remainder of his ſtumps ſhould be cut off, and that he ſhould be ſtigmatized on both cheeks with the letters* S. L. *and*

then

then all three were to ſuffer perpetual impriſonment in the remoteſt priſons of the kingdom. This ſentence was executed upon them June 30th, 1637, the hangman rather ſawing the remainder of *Prynne*'s ears than cutting them off; after which they were ſent under a ſtrong guard, one to the caſtle of Launceſton in Cornwall, another to the caſtle of Lancaſter, and a third to Carnarvon caſtle in Wales;* but theſe priſons not being thought diſtant enough, they were afterwards removed to the iſlands of Scilly, Guernſey, and Jerſey, where they were kept without the uſe of pen, ink, or paper, or the acceſs of friends, till they were releaſed by the long parliament.

At paſſing this ſentence archbiſhop *Laud* made a laboured ſpeech, to clear himſelf from the charge of *innovations*, with which the puritans loaded him. He begins with retorting the *crime* upon the puritans, who were for ſetting aſide the order of biſhops, whereas in all ages ſince the apoſtles' time the church had been governed by biſhops, whoſe calling and order (in his grace's opinion) was by *divine right*, the office of *lay elders* having never been heard of before *Calvin*. He then vindicates the particular innovations complained of; as, 1. *Bowing towards the altar, or at coming into the church.* This he ſays was the practice in Jewiſh times, Pſal. xcv. 6. *O come, let us worſhip, and bow down: Let us kneel before the Lord our Maker*; and yet the government is ſo moderate, that no man is forced to it, but only religiouſly called upon. "For my own part, (ſays his grace) I ſhall always "think myſelf bound to worſhip with my body as well as "ſoul, in what *conſecrated place* ſoever I come to pray. "You, my honoured lords of the garter, do reverence to-"wards the *altar, as the greateſt place of God's reſidence* "*upon earth*; greater than the *pulpit*, for there is only the

* The archbiſhop's revenge, not glutted by the ſevere ſentence obtained againſt Mr. *Prynne*, purſued thoſe who, at Cheſter and other places, as he was carrying to priſon, ſhewed him civilities. For, though his keepers were not forbid to let any viſit him, ſome were fined 500l. ſome 300l. and others 250l. Ruſhworth abrid. vol. ii. p. 295, &c. as quoted in the Pillars of Prieſtcraft and Orthodoxy, vol. iii. p. 272. And the ſervant of Mr. *Prynne* was proceeded againſt in the high-commiſſion, and ſent from priſon to priſon, only for refuſing to accuſe his maſter. Id. p. 273. Neither fidelity nor humanity had merit with this prelate. ED.

"*word*

" *word of God*, but upon the altar is *his body*; and a greater " reverence is due to the *body* than to the *word* of the Lord; " and this is no *innovation*, for you are bound to it by your " order, which is no new thing."

His *grace* proceeds to conſider the *alterations in the collects and prayers*, which he ſays the archbiſhops and biſhops, to whom the ordering of the *faſt book* was committed, had power under the king to make, provided nothing was inſerted contrary to the doctrine or diſcipline of the church of *England*; he then juſtifies the ſeveral amendments, and concludes moſt of his articles with ſhewing that there is no connexion between the charge and the popular clamour raiſed againſt him, of an intent to bring in popery. But the ſeveral innovations here mentioned being objected to the archbiſhop at his trial, we ſhall defer our remarks to that place.

His *grace* concludes with a proteſtation, That he had no deſign to alter the religion eſtabliſhed by law; but that his care to reduce the church to order, to uphold the external decency of it, and to ſettle it to the rules of the firſt reformation, had brought upon him and his brethren, all that malicious ſtorm that had loured ſo black over their heads. He then thanks the court for their juſt and honourable cenſure of theſe men, and for their defence of the church; but becauſe the buſineſs had ſome reference to himſelf, he forbears to cenſure them, leaving them to God's mercy and the king's juſtice.

Notwithſtanding this plauſible ſpeech, which the king ordered to be printed, the barbarous ſentence paſſed upon theſe gentlemen moved the compaſſion of the whole nation. The three learned faculties of *law*, *phyſick*, and *divinity*, took it to heart, as thinking their educations and profeſſions might have ſecured them from ſuch infamous puniſhments,* proper enough for the pooreſt and moſt mechanick malefactors, who could make no other ſatisfaction to the publick for their offences; but very improper for perſons of education, degrees, or quality. Nay, the report of this cenſure, and the ſmart execution of it, flew into Scotland, and the diſcourſe was there that they muſt alſo expect a *ſtar-chamber* to ſtrengthen the hands of their biſhops, as well as an high-

* Clarendon, vol. i. p. 94.

commiſſion:

commiſſion: "No doubt (ſays archbiſhop *Laud*) but there "is a concurrence between them and the puritan party in "England, to deſtroy me in the king's opinion."*

Cruel as this ſentence was, Dr. *Williams*, biſhop of Lincoln, and the reverend Mr. *Oſbaldeſton*, chief maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool, met with no leſs hardſhip.† The biſhop had been *Laud*'s very good friend, in perſuading king *James* to advance him to a biſhoprick; but upon the acceſſion of king *Charles* he turned upon his benefactor, and got him removed from all his preferments at court; upon which biſhop *Williams* retired to his dioceſe,‡ and ſpent his time in reading and in the good government of his dioceſe; here he became popular, entertaining the clergy at his table, and diſcourſing freely about affairs of church and ſtate.‖ He ſpoke with ſome ſmartneſs againſt the new ceremonies; and ſaid once in converſation, *That the puritans were the king's beſt ſubjects, and he was ſure would carry all at laſt; and that the king had told him, that he would treat the puritans more mildly for the future.* LAUD, being informed of this expreſſion, cauſed an information to be lodged againſt him in the ſtar-chamber, for *revealing the king's ſecrets*; but the charge not being well ſupported, a new bill was exhibited againſt him, for tampering with the king's witneſſes; and though there was very little ground for the charge, *his lordſhip was ſuſpended in the high-commiſſion court from all his offices and benefices; he was fined ten thouſand pounds to the king*; *one thouſand pounds to Sir* John Mounſon, *and to be impriſoned in the Tower during the king's pleaſure.* The biſhop was accord-

* Ruſhworth, p. 385. † Ibid. vol. ii. part 2d, p. 817.

‡ The remarks of biſhop *Warburton* on the proceedings againſt Dr. *Williams*, are juſt, though ſevere, and by their impartiality and ſpirit, do honour to his lordſhip. "This proſecution," ſays he, "muſt needs give "every one a bad idea of *Laud*'s heart and temper. You might reſolve "his high acts of power in the ſtate into reverence and gratitude to his "maſter; his tyranny in the church, to his zeal for and love of what he "called religion; but the outrageous proſecution of theſe two men can be "reſolved into nothing but envy and revenge: and actions like theſe they "were which occaſioned all that bitter, but indeed juſt exclamation againſt "the biſhops in the ſpeeches of lord *Falkland* and lord *Digby*." ED.

‖ Ruſhworth, p. 417.

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ingly ſent from the bar to the Tower;* all his rich goods and chattels, to an immenſe value, were plundered and ſold to pay the fine; his library ſeized, and all his papers and letters examined. Among his papers were found two or three letters written to him by Mr. *Oſbaldeſton* about five years before, in which were ſome dark and obſcure expreſſions, which the jealous archbiſhop interpreted againſt himſelf and the lord-treaſurer *Weſton*. Upon the foot of theſe letters a new bill was exhibited againſt the biſhop for divulging ſcandalous libels againſt the king's privy-counſellors. His lordſhip replied, that he did not remember his having received the letters, and was ſure he had never divulged them, becauſe they were ſtill among his private papers; but notwithſtanding all he could ſay, *he was condemned in a fine of eight thouſand pounds*; five thouſand to the king, and three thouſand to the archbiſhop; for the non-payment of which he was kept cloſe priſoner in the Tower till the meeting of the long parliament.

The reverend Mr. *Oſbaldeſton* was charged *with plotting with the biſhop of Lincoln to divulge falſe news*, and to *breed a difference between the lord-treaſurer* Weſton *and the archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *as long ago as the year* 1633.† The information was grounded upon the two letters already mentioned, in which he reports a miſunderſtanding between the great *leviathan* and the little *urchin*. And though the council for the defendant abſolutey denied any reference to the archbiſhop, and named the perſons meant in the letter, yet *the court fined him five thouſand pounds to the king, and five thouſand pounds to the archbiſhop; to be deprived of all his ſpiritual dignities and promotions, to be impriſoned during*

* Here he was kept in cloſe impriſonment about four years. During his confinement, in order to deprive him of his biſhoprick, he was examined upon a book of articles of twenty-four ſheets. Amongſt which were ſuch frivolous charges as theſe: viz. That he had caled a book intitled "*A "Coal from the Altar*" a pamphlet: that he had ſaid, that all fleſh in England had corrupted their ways; that he had wickedly jeſted on St. *Martin*'s hood. What muſt be thought of the temper of thoſe who could think of depriving a biſhop of his ſee on ſuch grounds? The biſhop was however ſo wary in his anſwers, that they could take no advantage againſt him.
Fuller's Church Hiſt. b. xi. p. 157. ED.

† Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 2d, p. 803, &17.

the

the king's pleaſure, and to ſtand in the pillory in the Dean's Yard before his own ſchool, and have his ears nailed to it. Mr. *Oſbaldeſton* being among the croud in the court when this ſentence was pronounced, immediately went home to his ſtudy at Weſtminſter-ſchool, and having burnt ſome papers, abſconded, leaving a note upon his deſk with theſe words, *If the archbiſhop enquire after me, tell him I am gone beyond Canterbury.* The meſſengers were ſoon at his houſe, and finding this note, ſent immediately to the ſea-ports to apprehend him; but he lay hid in a private houſe in Drury-lane till the ſearch was over, and then concealed himſelf till the meeting of the long parliament; however, all his goods and chattels were ſeized and confiſcated. This Mr. *Oſbaldeſton* was M. A. of Chriſt-church college, Oxford, and prebendary of Weſtminſter; he was an admirable maſter, and had eighty doctors in the two univerſities that had been his ſcholars, before the year 1640;* he was afterwards reſtored by the long parliament, but when he apprehended they went beyond the bounds of their duty and allegiance, he laid down his ſchool and favoured the royal cauſe.

Mr. *Lilburne*, afterwards a colonel in the army, for refuſing to take an oath to anſwer all interrogatories concerning *his importing and publiſhing ſeditious libels*, was fined five hundred pounds, and to be whipped through the ſtreets from the Fleet to the pillory before Weſtminſter-hall gate, April 8th, 1638. While he was in the pillory he uttered many bold and paſſionate ſpeeches againſt the tyranny of the biſhops; whereupon the court of ſtar-chamber then ſitting, ordered him to be gagged, which was done accordingly; and that when he was carried back to priſon he ſhould be laid alone with irons on his hands and legs in the wards of the Fleet, where the baſeſt of the priſoners uſed to be put, and that no perſon ſhould be admitted to ſee him. Here he continued in a mot forlorn and miſerable condition till the meeting of the long parliament.

In the midſt of all theſe dangers the puritan clergy ſpoke freely againſt their oppreſſors.† Dr. *Cornelius Burges*, in a

* Athenæ Oxon, vol. i. p. 833.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon, vol. ii. p. 235.

Latin

Latin ſermon before the clergy of London, preached againſt the ſeverities of the biſhops, and refuſing to give his dioceſan a copy of his ſermon, was put into the high-commiſſion. Mr. *Wharton*, of Eſſex, preached with the ſame freedom at Chelmsford, for which (it is ſaid) he made his ſubmiſſion. Several pamphlets were diſperſed againſt the proceedings of the eccleſiaſtical courts, which the biſhop of *London* declared he had reaſon to believe were written or countenanced by the clergy of his own dioceſe. Many private gentlemen in Suffolk maintained lecturers at their own expence, without conſulting the biſhop, who complained that they were factious, and did not govern themſelves according to the *canons*; but, ſays his lordſhip, [*Wren*] "What ſhall I do with ſuch ſcholars, ſome in orders and others not, which gentlemen of figure entertain in their houſes under pretence of teaching their children? and with thoſe beneficed divines who take ſhelter in the houſes of the rich laity, and do not live upon their cures?"* Here was the puritans' laſt retreat; thoſe who were not willing to go abroad found entertainment in gentlemen's families, and from thence annoyed the enemy with their pamphlets. Even the populace, who were not capable of writing, expreſſed their reſentments againſt the archbiſhop by diſperſing libels about the town, in which they threatened his deſtruction. His *grace* has entered ſome of them in his diary.

"*Wedneſday*, *Aug.* 23. My lord-mayor ſent me a libel found by the watch at the ſouth-gate of St. Paul's, that the devil had left that houſe to me.

"*Aug.* 25. Another libel was brought me by an officer of the high-commiſſion, faſtened to the north-gate of St. Paul's, that the government of the church of England is a candle in a ſnuff, going out in a ſtench.

"The ſame night the lord-mayor ſent me another libel, hanged upon the ſtandard in Cheapſide, which was my ſpeech in the ſtar-chamber ſet in the pillory.

"A few days after, another ſhort libel was ſent me in verſe."

Yet none of theſe things abated his zeal, or relaxed his rigour againſt thoſe who cenſured his arbitrary proceedings.

* Ruſhworth, p. 467.

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It was impoſſible to debate things fairly in publick, becauſe the preſs was abſolutely at his *grace*'s diſpoſal, according to a new decree of the ſtar-chamber made this ſummer, which ordains, that "no book be printed unleſs it be firſt licenſed "with all its titles, epiſtles, and prefaces, by the archbiſhop, "or biſhop of London for the time being, or by their ap- "pointment; and within the limits of the univerſity, by the "chancellor or vice-chancellor, on pain of the printer's be- "ing diſabled from his profeſſion for the future, and to ſuffer "ſuch other puniſhment as the *high-commiſſion* ſhall think fit. "That before any books imported from abroad be ſold, a "catalogue of them ſhall be delivered to the archbiſhop, or "biſhop of London, to be peruſed by themſelves or their "chaplains. And if there be any ſchiſmatical, or offenſive "books, they ſhall be delivered up to the biſhop, or to "the high-commiſſion, that the offenders may be puniſhed. "It was further ordained, that no perſon ſhall print beyond "ſea any Engliſh book or books, whereof the greateſt part "is Engliſh, whether formerly printed or not; nor ſhall any "book be reprinted, though formerly licenſed, without a "new licence. And finally, if any perſon that is not an "*allowed printer*, ſhall ſet up a printing-preſs, he ſhall be ſet "in the pillory, and be whipt through the ſtreets of London."

Theſe terrible proceedings, inſtead of ſerving the intereſts of the church or ſtate, awakened the reſentments of all ranks and profeſſions of men, againſt thoſe in power: the laity were as uneaſy as the clergy, many of whom ſold their effects, and removed with their families and trades into Holland or New-England. This alarmed the king and council, who iſſued out a proclamation, April 30th, 1637, to the following purpoſe:* "—— The king being informed, that great "numbers of his ſubjects were yearly tranſported into New- "England with their families and whole eſtates, *that they* "*might be out of the reach of eccleſiaſtical authority*; his ma- "jeſty therefore commands, that his officers of the ſeveral "ports ſhould ſufer none to paſs without licence from the "commiſſioners of the plantations, and a teſtimonial from "their miniſter of their conformity to the orders and diſci-

* Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 2d. p. 409.

"pline

" pline of the church." And to bar the *miniſters*, the following order of council was publiſhed:

" WHEREAS it is obſerved, that ſuch miniſters who " are not conformable to the diſcipline and ceremonies of the " church, do frequently tranſport themſelves to the *planta-* " *tions*, where they take liberty to nouriſh their factious and " ſchiſmatical humours, to the hindrance of the good con- " formity and unity of the church; we therefore expreſsly " command you, in his majeſty's name, to ſuffer no clergy- " man to tranſport himſelf without a teſtimonial from the " archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and biſhop of London."*

This was a degree of ſeverity hardly to be paralleled in the chriſtian world. When the *edict of Nantz* was revoked, the French king allowed his proteſtant ſubjects a convenient time to diſpoſe of their effects, and depart the kingdom; but our proteſtant archbiſhop will neither let the *puritans* live peaceably at home, nor take ſanctuary in foreign countries; a conduct hardly conſiſtent with the laws of humanity, much leſs with the character of a chriſtian biſhop; but while his *grace* was running things to theſe extremities, the people (as has been obſerved) took a general diſguſt, and almoſt all England became puritan.

The biſhops and courtiers being not inſenſible of the number and weight of their enemies among the more reſolved proteſtants, determined to balance their power by joining the papiſts; for which purpoſe the differences between the two churches were ſaid to be trifling, and the peculiar doctrines of popery printed and preached up, as proper to be received by the church of England. Biſhop *Montague*, ſpeaking of the points of faith and morality, affirmed, that none of theſe are controverted between us, but that *the points in diſpute were of a leſſer nature, of which a man might be ignorant without any danger of ſalvation.*† *Franciſcus de Clara*, an eminent Franciſcan friar, publiſhed a book, wherein he endeavoured to accommodate the articles of the church of England to the ſenſe of the church of Rome, ſo that both parties might ſubſcribe them. The book was dedicated to

* Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 2d, p. 410. † Ibid. part 1ſt, p. 214.

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the king, and the friar admitted to an acquaintance with the archbiſhop.*

Great ſtreſs was laid upon the uninterrupted ſucceſſion of the epiſcopal character through the church of Rome; for *miſerable were we* (ſays Dr. *Pocklington*) *if he that now ſits archbiſhop of Canterbury could not derive his ſucceſſion from St.* Auſtin, *St.* Auſtin *from St.* Gregory, *and St.* Gregory *from St.* Peter. Dr. *Heylin*, in his moderate anſwer to Mr. *Burton*, has theſe words, *That my lord of Canterbury that now is, is lineally deſcended from St.* Peter *in a moſt fair and conſtant tenor of ſucceſſion, you ſhall eaſily find if you conſult the learned labours of* MASON de Miniſterio Anglicano.

Biſhop *Montague* publiſhed a treatiſe, *Of the invocation of ſaints*, in which he ſays, that *departed ſaints have not only a memory, but a more peculiar charge of their friends; and that ſome ſaints have a peculiar patronage, cuſtody, protection and power, as angels have alſo, over certain perſons and countries by ſpecial deputation; and that it is not impiety ſo to believe.*† Dr. *Coſins* ſays, in one of his ſermons, that *when our reformers took away the maſs, they marred all religion; but that the maſs was not taken away, inaſmuch as the real preſence of Chriſt remained ſtill, otherwiſe it were not a reformed, but a deformed religion.* And in order to perſuade a papiſt to come to church, he told him, *That the body of Chriſt was ſubſtantially and really in the ſacrament.*‡ This *divine* printed a collection of private devotions, in imitation of the *Roman Horary*. The frontiſpiece had three capital letters *J. H. S.* upon theſe there was a croſs incircled with the ſun, ſup-

* Dr. *Grey* quotes a paſſage from the trial of *Laud*, by which it appears that he denied having given any encouragement to the publication of this book, and had abſolutely prohibited its being printed in England; that *Clara* was never with him till the book was ready for the preſs, nor afterwards above twice or thrice at moſt, when he made great friends to obtain the archbiſhop's ſanction to his printing another book, to prove that biſhops are by divine right; and his requeſt was again refuſed. For the archbiſhop replied, "that he did not like the way which the church of Rome went in "the caſe of epiſcopacy; would never conſent to the printing of any ſuch "book here from the pen of a *Romaniſt*, and that the biſhops of England "were able to defend their own cauſe, without calling in the aid of the "church of Rome, and would in due time." ED.

† Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 214. ‡ Collyer's Eccleſ. Hiſt. p. 742.

ported

ported by two angels, with two devout women praying towards it. The book contains the apoſtle's creed, the Lord's prayer divided into ſeven petitions, the precepts of charity, the ſeven ſacraments, the three theological virtues, the eight beatitudes, the ſeven deadly ſins; with forms of prayer for the firſt, third, ſixth, and ninth hours, and for the *veſpers* and *compline*, formerly called the canonical hours; then followed the *litany*, with prayers for the ſacrament, in time of ſickneſs, and at the approach of death. This book was licenſed by the biſhop of London, and publickly ſold when the books of the moſt reſolved proteſtants were ſuppreſſed.

Mr. *Adams*, in a ſermon at St. Mary's in Cambridge, aſſerted the expedience of auricular confeſſion, ſaying, *It was as neceſſary to ſalvation as meat is to the body.** Others preached up the *doctrine of penance, and of authoritative prieſtly abſolution for ſin.* Some maintained the proper *merit of good works*, in oppoſition to the received doctrine of *juſtification by faith alone.* Others, that in the ſacrament of the Lord's-ſupper there was a full and proper ſacrifice for ſin. Some declared for images, crucifixes, and pictures in churches, for purgatory, and for preſerving, reverencing, and even praying to the reliques of ſaints. The author of the Engliſh Pope, printed 1643, ſays, that *Sparrow* paved the way for *auricular confeſſion*, Watts *for penance*, Heylin *for altar worſhip*, Montague *for ſaint worſhip*, and *Laud* for *the maſs.*

It was a very juſt obſervation of a Venetian gentleman in his travels to England about this time,† "That the univer-
"ſities, biſhops and divines of England, daily embraced ca-
"tholick doctrines, though they profeſſed them not with
"open mouth: they held that the church of Rome was a
"true church; that the pope was ſuperior to all biſhops;
"that to him it pertained to call general councils; that it
"was lawful to pray for ſouls departed; and that altars
"ought to be erected in all churches; in ſum, they be-
"lieved all that was taught by the *church of Rome*, but not
"by the *court of Rome.*" Remarkable are the words of *Heylin* to the ſame purpoſe,‡ "The greateſt part of the con-

* Ruſhworth, p. 137. Prynne, p. 195, &c.

† May's Hiſt. of Parl. p. 25. ‡ Fuller's Appeal, part 3d, p. 63, 65.

"troverſy between us and the church of Rome, (ſays he) "not being in fundamentals, or in any eſſential points of "the chriſtian religion, I cannot otherwiſe look upon it but "as a moſt chriſtian and pious work, to endeavour an agree-"ment in the ſuperſtructure; as to the lawfulneſs of it, I could "never ſee any reaſon produced againſt it: againſt the impoſ-"ſibility of it, it has been objected, that the church of Rome "will yield nothing; if therefore there be an agreement, "it muſt not be their meeting us, but our going to them; "but that all in the church of Rome are not ſo ſtiff, appears "from the teſtimony of the archbiſhop of Spalato, who ac-"knowledged that the articles of the church of England "were not heretical, and by the treatiſe of *Franciſcus de* "*Clara.** Now if, without prejudice to truth, the contro-"verſies might be compoſed, it is moſt probable that other "proteſtant churches would have ſued to be included in the "peace; if not, the church of England will loſe nothing by "it, as being hated by the calviniſts, and not loved by the "lutherans." This was the ridiculous court ſcheme which archbiſhop *Laud* uſed all his intereſt to accompliſh; and it is no impertinent ſtory to our preſent purpoſe, becauſe it is well atteſted, that a certain counteſs (whoſe huſband's father the archbiſhop had married, and thereby brought himſelf into trouble) having turned papiſt, was aſked by the archbiſhop the cauſe of her changing, to whom ſhe replied, *It was be-cauſe ſhe always hated to go in a crowd.* Being aſked again

* His real name was *Chriſtopher Davenport*. He was the ſon of an alderman of Coventry, and with his brother *John* was ſent to Merton-college in Oxford, in the year 1613. *John* became afterwards a noted puritan, and then an independent. *Chriſtopher*, by the invitation of ſome Romiſh prieſts, living in or near Oxford, went to ſtudy at Doway in 1616. He afterwards ſpent ſome time in the univerſity of Salamanca, from whence he returned to Doway, and read firſt philoſophy, and then divinity there. At length he became a miſſionary into England, and a chaplain to queen *Henrietta Maria*, under the name of *Franciſcus a Sancta Clara*. Amongſt many learned works, of which he was the author, was an Expoſition of the Thirty-nine Articles in the moſt favourable ſenſe. "But," ſays biſhop *Warburton*, "it pleaſed neither party." The Spaniſh inquiſition put it into the Index Expurgatorius; and it would have been condemned at Rome, had not the king and archbiſhop *Laud* preſſed *Penzano*, the pope's agent at London, to ſtop the proſecution. He died the 31ſt of May, 1680.

Warburton's ſupplemental volume, p. 483; and Wood's Athenæ Oxon, vol. ii. p. 485, &c. Ed.

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the reaſon of that expreſſion, ſhe anſwered, that *ſhe perceived his grace and many others were making haſte to Rome, and therefore to prevent going in a preſs ſhe had gone before them.**

It is certain the papiſts were in high reputation at court; the king counted them his beſt ſubjects, and relaxed the penal laws, on pretence that *hereby foreign catholick princes might be induced to ſhew favour to their ſubjects of the reformed religion.* Within the compaſs of four years, ſeventy-four letters of grace were ſigned by the king's own hand; ſixty-four prieſts were diſmiſſed from the Gate-houſe, and twenty-nine by warrant from the ſecretary of ſtate, at the inſtance of the queen, the queen mother, or ſome foreign ambaſſador. Protections were frequently granted, to put a ſtop to the proceedings of the courts of juſtice againſt them.† I have before me a liſt of popiſh recuſants convicted in the twenty-nine Engliſh counties of the ſouthern diviſion, from the firſt of king *Charles* to the ſixteenth, which amounts to no leſs than eleven thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy,‡ (as the account was brought into the long parliament by Mr. *John Pulford*, employed in their proſecution by the king himſelf) all of whom were releaſed and pardoned. And if their numbers were ſo great in the ſouth, how muſt they abound in the northern and Welch counties, where they are computed three to one!

Many of them were promoted to places of the higheſt honour and truſt; Sir *Richard Weſton* was lord high-treaſurer, Sir *Francis Windebank*, ſecretary of ſtate; lord *Cottington* was chancellor of the exchequer, and Mr. *Porter*, of the bed-chamber; beſides theſe, there was lord *Conway*, Sir *Kenelm Digby*, Sir *Toby Mathews*, Mr. *Montague*, jun. the ducheſs of *Montague*, the counteſs of *Newport*, and many others, all papiſts, who were in high favour,‖ and had the king and queen's ear whenſoever they pleaſed. The pope had a nuncio in England, and the queen an agent at Rome; cardinal *Barberini* was made protector of the Engliſh nation, and a ſociety was erected under the title of *the congregation*

* Fuller's Appeal, p. 61. † Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 2d, p. 284.

‡ Foxes and Firebrands, part 3d, p. 75.

‖ Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 780.

*for propagating the faith.** *Richard Smith*, titular biſhop of Chalcedon, exerciſed epiſcopal juriſdiction over the Engliſh catholicks by commiſſion from the pope; he conferred orders, and appeared in Lancaſhire with his mitre and croſier;† ſeignior *Con* or *Cunæus*, the pope's legate, gained over ſeveral of the gentry, and attempted the king himſelf by preſents of little popiſh toys and pictures, with which his majeſty was wonderfully delighted.‡ The papiſts had a common purſe,‖ with which they purchaſed ſeveral monopolies, and beſtowed the profits upon their beſt friends; ſeveral of their military men were put into commiſſion, and great numbers were liſted in his majeſty's armies againſt the Scots.§

But

§ Fuller's Church Hiſt. b. xi. p. 137. Prynne, p. 198.

† Foxes and Firebrands, part 3d, p. 124.

‡ Mr. *Neal* here goes beyond his author, who ſays, "Which yet could "prevail nothing with the king." But then he remarks in the margin, that it "was ſtrange that the king did not ſend *Cunæus* packing, when he "thus tempted and aſſaulted him." On the truth and force of this remark, it may be preſumed, that Mr. *Neal* grounded his repreſentation of the king's being delighted with the legate's preſents. For inſtead of diſmiſſing him, he often received him at Hampton-court, and ſolicited his ſervices for the Palatinate; which certainly indicated no diſpleaſure at his gifts. Ed.

‖ Foxes and Firebrands, part 3d, p. 134.

§ Dr. *Grey* properly obſerves that the place in *Collier* to which Mr. *Neal* here refers, mentions not one ſyllable of this. The truth is, that *Collier* is alledged only to prove the influence which the papiſts had at court. I have, therefore, annexed the reference to a preceding ſentence. The doctor adds, "nor do I believe, that he (*i.e.* Mr. *Neal*) can produce the leaſt "authority for his aſſertion, that *great numbers of papiſts* were liſted in his "majeſty's armies *againſt the Scots*." It is to be wiſhed, that Mr. *Neal* had referred here exactly to his authority. But to ſupply this omiſſion, it may be obſerved, that the queen employed Sir *Kenelm Digby* and Mr. *Walter Montague* to raiſe liberal contributions for the war from the papiſts, whoſe clergy vied with the Engliſh on this occaſion; on this ground, ſome ſtiled the forces raiſed, "*The popiſh army*." This circumſtance renders it, to ſay the leaſt exceedingly probable that papiſts were enliſted. It was afterward charged on the king, that he employed them in his armies; the earl of *Newcaſtle* did not deny it; and the parliament produced liſts of popiſh officers in the king's ſervice, with their names, quality, and employs. It was alſo urged againſt the parliament, that there were great numbers of papiſts, both commanders and others, in *their* army. Dr. *Grey* quotes *Dugdale* to prove this. *Rapin* obſerves on this charge, that not a ſingle catholic was named by thoſe who brought the charge, nor were the muſter-

rolls

But let the reader form his judgment of the number and ſtrength of the Roman catholicks from lord *Clarendon*,* who ſays, "The papiſts had for many years enjoyed a great calm, "being on the matter abſolved from the *ſevereſt* parts of the "law, and diſpenſed with for the *gentleſt*. They were grown "to be a part of the revenue, without any probable danger "of being made a ſacrifice to the law. They were looked "upon as good ſubjects at court, and good neighbours in "the country; all the reſtraints and reproaches of former "times being forgotten: But they were not prudent mana-"gers of their proſperity, being elated with the connivance "and protection they received; and though I am perſuaded "their numbers increaſed not, their pomp and boldneſs did "to that degree, that, as if they affected to be thought dan-"gerous to the ſtate, they appeared more publickly, enter-"tained, and urged conferences more avowedly than had "before been known. They reſorted at common hours to "maſs to Somerſet-houſe, and returned thence in great mul-"titudes with the ſame barefacedneſs as others come from "the Savoy, or other neighbouring churches. They at-"tempted, and ſometimes gained proſelytes, of weak unin-"formed ladies, with ſuch circumſtances as provoked the "rage, and deſtroyed the charity of great and powerful fa-"milies, which longed for their ſuppreſſion; they grew not "only ſecret contrivers, but publick profeſſed promoters of, "and miniſters in the moſt odious, and moſt grievous pro-"jects, as in that of ſoap, formed, framed and executed by "almoſt a corporation of that religion, which under that li-"cence and notion might be, and were ſuſpected to be qua-"lified for other agitations. The prieſts and ſuch as were "in orders (orders that in themſelves were puniſhable with "death) were departed from their former modeſty and fear, "and were as willing to be known as to be hearkened to; "inſomuch that a jeſuit at Paris, who was coming for Eng-

rolls, to which the appeal was made, ever publiſhed. Whitlocke's Memoirs, p. 31. Mrs. Macaulay's Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 270. 8vo. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 462, 468, folio. An Eſſay towards a true idea of the character and reign of Charles I. p. 69; and Dugdale's ſhort view of the Troubles, &c. p. 105, 564. Ed.

* Vol. i. p. 148.

"land,

" land, had the boldneſs to viſit the ambaſſador there, who " knew him to be ſuch, and offering him his ſervice, ac- " quainted him with his journey, as if there had been no " laws there for his reception; and for the moſt invidious " protection and countenance of that whole party, a publick " agent from Rome, (firſt Mr. *Con*, a Scottiſh man, and after " him the count of *Roſetti* an Italian) reſided in London in " great pomp, publickly viſited the court, and was avowedly " reſorted to by the catholicks of all conditions, over whom " he aſſumed a particular juriſdiction, and was careſſed and " preſented magnificently by the ladies of honour who in- " clined to that profeſſion. They had likewiſe with more " noiſe and vanity, than prudence would have admitted, " made publick collections of money to a conſiderable ſum, " upon ſome recommendations from the queen, and to be " by her majeſty preſented, as a free-will offering from his " Roman catholick ſubjects to the king, for the carrying on " the war againſt the Scots; which drew upon them the " rage of that nation, with little devotion and reverence to " the queen herſelf, as if ſhe deſired to ſuppreſs the proteſ- " tant religion in one kingdom as well as the other, by the " arms of the Roman catholicks."

From this account, compared with the foregoing relation, it is evident there never was a ſtronger combination in favour of popery, nor was the *proteſtant religion* at any time in a more dangerous criſis, being deſerted by its pretended friends, while it was ſecretly undermining by its moſt power- ful enemies.

The caſe was the ſame with the civil liberties and proper- ties of the people; no man had any thing that he could call his own any longer than the king pleaſed; for in the famous trial of Mr. *Hampden*, of Buckinghamſhire, in the caſe of ſhip-money, all the judges of England, except *Crook* and *Hutton*,* gave it for law, *That the king might levy taxes on the ſubject by writ under the great ſeal, without grant of parlia- ment, in* CASES OF NECESSITY; *or when the kingdom was in* DANGER; *of which* DANGER *and* NECESSITY *his majeſty was the ſole and final judge; and that by* LAW *his majeſty might compel the doing thereof in caſe of refuſal or refractori-*

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 295-96, folio edit.

neſs.

neſs. This determination was entered in all the courts of Weſtminſter-hall; and the judges were commanded to declare it in their circuits throughout the kingdom, to the end that no man might plead ignorance. "The damage and "miſchief cannot be expreſſed (ſays lord *Clarendon**) that "the crown ſuſtained by the deſerved reproach and infamy "that attended this behaviour of the judges, who out of "their courtſhip ſubmitted the grand queſtions of law to be "meaſured by what they call the ſtandard of *general reaſon* "*and neceſſity.*" While theſe extraordinary methods of raiſing money were built only upon the PREROGATIVE, people were more patient, hoping that ſome time or other the law would recover its power; but when they were declared by all the judges to be the *very law itſelf*, and a rule for determining ſuits between the king and ſubject, they were ſtruck with deſpair, and concluded very juſtly that *magna charta* and the old Engliſh *conſtitution* were at an end.

Let the reader now recollect himſelf, and then judge of the candour of the noble hiſtorian, who, notwithſtanding the cruel perſecutions and oppreſſions already mentioned, celebrates the *felicity of theſe times* in the following words: "Now, after all this, I muſt be ſo juſt as to ſay, that from "the diſſolution of the parliament in the fourth year of the "king, to the beginning of the long parliament, which was "about twelve years, this kingdom and all his majeſty's "dominions enjoyed the greateſt calm, and the fulleſt meaſure of felicity, that any people, in any age, for ſo long "time together have been bleſſed with, to the wonder and "envy of all other parts of chriſtendom:—the court was "in great plenty, or rather exceſs and luxury, the country "rich and full, enjoying the pleaſure of its own wealth; "the church flouriſhed with learned and extraordinary men; "and the proteſtant religion was more advanced againſt the "church of Rome, by the writings of archbiſhop *Laud* and "*Chillingworth*, than it had been ſince the reformation——"Trade increaſed to that degree, that we were the exchange "of Chriſtendom; foreign merchants looking upon nothing ſo much their own as what they had laid up in the "warehouſes of this kingdom——The reputation of the

* Vol. i. p. 70.

"greatneſs

"greatneſs and power of the king with foreign princes was "much more than any of his progenitors. And *laſtly*, for "a complement of all theſe bleſſings, they were enjoyed "under the protection of a king of the moſt harmleſs diſpo- "ſition, the moſt exemplary piety, and the greateſt ſobriety, "chaſtity, and mercy, that any prince that had been en- "dowed with, and who might have ſaid that which *Pericles* "was proud of upon his death-bed, concerning his citizens, "*That no Engliſhman had worn a mourning gown through his* "*occaſion.* In a word, many wiſe men thought it a time "wherein thoſe two adjuncts, *imperium* and *libertas*, were as "well reconciled as poſſible."*

Not a line of this *panegyrick* will bear examination. When his lordſhip ſays, *That no people in any age had been bleſſed with ſo great a calm, and ſuch a full meaſure of felicity for ſo long a time together* [*twelve years,*] he ſeems to have undervalued the long and pacifick reign of his majeſty's royal father, king *James*, who was diſtinguiſhed by the title of BLESSED. But where was the liberty or ſafety of the ſubject, when *magna charta* and the *petition of right*, which the king had ſigned in full parliament, were ſwallowed up in the gulph of arbitrary power? and the ſtatute laws of the land were exchanged for a *rule of government* depending upon the ſovereign will and pleaſure of the crown? If the *court was in exceſs and luxury*, it was with the plunder of the people, ariſing from loans, benevolences, ſhip-money, monopolies, and other illegal taxes on merchandize. The *country was ſo far from growing rich and wealthy*, that it was every year draining off its inhabitants and ſubſtance, as appears not only by the loſs of the foreign manufacturers, but by his majeſty's proclamations, forbidding any of his ſubjects to tranſport themſelves and their effects to New-England without his ſpecial licence. Was it poſſible that *trade could flouriſh*, when almoſt every branch of it was engroſſed, and ſold by the crown for large ſums of money, and when the property of the ſubject was ſo precarious, that the king might call for it upon any occaſion, and in caſe of refuſal ruin the proprietor by exorbitant fines and impriſonment? Did *no Engliſhman wear a mourning gown in theſe times*, when the *Seldens*,

* Lord Clarendon's Repreſentation of the Times, vol. i. p. 74, 76.

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the *Hollis's*, the *Elliots*, the *Strouds*, the *Hobarts*, the *Valentines*, the *Coritons*, and other patriots, were taken out of the parliament-houſe, and ſhut up for many years in cloſe priſons, where ſome of them periſhed? How many of the nobility and gentry were puniſhed with exorbitant fines in the ſtar-chamber? How many hundred miniſters and others were ruined in the high-commiſſion, or forced from their native country into baniſhment, contrary to law? The gaols in the ſeveral counties were never free from ſtate or church priſoners during the paſt twelve years of his majeſty's reign, and yet it ſeems *no Engliſhman wore a mourning gown through his occaſion?* Is it poſſible to believe, that *the reputation of the greatneſs and power of king* Charles I. with foreign princes, (*however harmleſs, pious, ſober, chaſte, and merciful, he might be*) was equal to that of Queen *Elizabeth* or king *Henry* VIII? What ſervice did he do by his arms or counſels for the proteſtant religion, or for the liberties or tranquility of Europe? When his majeſty's affairs were in the greateſt diſtreſs, what credit had he abroad? Or where was the foreign prince (except his own ſon-in-law) that would lend him either men or money? *If the proteſtant religion was advanced in ſpeculation by the writings of archbiſhop* Laud *and* Chillingworth; is it not ſufficiently evident that the Roman catholicks were prodigiouſly increaſed in numbers, reputation and influence? Upon the whole, the people of England were ſo far from *enjoying a full meaſure of felicity*, that they groaned under a yoke of the heavieſt oppreſſion, and were prepared to lay hold of any opportunity to aſſert their liberties; ſo that to make his lordſhip's repreſentation of the times conſiſtent with truth, or with his own behaviour in the beginning of the long parliament, one is almoſt tempted to ſuſpect it muſt have received ſome amendments or colourings from the hands of his editors. This was the ſtate of affairs at the end of the pacifick part of this reign, and forwards to the beginning of the long parliament.

CHAP. VI.

From the beginning of the Commotions in Scotland, to the Long Parliament in the Year 1640.

WE are now entering upon a ſcene of calamity which opened in the North, and in a few years, like a riſing tempeſt, overſpread both kingdoms, and involved them in all the miſeries of a civil war. If archbiſhop *Laud* could have been content with being *metropolitan of the church of England* alone, he might have gone to his grave in peace; but graſping at the juriſdiction of another church founded upon different principles, he pulled down both upon his head and was buried in the ruins.

We have mentioned the prepoſterous publiſhing the Scots book of canons a year before their liturgy, which was not finiſhed till the month of October 1636. His majeſty's reaſons for compiling it were, that "his royal father had intended it, and made a conſiderable progreſs in the work, "in order to curb ſuch of his ſubjects in Scotland as were "inclined to *puritaniſm*; that his preſent majeſty reſolved "to purſue the ſame deſign, and therefore conſented to the "publication of this book (which was in ſubſtance the ſame "with the *Engliſh liturgy*) that the Roman party might not "upbraid us with any material differences, and yet it was "ſo far diſtinct, that it might be truly reputed a book of "that church's compoſing, and eſtabliſhed by his royal authority as king of Scotland."*

The compilers of this liturgy were chiefly Dr. *Wederburne*, a Scots divine, beneficed in England, but now biſhop of Dunblain; and Dr. *Maxwell*, biſhop of Roſſe. Their inſtructions from England were, to keep ſuch catholick ſaints in their calendar as were in the Engliſh, and that ſuch *new ſaints* as were added ſhould be the moſt approved, but in no caſe to omit St. *George* and St. *Patrick*; that in the book

* Ruſhworth, vol. i. part 2d, p. 386.

of

of *orders*, thoſe words in the Engliſh book be not changed, *Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt*; and that ſundry leſſons out of the apocrypha be inſerted; beſides theſe, the word *preſbyter* was inſerted inſtead of *prieſt*; and the water in the font for baptiſm was to be conſecrated. There was a *benediction* or thankſgiving for *departed ſaints*; ſome paſſages in the communion were altered in favour of the *real preſence*; the rubricks contained inſtructions to the people, when to ſtand and when to ſit or kneel; to all which the Scots had hitherto been ſtrangers. The main parts of the liturgy were the ſame with the Engliſh, that there might be an appearance of uniformity; it was reviſed, corrected, and altered by archbiſhop *Laud* and biſhop *Wren*, as appeared by the original found in the archbiſhop's chamber in the Tower, in which the alterations were inſerted with his own hand.

The liturgy thus modelled, was ſent into Scotland, with a royal proclamation, dated December 20, 1636, commanding all his majeſty's loving ſubjects of that kingdom to receive it with reverence, *as the only form his majeſty thinks fit to be uſed in that kirk*, without ſo much as laying it before a convocation, ſynod, general-aſſembly, or parliament of that nation. It was appointed to be read firſt on Eaſter Sunday, 1637, againſt which time all pariſhes were to be provided with two books at leaſt; but the outcries of the people againſt it were ſo vehement, that it was thought adviſeable to delay it to the 23d of July, that the lords of the ſeſſion [or judges] might ſee the ſucceſs of it before the end of the term, which always ends the firſt of Auguſt, in order to report in their ſeveral counties the peaceable receiving the book at Edinburgh and parts adjacent. The archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, with ſome of his more prudent brethren, foreſeeing the diſorders that would ariſe, adviſed the deferring it yet longer; but archbiſhop *Laud* was ſo ſanguine of ſucceſs, that he procured a warrant from the king, commanding the Scots biſhops to go forward at all events, threatening that if they moved heavily, or threw in unneceſſary delays, the king would remove them, and fill their ſees with churchmen of more zeal and reſolution.*

* This," ſays Dr. *Grey*, " is not very likely, and as he [i. e. Mr. *Neal*] " produces no vouchers for what he ſays, he cannot reaſonably take it amiſs, " if

In obedience therefore to the royal command, notice having been given in all the pulpits of Edinburgh, that the Sunday following [July 23, 1637] the new ſervice-book would be read in all the churches, there was a vaſt concourſe of people at St. *Giles*'s or the *great church*, where both the archbiſhops and divers biſhops, together with the lords of the ſeſſion, the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, and many of the council, were aſſembled; but as ſoon as the *dean* began to read, the ſervice was interrupted by clapping of hands, and an hideous noiſe among the meaner ſort of people at the lower end of the church; which the biſhop of Edinburgh obſerving, ſtept into the pulpit, and endeavoured to quiet them, but the diſturbance increaſing, a ſtool was thrown towards the deſk; upon which the provoſt and bailiffs of the city came from their places, and with much difficulty thruſt out the populace, and ſhut the church doors; yet ſuch were the clamours from without, rapping at the doors, and throwing ſtones at the windows, that it was with much difficulty the dean went through with the ſervice; and when he and the biſhop came out of church in their *habits*, they were in danger of being torn in pieces by the mob, who followed them, crying out, Pull them down, *a pape*, *a pape*, antichriſt, &c.

Between the two ſermons the magiſtrates took proper meaſures for keeping the peace in the afternoon, but after evening prayer the tumult was greater than in the morning; for the earl of *Roxburgh* returning to his lodgings with the biſhop in his coach, was ſo pelted with ſtones, and preſſed upon by the multitude, that both were in danger of their lives. The clergy who read the liturgy in the other churches, met with the like uſage, inſomuch that the whole city was

" if we don't readily aſſent to it." To this it is ſufficient to reply, that the fact is ſtated by *Collier* in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 770, whoſe words Mr. *Neal* uſes. The eagerneſs of *Laud* to carry this point was ſtimulated by the earl of *Traquair*, who carried a letter to him from ſome of the lately preferred Scotch biſhops, who had an over-balance of heat and ſpirits, urging execution and diſpatch in the buſineſs. In this inſtance the archbiſhop was the dupe of the inſidious policy of the earl of *Traquair*, whoſe aim was, by puſhing things to extremity, to ruin the older Scotch biſhops; who, as he thought, ſtood in the way of his ambitious views and " might grow too big for his intereſt." Ed.

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in an uproar, though it did not yet appear that any beſides the meaner people were concerned in it;* however, the lords of the council thought proper to diſpenſe with reading the ſervice next Sunday, till their *expreſs* returned from England with further inſtructions, which *Laud* diſpatched with all expedition, telling them, *It was the king's firm reſolution that they ſhould go on with their work*; and blaming them highly for ſuſpending it.

Among the miniſters who oppoſed reading the liturgy were the reverend Mr. *Ramſay*, Mr. *Rollock*, Mr. *Henderſon*, Mr. *Hamilton*, and Mr. *Bruce*, who were charged with letters of *horning* for their diſobedience. But they ſtood by what they had done, and in their petition to the council gave the following reaſons for their conduct; "(1.) Becauſe the *ſer-* "*vice-book* had not been warranted by a general aſſembly, "which is the repreſentative body of the kirk, nor by any "act of parliament. (2.) Becauſe the liberties of the Scots "kirk, and the form of worſhip received at the reformation, "and univerſally practiſed, ſtood ſtill warranted by acts of "the general-aſſembly, and acts of parliament. (3.) Becauſe "the *kirk of Scotland* is a free and independent kirk, and "therefore her own paſtors are the proper judges what is "moſt for her benefit. (4.) Some of the ceremonies con- "tained in this book have occaſioned great diviſions in the "kirk, for as much as they are inconſiſtent with the form of "worſhip practiſed in it, and ſymbolize with the kirk of "Rome, which is *antichriſtian*. (5.) Becauſe the people, "having been otherwiſe taught, are unwilling to receive the "new book till they are better convinced." Theſe reaſons were of weight with the council, but they durſt not ſhew favour to the priſoners without allowance from England, which could not be obtained; the zealous archbiſhop ſtopping his ears againſt all gentle methods of accommodation, hoping to bear down all oppoſition with the royal authority.

While the country people were buſy at harveſt, things were pretty quiet, but when that was over they came to Edinburgh in great numbers, and raiſed new diſturbances, upon which the council iſſued out three proclamations; one for the people that came out of the country to return home;

* Ruſhworth's Collection, vol. ii. p. 388.

a ſecond,

a ſecond, for removing the ſeſſion or term from Edinburgh to Linlithgow; and a third, for calling in and burning a ſeditious pamphlet, called a *Diſcourſe againſt the Engliſh Popiſh Ceremonies, obtruded on the Kirk of Scotland*;* all dated October 17, 1637. Theſe proclamations inflamed the people to ſuch a degree, that the very next day, the biſhop of *Galloway* would have been torn in pieces by the mob, as he was going to the council-houſe, if he had not been reſcued by Mr. *Steward*; but miſſing of his lordſhip they beſet the council-houſe, and threatened to break open the door; inſomuch that the lords who were aſſembled, were obliged to ſend for ſome of the popular nobility in town to their relief; however, the people would not diſperſe, till the *council* had promiſed to join with the other lords in petitioning the king againſt the *ſervice-book*, and to reſtore the ſilenced miniſters.

Soon after this, two petitions were preſented to the lord-chancellor and council againſt the liturgy and canons; one in the name of all the men, women, children, and ſervants of Edinburgh; and the other in the name of the noblemen, barons, gentry, miniſters, and burgeſſes. Their objections againſt them were the ſame with thoſe already mentioned. The petitions were tranſmittted to the king, who, inſtead of returning a ſoft anſwer, ordered a proclamation to be publiſhed from Stirling [Feb. 19, 1637,] againſt the late diſorderly tumults, in which, after having declared his abhorrence of all *ſuperſtition* and *popery*, he expreſſed his diſpleaſure againſt the petitioners; and, to prevent any further riots, his majeſty ordered the term or ſeſſion to be removed from Linlithgow to Stirling,† twenty-four miles from Edinburgh,

* Ruſhworth, vol. i. part 2d, p. 400.

† "There is no order given in this proclamation (I will take upon me "to ſay, having peruſed it carefully) for the *removal of the ſeſſion* or term "*from* LINLITHGOW *to* STIRLING, as Mr. *Neal* affirms." Dr. *Grey*. This is true; and Mr. *Neal*'s inaccuracy here lieth in repreſenting the removal of the ſeſſion from Linlithgow to Stirling as directed by this proclamation; whereas it was the act of the council, *after* the earl of *Roxborough* arrived in Scotland with certain inſtructions from the king to the council, *who were to meet at* DALKEITH, to conſider of the diſordered affairs of the kingdom. It ſhould ſeem, that this removal was in conſequence of thoſe inſtructions; eſpecially as the proclamation expreſsly inhibited there ſort of the people to STIRLING, "where," ſays his majeſty,

"our

with a ſtrict injunction that no ſtranger ſhould reſort thither without ſpecial licenſe. His majeſty alſo forbad all aſſemblies or convocations of people to frame or ſign petitions upon pain of high treaſon,* and yet declared at the ſame time that he would not ſhut his ears againſt them, if neither the form or matter were prejudicial to his royal authority.

Upon publiſhing this proclamation ſundry noblemen, barons, miniſters, and burghers, met together, and ſigned the following proteſt: "1. That it is the undoubted right "of the ſubjects of Scotland, to have immediate recourſe "to the king by petition. 2. That archbiſhops and bi-"ſhops ought not to ſit in any judicatory in this kingdom, "civil or eccleſiaſtical, till they have purged themſelves of "thoſe crimes which are ready to be proved againſt them. "3. That no proclamation of council, *in preſence of the* "*archbiſhops or biſhops*, ſhall be prejudicial to any of our pro-"ceedings. 4. That neither we nor any that adhere to us "ſhall incur any damages for not obſerving the liturgy or "book of canons, *as long as it is not eſtabliſhed by general* "*aſſembly or act of parliament*. 5. That if any inconvenience "fall out (which God prevent) upon preſſing the late inno-"vations, we declare the ſame is not to be imputed to us. "6. That all our proceedings in this affair have no other "tendency but the preſervation of the true reformed reli-"gion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom.

The council, being apprehenſive of danger from theſe large aſſemblies and combinations of people, agreed, that if they would return peaceably to their houſes, they might appoint ſome of their number of all ranks and orders to repreſent the reſt, till his majeſty's pleaſure concerning their *proteſt* ſhould be further known.† Accordingly four TABLES, as they were called, were erected at Edinburgh; one of the nobility, *another* of the gentry, a *third* of the burroughs,

"our council ſits," without a warrant. Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 2d, p. 730. *Guthry*, as quoted by Dr. *Harris*, expreſsly ſays, that the king's proclamation ordained that the council and ſeſſions ſhould remove from Edinburgh, firſt to Lithgoe, and afterwards to Stirling.

Life &c. of Charles I. p. 282. ED.

* Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 2d, p. 731-32.

† Ibid. vol. i. part 2d, 734.

and

and a *fourth* of the miniſters. Theſe prepared and digeſted matters for the *general table*, formed of commiſſioners, from the other four, where the laſt and binding reſolutions were taken.

One of the firſt things concluded upon by the TABLES, was the *renewing their confeſſion of faith, and the* SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, ſubſcribed by king *James* and his royal houſhold, March 2, 1580-1, and by the whole Scots nation in the year 1590, with a *general band* for maintenance of true religion and the king's perſon. To this covenant was now added a narrative of ſundry acts of parliament, by which the reformed religion had been ratified ſince that time, with an admonition, wherein the late *innovations* were renounced, and a *band of defence* for adhering to each other in the preſent cauſe.*

In their covenant they declare in the moſt ſolemn manner, "That they believe with their hearts, confeſs with their "mouths, and ſubſcribe with their hands, that the *confeſſion* "*of faith* then eſtabliſhed by act of parliament is the true "chriſtian faith and religion, and the only ground of their "ſalvation.—They further declare their abhorrence of all "kinds of papiſtry in general, and then enumerate ſundry "particulars of popiſh doctrine, diſcipline, and ceremonies, "as the pope's pretended *primacy* over the chriſtian church; "*his five baſtard ſacraments*, the doctrine of *tranſubſtantia*"*tion*,——*the maſs*, *purgatory*, —— *prayers for the dead*, "*and in an unknown language*, —*juſtification by works*, — "*auricular confeſſion*, — *croſſes*, *images*, *altars*, *dedicating* "*of kirks*, *with all other rites*, *ſigns*, *and traditions*, *brought* "*into the kirk without or contrary to the word of God.* All "which they promiſe to oppoſe to the utmoſt of their "power, and to defend the ancient doctrine and diſcipline "of their kirk all the days of their lives, under the pains "contained in the law, and danger both of body and ſoul, "in the day of God's fearful judgment, proteſting, and call"ing the ſearcher of all hearts to witneſs, that their minds and "hearts do fully agree with this their confeſſion, promiſes, "oath and ſubſcriptions. They proteſt and promiſe, under "the ſame oath, hand-writing, and pains, to defend the

* Nalſon's Collection, p. 20.

"king's

" king's royal perſon and authority with their goods, bodies " and lives, in defence of Chriſt's goſpel, the liberties of " their country, the adminiſtration of juſtice, and puniſhment " of iniquity againſt all his enemies within the realm and " without; and this they do from their very hearts, as they " hope God will be their defence in the day of death, and " the coming of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. To whom with the " Father and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory " eternally."

Then follows a recital of the acts of parliament, by which the reformed religion was eſtabliſhed among them. But inſtead of the *band of defence* annexed to the covenant of 1580, they framed a new one, ſuited to the preſent time, in which, after reciting the king's coronation oath, they declare, " That as they will defend the king's royal perſon and au- " thority, they will alſo ſupport the authority of parliaments, " upon which the ſecurity of their lands, livings, rights, and " properties, depend, and without which neither any law, " nor lawful judicatory, can be eſtabliſhed. They declare " the late *innovations* brought into the *kirk* to be contrary " to the doctrine and diſcipline of it, and contrary to the *co-* " *venant* abovementioned, and therefore they will forbear " the practice of them till they are tried, and allowed in a " free aſſembly, and in parliament; and not only ſo, but they " promiſe and ſwear, by the great name of God, to reſiſt all " theſe errors and corruptions to the utmoſt of their power, " all the days of their lives. They then promiſe and ſwear " over again, to defend the king's perſon and authority in " the preſervation of the aforeſaid true religion, laws and " liberties of the kingdom, and to aſſiſt and ſtand by one " another at all adventures, without ſuffering themſelves to " be divided by any allurement or terror from this bleſſed " and loyal conjunction, and without being afraid of the " odious aſperſions of *rebellion*, or *combination*, which their " adverſaries may caſt upon them. And conclude with call- " ing the *Searcher of hearts* to witneſs to their ſincerity, as " they ſhall anſwer it to Chriſt in the day of account, and " under pain of the loſs of all honours and reſpect in this " world, and God's everlaſting wrath in the next." All this was ſworn to and ſubſcribed with great ſerioufneſs and

devotion, firſt at Edinburgh, in the month of February, 1637-8, and afterwards in the ſeveral counties and ſhires, where it was received by the common people, as a ſacred oracle, and ſubſcribed by all ſuch as were thought to have any zeal for the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of their country. The privy-counſellors, the judges, the biſhops, and the friends of arbitrary power, were the principal perſons who refuſed. The univerſities of St. Andrew and Aberdeen were ſaid to oppoſe it, and thoſe of Glaſgow did not ſubſcribe without ſome limitations.

There cannot be a more ſolemn and awful engagement to God, and each other than this! What the reaſons were that induced king *James*, and the whole Scots nation, to enter into it in the year 1580, and 1590, are not neceſſary to be determined; but certainly ſuch a combination of ſubjects, without the conſent of their ſovereign, in a well-ſettled government, is unwarrantable, eſpecially when it is confirmed with an oath, as no oath ought to be adminiſtered but by commiſſion from the chief magiſtrate. The only foundation therefore upon which this *covenant* can be vindicated is, that the Scots apprehended their legal church eſtabliſhment had been broken in pieces by the king's aſſuming the ſupremacy, by his erecting an high-commiſſion, and by his impoſing upon them a book of canons and liturgy, without conſent of parliament or general aſſembly.

The *council* ſent advice of the proceedings of the covenanters from time to time, and acquainted his majeſty, that the cauſe of all the commotions was the fear of innovations in the doctrine and diſcipline of the kirk, by introducing the liturgy, canons, and high-commiſſion; that it was therefore their humble opinion, that the reading the ſervice-book ſhould not be urged at preſent. Upon this the king ſent the marquis of *Hamilton*, his high-commiſſioner, into Scotland, with inſtructions to conſent to the ſuſpending the uſe of the ſervice-book for the preſent, but at the ſame time to diſſolve the TABLES, and to require the covenant to be delivered up within ſix weeks. His majeſty adds, "That if "there be not ſufficient ſtrength in the kingdom to oblige "the covenanters to return to their duty, he will come in "perſon from England at the head of a ſufficient power to

"force

"force them;" and in the mean time, the marquis is empowered to uſe all hoſtile acts againſt them as a rebellious people.

Upon the marquis's arrival at Holyrood-houſe, he was welcomed by great numbers of the *covenanters* of all ranks and qualities, in hopes that he would call a general aſſembly and a free parliament; but when he told them this was not in his *inſtructions*, they went home full of reſentments. The people nailed up the organ-loft in the church, and admoniſhed the *marquis* not to read the liturgy. The miniſters cautioned their hearers againſt conſenting to enſnaring propoſitions; and a letter was ſent to the marquis and council, exhorting them to ſubſcribe the covenant. His lordſhip ſent advice of theſe things to court, and moved his majeſty either to yield to the people, or haſten his royal arms. The king replied, that he would rather die than yield to their *impertinent and damnable demands*; but admitted of the marquis's flattering them to gain time,* provided he did not conſent to the calling a general aſſembly or parliament, till they had diſavowed or given up the *covenant*.† When this was known, both miniſters and people declared with one voice, that they would as ſoon renounce their *baptiſm*, as their covenant; but withal avowed their duty and allegiance to the king, and their reſolutions to ſtand by his majeſty, in defence of the true religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. The *marquis*, not being able to make any impreſſion on the *covenanters*, returned to England with an account of the melancholy ſtate of affairs in that kingdom, which ſurprized the Engliſh court, and reflected ſome diſgrace upon the archbiſhop, for as his *grace* was going to council, *Archibald*, the king's jeſter, ſaid to him, *Whea's feule now?* Does not your grace hear the news from Striveling about the liturgy?‡ His grace complaining of this uſage to the council,

* Dr. *Grey* would ſupply from the original, "by all the honeſt means "you can, without forſaking your ground." ED.

† Ruſhworth, vol. i. part 2d, p. 752, 762.

‡ On the ſtool being thrown at the dean's head, who firſt read it in the cathedral at Edinburgh, *Archy* ſaid, it was "the ſtool of repentance." He had a particular ſpleen againſt biſhop *Laud*, and the gravity of hiſtory will

Archibald Armſtrong, the king's fool, was ordered to have his coat pulled over his ears, to be diſcharged the king's ſervice, and baniſhed the court.

After ſome time *Hamilton* was ſent back with inſtructions (if neceſſity required) to revoke the liturgy, the canons, the high-commiſſion, and the five articles of Perth; and with authority to ſubſcribe the *confeſſion of faith of* 1580, *with the band thereunto annexed*, and to take orders that all his majeſty's ſubjects ſubſcribed the *ſame*.* He might alſo promiſe the calling a general aſſembly and parliament within a competent time, but was to endeavour to exclude the laity from the aſſembly. The deſign of ſubſcribing the band of the old covenant of 1580, was to ſecure the continuance of epiſcopacy, becauſe that *band* obliges them to maintain the religion at *that time profeſſed*, which the king would interpret of prelatical government, as being not then legally diſcharged by parliament, and becauſe it contained no promiſe of *mutual defence and aſſiſtance againſt all perſons whatſoever*, which might include the king himſelf. However the *covenanters* did not think fit to ſubſcribe over again, and therefore only thanked the king for diſcharging the liturgy, the canons, and high-commiſſion.

At length the marquis publiſhed a proclamation for a *general aſſembly* to meet at Glaſgow, Nov. 21, [1638.] The choice of members went every where in favour of the covenanters, the reverend Mr. *Henderſon*, one of the ſilenced miniſters, was choſen moderator, and Mr. *Johnſton*, clerk regiſter;† but the biſhops preſented a *declinator*, "Declaring the aſſembly to be unlawful, and the members of it "not qualified to repreſent the clergy of the nation, (1.) "Becauſe they were choſen before the preſbyteries had received the royal mandate to make election. (2.) Becauſe "moſt of them had not ſubſcribed the articles of religion, "nor ſworn to the king's *ſupremacy* in preſence of the biſhops, for neglect of which they were *ipſo facto* deprived.

be relieved by another ſtroke of his humour pointed at this prelate. Once, when the biſhop was preſent, he aſked leave to ſay grace, which being granted him, he ſaid, "Great praiſe be given to God, and little *Laud* to "the devil." Granger's Biog. Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 400. Ed.

* Ruſhworth, vol. i. part 2d, 767, &c. † Ibid. p. 865, 866, 867.

(3.) Becauſe

" (3.) Becauſe they had excluded the biſhops, who by the " act of aſſembly at Glaſgow, 1610, were to be perpetual " moderators. (4.) Becauſe there were *lay-elders* among " them who had no right to be there, nor had ordinarily " ſet in preſbyteries for above forty years. (5.) Becauſe " they apprehended it abſurd, as well as contrary to the " practice of the chriſtian church, that archbiſhops and " biſhops ſhould be judged by a mixt aſſembly of clergy " and laicks." Signed by the archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, the biſhops of *Glaſgow*, *Edinburgh*, *Galloway*, *Roſs*, and *Brechin*.

The force of theſe objections, how ſtrong ſoever in themſelves, was taken off by the king's owning the aſſembly, and ſitting in it by his *commiſſioner* ſeven days; though at the diſſolution he declared their proceedings to be utterly deſtructive of the name and nature of a free aſſembly.

The biſhops declinator being read, was unanimouſly rejected, and a committee appointed to draw up an anſwer. In the mean time the aſſembly was buſy in examining elections, in which the *covenanters* carried every thing before them; the *marquis*, therefore deſpairing of any good iſſue, determined, according to his inſtructions, to diſſolve them; and accordingly went to the *great church* where they ſat, and read over his majeſty's conceſſions; as, (1.) " That his " majeſty was willing to diſcharge the *ſervice-book, and the* " *book of canons*. (2.) To diſſolve the *high-commiſſion*. (3.) " That the articles of Perth ſhould not be urged. (4.) " That no oath ſhould be required of any miniſter at his en- " trance into the miniſtry, but what is required by act of " parliament. (5.) That for the future there ſhould be " *general aſſemblies* as often as the affairs of the kirk ſhall re- " quire; and that the biſhops ſhould be cenſureable by the " aſſembly, according to their merits. (6.) That the con- " feſſion of faith of 1580, ſhould be ſubſcribed by all his " majeſty's ſubjects of Scotland." Theſe, although very conſiderable abatements, did not reach the requirements of the *covenanters*, which were, the diſſolution of the order of the biſhops, and of the abovementioned grievances by a ſtatute-law. The marquis went on, and in a long ſpeech, declaimed againſt LAY-ELDERS, " an office (as he ſaid) un-

" known

" known in the church for fifteen hundred years, ſuch per-
" ſons being very unfit to judge of the high myſteries of
" *predeſtination, effectual grace, anti and poſt-lapſarian doc-*
" *trines*, or to paſs ſentence upon their ſuperiors in learn-
" ing and office." He therefore adviſed them to break up and chooſe another aſſembly of all clergymen; but his motion ſtriking at the very being and lawfulneſs of their preſent conſtitution, was unanimouſly rejected; whereupon the marquis diſſolved them, after they had ſat only ſeven days; forbidding them to continue their ſeſſions upon pain of high treaſon; and next morning the diſſolution was publiſhed by proclamation at the market-croſs.

But the aſſembly, inſtead of ſubmitting to the royal command, continued ſitting, and the very next day [Nov. 29,] publiſhed a proteſtation to juſtify their proceedings, wherein they affirm, " 1. That *ruling elders* have conſtantly ſat in
" their aſſemblies before the late times of corruption. 2.
" That his majeſty's preſence in their aſſemblies, either in
" his own perſon or by his commiſſioners, is not for voting,
" but as *princes* and *emperors* of old, in a princely manner,
" to countenance their meetings, and preſide in them for
" external order. 3. That it is clear, by the doctrine and
" diſcipline of the kirk, contained in the book of *policy*, and
" regiſtered in the book of the aſſembly, and ſubſcribed by the
" preſbyteries of this kirk, that it is unlawful in itſelf, and
" prejudicial to the privileges that Chriſt has left his church,
" for the king to diſſolve or break up the aſſembly of this
" kirk, or to ſtay their proceedings; for then it would fol-
" low, that religion and church government ſhould depend
" abſolutely upon the pleaſure of the prince. 4. That there
" is no pretence by act of aſſembly, or parliament, or any
" preceding practice, whereby the king's majeſty, or his
" commiſſioner, may lawfully diſſolve the general aſſembly
" of the church of Scotland, without their conſent. 5.
" That the aſſemblies of the kirk have continued ſitting,
" notwithſtanding any *contramand*, as is evident by all the
" *records* thereof; and in particular, by the general aſſembly
" of 1582. And, laſtly, to diſſolve the aſſembly before any
" grievances are redreſſed, is to throw back the whole na-
" tion into confuſion, and to make every man deſpair here-

" after

" after ever to ſee innovations removed, the ſubjects com-
" plaints regarded, or offenders puniſhed. For theſe rea-
" ſons they declare it lawful and neceſſary to continue the
" preſent aſſembly, till they have tried and cenſured all the
" *bye-gone evils*, and the *introductors* of them, and have pro-
" vided a ſolid courſe for continuing God's truth in this
" land with purity and liberty; they declare further, that
" the ſaid aſſembly is, and ſhall be eſteemed and obeyed
" as a moſt lawful, full and free general aſſembly of this
" kingdom, and that the acts, ſentences, cenſures and pro-
" ceedings of it, ſhall be obeyed and obſerved by all the ſub-
" jects of this kingdom."

Archbiſhop *Laud* was vexed at theſe bold and deſperate proceedings of the aſſembly, and thought of nothing but diſperſing them by arms. " I will be bold to ſay (ſays his
" grace) never were there more groſs abſurdities, nor half
" ſo many, in ſo ſhort a time committed in any publick
" meeting; and for a national aſſembly, never did the church
" of Chriſt ſee the like." " —— I am as ſorry as your
" grace [the marquis of *Hamilton*] can be, that the king's
" preparations can make no more haſte; I hope you think
" I have called upon his majeſty, and by his command upon
" ſome others, to haſten all that may be, and more than this
" I cannot do; —— I have done, and do daily call upon his
" majeſty for his preparations; he proteſts he makes all the
" haſte he can, and I believe him; but the jealouſies of
" giving the *covenanters* umbrage too ſoon have made pre-
" parations here ſo late."

The *aſſembly*, according to their reſolution, continued ſitting ſeveral weeks, till they had paſſed the following acts; an *act for diſannulling ſix late aſſemblies therein mentioned, held in the years* 1606, 1608, 1610, 1616, 1617, 1618, *with the reaſons*; an act *for abjuring and aboliſhing epiſcopacy*; an act *for condemning the five articles of Perth*; an act *for condemning the ſervice-book, book of canons, book of ordination, and the high-commiſſion*; an act *for condemning archdeacons, chapters, and preaching deacons*; an act *for reſtoring preſbyteries, provincial and national aſſemblies, to their conſtitution of miniſters and elders, and to their power and juriſdiction*

* Ruſhworth, vol. i. part 2d, p. 863-4-5.

contained

contained in the book of policy;* with many others of the like nature. They then pronounced ſentence of depoſition againſt the biſhops; eight of whom were excommunicated; four excluded from the miniſterial function, and two only allowed to officiate as paſtors or preſbyters. Upon this Dr. *Spotſwood*, biſhop of St. Andrews, and lord high-chancellor of Scotland, retired to London, where he died the next year. Moſt of his brethren the biſhops took the ſame method, only four remained in the country, three of whom renounced their epiſcopal orders, viz. *Alexander Ramſey*, biſhop of Dunkeld, *George Graham*, biſhop of Orkney, and *James Fairby*, biſhop of Argyle; but the fourth, *George Guthrey*, biſhop of Murray, kept his ground and weathered the ſtorm. At the cloſe of the ſeſſion the aſſembly drew up a letter to the king, complaining of his majeſty's commiſſioner, who had proclaimed them *traitors*, and forbid the people to pay any regard to their acts; and praying the king to look upon them ſtill as his good and faithful ſubjects. They alſo publiſhed another declaration to the good people of England, in vindication of their proceedings, which his majeſty took care to ſuppreſs, and iſſued out a proclamation againſt the ſeditious behaviour of the *covenanters*, which he commanded to be read in all the churches in England.†

It was eaſy to foreſee that theſe warm proceedings muſt iſſue in a war, eſpecially when it is remembered that his majeſty conſulted with none but the declared enemies of their kirk, viz. *Laud*, *Hamilton*, and *Wentworth*. On the 26th of January the king publiſhed his reſolution to go in perſon againſt the Scots *covenanters* at the head of an army; for this purpoſe the nobility were ſummoned to attend his majeſty, and all the wheels of the prerogative were put in motion to raiſe men and money.‖ *Dr.* Pierce, *biſhop of Bath and Wells, in his letter to his clergy, calls it* Bellum Epiſcopale, *a war for the ſupport of epiſcopacy*, that they ſhould therefore ſtir up their clergy to a liberal contribution after the rate of three ſhillings and ten-pence in the pound, according to the valuation of their livings in the king's books. The

† Ruſhworth, vol. i. part 2d, p. 873. † Ibid. p. 876.

‖ Prynne's Introd. p. 177-78, 196. Ruſhworth, vol. i. part 2, p. 791.

archbiſhop

archbiſhop alſo wrote to his commiſſary Sir *John Lamb*, for a contribution in the civil courts of *Doctors-Commons*, requiring him to ſend the names of ſuch as refuſed to himſelf at Lambeth. The queen and her friends undertook for the Roman catholicks; the courtiers and the country gentlemen were applied to, to lend money upon this occaſion, which the former readily complied with, but of the latter forty only contributed together about fourteen hundred pounds. With theſe and ſome other aſſiſtances, the king fitted out a fleet of ſixteen men of war, and raiſed a ſplendid army of twenty-one thouſand horſe and foot.

The Scots, being informed of the preparations that were making againſt them in England, ſecured the important caſtles of Edinburgh, Dumbritton, and Frith; and raiſed an army of ſuch volunteers as had the cauſe of the kirk at heart, and were determined to ſacrifice their lives in defence of it; they ſent for their old general *Leſley* from Germany, who upon this occaſion quitted the emperor's ſervice, and brought over with him ſeveral experienced officers. But their greateſt diſtreſs was the want of *fire-arms*, *ammunition*, and *money*, there not being above three thouſand arms to be found in the whole kingdom; and having no money, their ſoldiers made ſuch a ragged appearance, that when the king ſaw them, he ſaid, *They would certainly fight the Engliſh if it were only to get their fine clothes*. But the ſucceſs of this war will fall within the compaſs of the next year.

To return to England, the *ſtar-chamber* and *high-commiſſion* went on with their oppreſſions, as if they were under no apprehenſions from the ſtorm that was gathering in the north. Many miniſters were ſuſpended and ſhut up in priſon, as Mr. *Henry Wilkinſon*, B. D. of Magdalen-college, Oxford; Mr. *George Walker*, Mr. *Smith*, Mr. *Small*, Mr. *Cooper*, Mr. *Brewer*, a baptiſt preacher, who lay in priſon fourteen years; Mr. *Foxley*, of St. Martin's in the Fields, who was confined in a chamber in the Gatehouſe, not four yards ſquare, for twenty months, without pen, ink, or paper, or the acceſs of any friends, even in his extreme ſickneſs; and all this without knowing his crime or ſo much as gueſſing at it, unleſs it was for ſpeaking in favour of the *feoffees*.

* Prynne, p. 388.

Great

Great numbers of *puritans* continued to flock into New-England, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the council laſt year, inſomuch that the Maſſachuſets-Bay began to be too ſtraight for them; in the latter end of the year 1636, about one hundred families travelled further into the country, and ſettled on the banks of the river Connecticut, with the reverend Mr. *Hooker* at their head; another detachment went from Dorcheſter; a third from Water-Town; and a fourth from Roxbury; and built the towns of Hertford, Windſor, Wethersfield, and Springfield, in that colony. Next year [1637] the paſſengers from England were ſo numerous that they projected a new ſettlement on the ſouthweſt part of Connecticut river, in a large bay near the confines of New-York; the leaders of this colony were *Theophilus Eaton*, eſq; and the reverend Mr. *Davenport*, who came from England with a large retinue of acquaintance and followers; they ſpread along the coaſt, and firſt built the town of NEW-HAVEN, which gives name to the colony; and after ſome time the towns of Guilford, Milford, Stamford, Brentford, &c. Notwithſtanding theſe detachments, the Maſſachuſets-Bay had ſuch frequent recruits from England, that they were continually building new towns or enlarging their ſettlements in the neighbourhood.

Among the divines who went over this ſummer, was the reverend Mr. *Ezekiel Rogers*, M. A. ſome time chaplain in the family of Sir *Francis Barrington*, of Hatfield Broad-Oak in Eſſex, and afterwards vicar of Rowley in Yorkſhire, where he continued a ſucceſsful preacher to a numerous congregation almoſt twenty years;* the archbiſhop of that dioceſe [Dr. *Matthews*] being a moderate divine, permitted the uſe of thoſe lectures or propheſyings which queen *Elizabeth* had put down; the miniſters within certain diſtricts had their monthly exerciſes, in which one or two preached and others prayed before a numerous and attentive audience. One of the hearers that bore an ill-will to the *exerciſes*, told the archbiſhop that the miniſters prayed againſt him; but his grace, inſtead of giving credit to the informer, anſwered with a ſmile, that he could hardly believe him, becauſe *thoſe good men know* (ſays he) *that if I were gone to heaven their* EXER-

* Mather's Hiſtory of New-England, b. iii. p. 101.

CISES

CISES *would ſoon be put down*; which came to paſs accordingly, for no ſooner was his ſucceſſor [Mr. *Neile*] in his chair, but he put a period to them, and urged ſubſcription with ſo much ſeverity, that many of the clergy were ſuſpended and ſilenced; among whom was Mr. *Rogers*, who, having no further proſpect of uſefulneſs in his own country, embarked with ſeveral of his Yorkſhire friends for New-England, where he arrived in the ſummer of the year 1638, and ſettled at a place which he called Rowley. Here he ſpent the remainder of his days, amidſt a variety of afflictions and ſorrows till the year 1660, when he died in the ſeventieth year of his age.

Mr. *Samuel Newman*, author of that concordance of the bible that bears his name; he was born at Banbury, educated at Oxford, and having finiſhed his ſtudies, entered into holy orders, and became miniſter of a ſmall living in that county; but the ſevere proſecutions of the ſpiritual courts, obliged him to no leſs than ſeven removals, till at length he reſolved to get out of their reach and remove with his friends to New-England, where he arrived this ſummer, and ſettled at Rehoboth in the colony of New-Plymouth, where he ſpent the remainder of his days to the year 1663, when he died in the 63d year of his age. He was a hard ſtudent, a lively preacher, and of an heavenly converſation.

Mr. *Charles Chauncey*,† B. D. educated in Cambridge, and Greek lecturer of his own college in that univerſity. He

* Mather's Hiſt. p. 113.

† He received his grammar education at Weſtminſter-ſchool; and was at ſchool at the time the gunpowder plot was to have taken effect; and muſt have periſhed, if it had ſucceeded. He was an accurate Hebrecian and Grecian, and admirably ſkilled in all the learned languages. Latin and Greek verſes of his appeared in the collections of poetical compliments of condolence or congratulation, offered by the univerſity on different occaſions to the courts of *James* I. and *Charles* I. He was at Boſton in order to take paſſage for England, in conſequence of an invitation to ſettle again with his old people at Ware; when the importunities of the overſeers of Harward prevailed with him to accept the preſidentſhip of that ſeminary, in which place he continued highly honoured for his learning and piety. A grandſon of his ſon *Iſaac*, alſo named *Charles*, miniſter of the firſt church in Boſton, died 10th of February 1787, in the 83d year of his age; having been an ornament to his profeſſion, diſtinguiſhed by his extenſive benevolence and invincible integrity, a warm and virtuous patriot; for nearly ſixty

was afterwards ſettled at Ware, and was an admired and uſeful preacher, till he was driven from thence, as has been related. When the *book of ſports* was publiſhed, and the drums beat about the town to ſummon the people to their *dances* and *revels* on the Lord's-day evening, he preached againſt it, for which he was ſuſpended, and ſoon after totally ſilenced.* Few ſuffered more for non-conformity (ſays my author,) by fines, by impriſonment, and by neceſſities, than Mr. *Chauncey*; at length he determined to remove to New-England, where he arrived in the year 1638, and became preſident of Harward-college in Cambridge. Here he continued a moſt learned, laborious, and uſeful governor, till the year 1671, when he died in the eighty-ſecond year of his age; he left behind him ſix ſons, the eldeſt of which was Dr. *Iſaac Chauncey*, well known heretofore among the non-conformiſt miniſters of London.

I paſs over the lives of many other divines and ſubſtantial gentlemen, who deſerted their native country for the peace of their conſciences; but it deſerves a particular notice that there were eight ſail of ſhips at once this ſpring in the river of Thames bound for New-England, and filled with puritan families, among whom (if we may believe Dr. *George Bates* and Mr. *Dugdale*, two famous royaliſts) were OLIVER CROMWELL, afterwards protector of the commonwealth of England, JOHN HAMPDEN, eſq; and Mr. ARTHUR HASELRIGGE, who, ſeeing no end of the oppreſſions of their native country, determined to ſpend the remainder of their days in America; but the council, being informed of their deſign, iſſued out an order dated May 1, 1638, *to make ſtay of thoſe ſhips, and to put on ſhore all the proviſions intended for the voyage.* And to prevent the like for the future, his majeſty prohibited all maſters and owners of ſhips, to ſet forth any

ſixty years the able, faithful inſtructor and friend of his flock, and the author of many works, which remain monuments of his abilities, application, and excellent temper. The moſt valuable and laboured were, "The Sal-"vation of all Men," a treatiſe; "Five Diſſertations on the Fall and its "Conſequences;" and a tract on the "Benevolence of the Deity;" all publiſhed in London. See Dr. Grey, and Clarke's Funeral Sermon for Dr. Charles Chauncey, 1787. ED.

* Mather's Hiſtory of New-England, p. 134.

ſhips

ſhips for New-England with paſſengers, without ſpecial licence from the privy-council; and gives this remarkable reaſon for it, "Becauſe the people of New-England were "factious and unworthy of any ſupport from hence, in re-"gard of the great diſorders and want of government among "them, whereby many that have been well affected to the "church of England have been prejudiced in their eſtates "by them."*

When the puritans might not tranſport themſelves to New-England, they removed with their families into the Low Countries; among the divines who went thither about this time, were Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, educated in Cambridge, and a great admirer of Dr. *Preſton*. In the year 1628, he was choſen to preach the lecture in Trinity-church, and held it till the year 1634, when he left the univerſity and all his preferments, through diſſatisfaction with the terms of conformity: Having lived in retirement till this time, he withdrew with ſome ſelect friends to Holland, and ſettled at Arnheim in Gelderland, where he continued till the beginning of the long parliament.

Philip Nye, M. A. educated in Magdalen-hall, Oxon, and a popular preacher at St. Bartholomew, Exchange, London.

Mr. *Jeremiah Burroughs*, a moſt candid and moderate divine, educated in Cambridge, and afterwards a famous preacher to two of the largeſt congregations about London, viz. Stepney and Cripplegate.

Mr. *William Bridge*, M. A. and fellow of Emanuel-college, Cambridge; he was firſt miniſter in Eſſex, and afterwards ſettled in the city of Norwich, in the pariſh of St. George Tombland; where he continued till he was ſilenced for nonconformity by biſhop *Wren*, in the year 1637, and excommunicated.

Mr. *Sydrach Sympſon*, educated in Cambridge, and afterwards a celebrated preacher in London. Theſe were afterwards the five pillars of the *independent* or *congregational party*, and were diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *diſſenting brethren* in the aſſembly of divines.

Several gentlemen and merchants of figure diſpoſed of their effects, and went after them into exile, as Sir *Matth. Poynton*,

* Ruſhworth, vol. i. part 2d, p. 409.

Poynton, Sir *William Conſtable*, Sir *Richard Saltington*, Mr. *Lawrence*, afterwards lord preſident of the council, Mr. *Andrews*, afterwards lord-mayor of London, Mr. *Aſke*, ſince a judge, Mr. *Bouchier*, Mr. *James*, Mr. *White*, and others. The ſtates received them with great humanity, granting them the uſe of their churches at different hours of the day, with the liberty of ringing a bell for public worſhip, though they did not approve of the Dutch diſcipline, or join in communion with their churches.

Great was the damage the nation ſuſtained by theſe removals; *Heylin* obſerves,* "The ſevere preſſing of the ceremonies made the people in many trading towns tremble at a viſitation, but when they found their ſtriving in vain, and that they had loſt the comfort of the lecturers, who were turned out for not reading the ſecond ſervice at the communion-table in their hoods and ſurplices, and for uſing other prayers beſides that of the fifty-fifth canon, it was no hard matter for thoſe miniſters to perſuade them to tranſport themſelves into foreign parts; *The ſun* (ſaid they) *ſhines as comfortably in other places, and the Sun of Righteouſneſs much brighter; it is better to go and dwell in Goſhen, find it where we can, than tarry in the midſt of ſuch Egyptian bondage as is among us; the ſinful corruptions of the church are now grown ſo general, that there is no place free from the contagion; therefore, go out of her my people, and be not partakers of her ſins.*" And hereunto they were encouraged by the Dutch, *who choſe rather to carry their manufactures home, than be obliged to reſort to their pariſh churches, as by the archbiſhop's injunctions they were obliged.*

The eyes of all England were now towards the North, whither the king went March 27th, to put himſelf at the head of his army raiſed againſt the Scots; the earls of *Arundel*, *Eſſex*, and *Holland*, being the chief commanding officers under his majeſty. The Scots, under the command of general *Leſlie*, received them upon the borders; but when the two armies had faced each other for ſome time, the king, perceiving that his proteſtant nobility and ſoldiers were not hearty in his cauſe, gave way to a treaty at the petition of

* Life of Laud, p. 367.

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the Scots, which ended in a pacification June 17th, by which all points of difference were referred to a general aſſembly to be held at Edinburgh, Auguſt 12, and to a parliament which was to meet about a fortnight after. In the mean time both armies were to be diſbanded,* the TABLES to be broke up, and no meetings held except ſuch as are warranted by act of parliament. Accordingly the king diſmiſſed his army, but with very diſobliging circumſtances, not giving the nobility and gentry ſo much as thanks for their affection, loyalty, and perſonal attendance, which they reſented ſo highly, that few or none of them appeared upon the next ſummons; the Scots delivered back the king's forts and caſtles into his majeſty's hands, and diſbanded the ſoldiery, wiſely keeping their officers in pay till they ſaw the effect of the pacification.†

The general aſſembly met at Edinburgh according to the treaty, but being of the ſame conſtitution with the laſt, the biſhops preſented another declinator to his majeſty's commiſſioner [the earl of *Traquair*] and were excuſed giving their attendance by expreſs letter from the king, his majeſty in his inſtructions to his commiſſioner having yielded them the point of lay-elders. The *aſſembly*, therefore without any oppoſition, confirmed the proceedings of that at Glaſgow, which was of very dubious authority. They appointed the covenant to be taken throughout the kingdom, and explained the bond of mutual defence to a conſiſtency with

* Dr. *Grey* quotes lord *Clarendon*, as ſtating "that the king's army, by "the very words of the agreement, *was not to be diſbanded*, until all ſhould "be executed on the part of the Scots." But not to ſay, that the accounts of this treaty in the memoirs of the marquis of *Hamilton*, p. 142, and in *Guthry*, as quoted by Dr. *Harris*, p. 288, mention no ſuch limitation. Lord *Clarendon* himſelf undermines his own authority on this matter, by telling his reader, that "no two who were preſent at the treaty agreed in the ſame "relation of what was ſaid or done; and which was worſe, not in the ſame "interpretation of the meaning of what was comprehended in writing."
Clarendon's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 123. ED.

† Mrs. *Macaulay*, in her detail of this treaty, mentions as a memorable circumſtance, unnoticed by hiſtorians, and very expreſſive of the pacific diſpoſitions of the Scots; that they told the king, that if he would give them leave to enjoy their religion and their laws, they would, at their own expence, tranſport their army to aſſiſt the recovery of the Palatinate.
Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 283, note, 8vo. edit. ED.

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their late conduct. They voted away the new ſervice-book, the book of canons, the five articles of Perth, the high-commiſſion, and with one conſent determined, that *dioceſan epiſcopacy was unlawful, and not to be allowed in their kirk.** Which the earl of *Traquair* did not apprehend inconſiſtent with his private inſtructions from the king, which were theſe: "We allow epiſcopacy to be aboliſhed for the reaſons contained in the articles, and that the covenant of 1580, for ſatisfaction of our people, be ſubſcribed.--Again, if they require epiſcopacy to be abjured, as contrary to the conſtitution of the church of Scotland, you are to give way to it, but not as a point of popery, or as contrary to God's law, or the proteſtant religion.—Again, in giving way to the aboliſhing epiſcopacy, be careful that it be done without the appearing of any warrant from the biſhops in prejudice of epiſcopacy as unlawful; but only in ſatisfaction to the people for ſettling the preſent diſorders, and ſuch other reaſons of ſtate; but herein you muſt be careful that our intentions appear not to any." It is evident from hence, that his majeſty's uſage of the Scots was neither frank nor ſincere; he had no deſign to aboliſh epiſcopacy, only conſented to ſuſpend it, becauſe he was told that the biſhops being one of the three eſtates of parliament, no law made in their abſence could be of force, much leſs an act for aboliſhing their whole order, after they had entered their proteſt in form. When his majeſty gave way to the ſubſcribing the covenant, it was with another reſerve, "as far *as may ſtand with our future intentions well known to you.* For though we have diſcharged the ſervice-book and canons, we will never conſent that they be condemned as popiſh and ſuperſtitious,†—nor will we acknowledge that the high-commiſſion was without law, nor that the five articles of Perth be condemned as contrary to the confeſſion of faith; it is enough that they be laid aſide." His majeſty's inſtructions conclude, "That if any thing be yielded in the preſent aſſembly prejudicial to his majeſty's ſervice, his commiſſioner ſhall proteſt, that his majeſty may be heard for redreſs thereof in his own time and place."

* Nalſon's Collection, p. 246, 247. † Ib. p. 254, 255.

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The Scots parliament met Aug. 31, [1639,] and having firſt ſubſcribed the ſolemn league and covenant with the king's conſent, they confirmed all the acts of the general aſſembly, concluding with the *utter extirpation of epiſcopacy as unlawful*.* But the king having by letter to his commiſſioner forbid him to conſent to the word *unlawful*, leſt it ſhould be interpreted *abſolutely*, though it ſeems to have a reference only to the kirk of Scotland, his lordſhip prorogued the parliament, firſt for fourteen days, and then by the king's expreſs command,† for nine months, without ratifying any of their acts. The earl of *Dumferlin* and lord *Loudon* were diſpatched to London, to beſeech his majeſty to conſent to their ratification; but they were ſent back with a reprimand for their miſbehaviour, being hardly admitted into the king's preſence. It ſeems too apparent, that his majeſty meant little or nothing by his conceſſions but to gain time; for in his declaration before the next war, about ſix months forward, he ſays, "Concerning our promiſe of a "free parliament, no man can imagine we intended it ſhould "be ſo free as not to be limited by the enjoyment of their "religion and liberties, according to the eccleſiaſtical and "civil laws of that kingdom; but if they paſs theſe bounds, "we are diſobliged, and they left at liberty to fly at our "monarchical government without controul, to wreſt the "ſceptre out of our hands, and to rob the crown of the "faireſt flower belonging to it."‡ The king, therefore, did not really intend the alteration of any of the civil or eccleſiaſtical laws of that kingdom, and by his majeſty's not ratifying any of their acts, it was evident, that the Engliſh court had reſumed their courage, and were determined once more to try the fortune of war.

In the mean time, to balance the declaration of the Scots aſſembly, biſhop *Hall*, at the requeſt of *Laud*, compoſed a treatiſe of the DIVINE RIGHT OF EPISCOPACY, which the archbiſhop reviſed. The propoſitions which he advances

* Nalſon's Collection, p. 256.

† The term of prorogation, as Dr. *Grey* points it out, is expreſſed in *Nalſon* thus: *till the next ſpring*. ED.

‡ Nalſon's Collection, p. 273.

are theſe: (1.) *That form of government* which is of apoſtolical inſtitution ought to be eſteemed of *divine right*. (2.) *That form* which was practiſed and recommended by the apoſtles, though not expreſsly commanded, is of *apoſtolical inſtitution*. (3.) The government ſet up by the apoſtles was deſigned for perpetuity. (4.) The univerſal practice of the primitive church is the beſt rule to judge of the apoſtolical practice. (5.) We ought not to ſuppoſe the primitive fathers would change the form of government they had received from the apoſtles. (6.) The acceſſion of privilege and honourable titles does not affect the ſubſtance of the epiſcopal function. (7.) The preſbyterian government, though challenging the glorious title of *Chriſt's kingdom and ordinance*, has no foundation in ſcripture, or in the practice of the church for fifteen hundred years, and is altogether incongruous and unjuſtifiable.

The biſhop's book was altered in many places, contrary to his own inclinations, by the archbiſhop, and particularly in thoſe wherein he had called *the pope antichriſt, or ſpoke too favourably of the morality of the ſabbath*; and ſaid, *that preſbytery was of uſe, where epiſcopacy could not be obtained*. His *grace* diſapproved of his lordſhip's waving the queſtion, *Whether epiſcopacy was a diſtinct order*, or only an *higher degree* of the *ſame order? and of his advancing the divine right of epiſcopacy no higher than the apoſtles, whereas he would have it derived from Chriſt himſelf*. Upon the whole, his lordſhip's book was ſo modelled by his metropolitan, that in the debate hereafter mentioned, he could hardly go the lengths of his own performance.

The biſhops ſtill kept a ſtrict hand over the puritans; not a ſermon was to be heard on the diſtinguiſhing points of *Calviniſm* all over England. In ſome dioceſes great complaints were made of puritan juſtices of peace, for being too ſtrict in putting the laws in execution againſt profaneneſs. At Aſhford in Kent the archbiſhop ſaid, he muſt have recourſe to the *ſtatute of abjuration*, and call in the aſſiſtance of the temporal courts to reduce the ſeparatiſts, the cenſures of the church not being ſufficient. Upon the whole, there was no abatement of the height of conformity, even to the end of this year, though the flames that were

were kindling in Scotland began to diſturb the tranquillity of the church.

Mr. *Bagſhaw*, a lawyer of ſome ſtanding in the Middle Temple, being choſen reader in that houſe for the Lent vacation, began to attack the power of the biſhops. In his lectures on the 25th *Edw.* III. *cap.* 7, he maintained that acts of parliament were valid without the aſſent of the *lords ſpiritual*. 2. That no beneficed clerk was capable of temporal juriſdiction at the making that law. And, 3. That no biſhop, without calling a ſynod, had power as a dioceſan to convict an heretick. *Laud*, being informed of theſe poſitions, told the king that *Bagſhaw* had juſtified the Scots covenanters in decrying the temporal juriſdiction of churchmen, and the undoubted right of the biſhops to their ſeats in parliament; upon which he was immediately interdicted all further reading on thoſe points; and though *Bagſhaw* humbly petitioned the lord-keeper and the archbiſhop for liberty to proceed, he could get no other anſwer, after long attendance, than that *it had been better for him not to have meddled with that argument, which ſhould ſtick cloſer to him than he was aware of.* Whereupon he retired into the country.

The reſolution of the Engliſh court to renew the war with Scotland, was owing to the lord-deputy *Wentworth*, whom archbiſhop *Laud* had ſent for from Ireland for this purpoſe. This nobleman, from being an eminent patriot, was become a petty tyrant, and had governed Ireland in a moſt arbitrary and ſovereign manner for about ſeven years, diſcountenancing the proteſtants, becauſe they were *Calviniſts*, and inclined to *puritaniſm*, and giving all imaginable encouragement to the Roman catholicks as friends to the prerogative, whereby he ſuffered the balance of power in that kingdom to fall into the hands of the papiſts. *Wentworth*, being come to court, was immediately created earl of *Strafford* and knight of the garter, and in concert with *Laud* adviſed the king to ſet aſide the *pacification*, and to puſh the Scots war with vigour, offering his majeſty eight thouſand Iriſh, and a large ſum of money for his aſſiſtance; but this not being ſufficient, the war was thought ſo reaſonable and

* Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 407.

neceſſary to the king's honour, that it might be ventured with an Engliſh parliament, which being laid before the council, was cheerfully agreed to, and (after twelve years interval) a parliament was ſummoned to meet April 13, 1640.

The Scots, foreſeeing the impending ſtorm, conſulted where to fly for ſuccour; ſome were for throwing themſelves into the hands of the French, and accordingly wrote a very ſubmiſſive letter to that monarch, ſigned by the hands of ſeven Scots peers, but never ſent it; for upon application to their friends at London, they were aſſured by a letter drawn up by lord *Saville*, and ſigned by himſelf, with the names of *Bedford*, *Eſſex*, *Brook*, *Warwick*, *Say* and *Seal*, and *Mandeville*, (who agreed to the letter, though they were ſo cautious as not to write their own names) "that the hearts of "the people of England were with them; that they were "convinced, the liberties of both nations were at ſtake, and "therefore they might depend upon their aſſiſtance as ſoon "as a fair opportunity offered." Upon this encouragement the Scots laid aſide their deſign of applying to France, and reſolved to raiſe another army from among themſelves, and march into England.

"The parliament that met at Weſtminſter (ſays the noble "hiſtorian*) was made up of ſober and diſpaſſionate men, "exceedingly diſpoſed to do the king ſervice," and yet his majeſty would not condeſcend to ſpeak to them from the throne,† ordering the lord-keeper *Finch* to acquaint them with the undutiful behaviour of the Scots, who he was de-

* Hiſt. vol. i. p. 139.

† Lord *Clarendon* ſays; "After the king had ſhortly mentioned his de- "ſire to be again acquainted with parliaments after ſo long an intermiſſion, "&c." he referred the cauſe to be enlarged on by the ſpeaker. "It is "plain from hence," Dr. *Grey* adds, "that *his majeſty* DID *condeſcend to* "*ſpeak to them from the throne.*" This is obſerved to impeach Mr. *Neal*'s veracity. But, when the reader has lain before him the ſhort ſpeech delivered from the throne, he will judge, whether Mr. *Neal* ſtands charged with more than an inaccuracy. It is given us by *Nalſon*, vol. i. p. 306.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"There never was a king that had a more great and weighty "cauſe to call his people together than myſelf; I will not trouble you with "the particulars; I have informed my lord-keeper and command him to "ſpeak, and to deſire your attention." This was not properly a ſpeech "from the throne, but, as Mrs. *Macaulay* calls it, "a ſhort preface" to the lord-keeper's ſpeech. ED.

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termined to reduce, and therefore would not admit of the mediation of the two houſes, but expected their immediate aſſiſtance, after which he would give them time to conſider of any juſt grievances to be redreſſed. But the commons, inſtead of beginning with the ſupply, appointed committees for *religion* and *grievances*, which diſobliged the king to much, that, after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to perſuade them to begin with the *ſubſidy bill*, he diſſolved them in anger, without paſſing a ſingle act, after they had ſat about three weeks. The blame of this haſty diſſolution was by ſome caſt upon *Laud*, by others on Sir *Harry Vane*, while the king laid it on the miſbehaviour of the houſe of commons, who would not take his *royal word* for redreſs of grievances, after they had voted the neceſſary ſupplies; he therefore ſent for the leading members of the houſe into cuſtody, and committed them priſoners to the Fleet and other priſons.

His majeſty having failed of a parliamentary ſupply at the time he demanded it, was told by lord *Strafford* and others of the council, that he *was now abſolved from all rules of government, and might take what his neceſſities required, and his* POWER *could obtain.* This indeed was no more than his majeſty had been doing for twelve years before; but ſome people drew an unhappy concluſion from this maxim, (viz.) *that if the king was abſolved from all rules of government, the people were abſolved from all rules of obedience.*

However, all the engines of arbitrary power were ſet at work to raiſe money for the war, as *loans*, *benevolences*, *ſhip-money*, *coat and conduct money*, *knighthood*, *monopolies*, and other ſprings of the prerogative, ſome of which (ſays lord *Clarendon*) were ridiculous, and others ſcandalous, but all very grievous to the ſubject. Thoſe who refuſed payment, were fined and impriſoned by the ſtar-chamber or council-table, among whom were ſome of the aldermen of London, and ſheriffs of ſeveral of the counties. The courtiers advanced three hundred thouſand pounds in three weeks, the clergy in convocation gave ſix ſubſidies, the papiſts were very generous; *Strafford* went over to Ireland, and obtained four ſubſidies of the parliament of that kingdom; ſoldiers were preſſed into the ſervice in all counties, few liſting themſelves voluntarily except papiſts, many of whom had commiſſions in the

the army, which gave riſe to a common ſaying among the people, that *the queen's army of papiſts were going to eſtabliſh the proteſtant religion in Scotland.*

The people groaned under theſe oppreſſions, the odium whereof fell upon *Laud* and *Strafford*, who were libelled and threatened with the fury of the populace. May 9, 1640, a paper was fixed upon the old Exchange, animating the apprentices to pull the archbiſhop out of his palace at Lambeth; upon this the train'd bands were ordered into St. George's fields; nevertheleſs, the mob roſe and broke his windows, for which one of them being apprehended ſuffered death as a traitor, though he could not be guilty of more than a breach of the peace. From Lambeth the mob went to the houſe of the pope's agent, where they were diſperſed by the king's guards, and ſome of them ſent to the White-Lion priſon; but next week [May 15,] they roſe again, and reſcued their friends. The country was in the ſame mutinous poſture, there being frequent ſkirmiſhes between them and the new-raiſed ſoldiers, even to bloodſhed. The city *train bands* were in arms all the ſummer, but the campaign proving unſucceſsful, there was no keeping the people within bounds afterwards; for while the high-commiſſion was ſitting at St. Paul's, October 22, near two thouſand *Browniſts* (as the archbiſhop calls them) raiſed a diſturbance, and broke up the court, crying out, *no biſhops, no high-commiſſion.* Such were the diſtempers of the times!

The convocation that ſat with this parliament was opened April 14, with more ſplendour and magnificence than the ſituation of affairs required. The ſermon was preached by Dr. *Turner*, canon reſidentiary of St. Paul's, from St. *Matth.* xvi. 16. *Behold, I ſend you forth as ſheep among wolves.* After which they adjourned to the Chapter-houſe, where the king's writ of ſummons being read, the archbiſhop, in a Latin ſpeech, recommended to the lower houſe the chooſing a prolocutor, to be preſented to himſelf or his commiſſary in the chapel of *Henry* VII. on Friday following, to which time and place the convocation was adjourned.

On the 17th of April after divine ſervice, Dr. STEWARD dean of Chicheſter, and clerk of the cloſet, was preſented to the archbiſhop as *prolocutor* in the chapel of *Henry* VII. whom

whom his *grace* approved, and then produced his majeſty's commiſſion under the great ſeal, authorizing them *to make and ordain certain canons and conſtitutions, for the eſtabliſhing true religion, and the profit of the ſtate of the church of England.** The commiſſion was to remain in force during the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, and no longer; and by a remarkable clauſe, *nothing was to be concluded without the archbiſhop's being a party in the conſultation.* It was intended alſo to draw up an Engliſh *pontifical*, which was to contain, The form and manner of royal coronations.—A form *for conſecrating churches, church-yards, and chapels.*—A form *for reconciling penitents and apoſtates.*—*A book of articles to be uſed by all biſhops at their viſitation.*—And *a ſhort form of prayer for before ſermon*, comprehending the ſubſtance of the fifty-fifth canon. But moſt of theſe projects were interrupted by the ſudden diſſolution of the parliament.

The convocation, according to ancient cuſtom, ſhould have broke up at the ſame time, but one of the lower houſe having acquainted the archbiſhop with a precedent in the 27th year of queen *Elizabeth*, of the clergy's granting a ſubſidy or benevolence, of two ſhillings in the pound, to be raiſed upon all the clergy, after the parliament was riſen, and levying it by their own *ſynodical act* only, under the penalty of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, it was concluded from thence that the convocation might ſit independent of the parliament, and therefore, inſtead of diſſolving, they only adjourned for a few days to take further advice.

The zealous archbiſhop, relying upon this ſingle precedent, applied to the king for a commiſſion to continue the convocation during his majeſty's pleaſure, in order to finiſh the canons and conſtitutions, and to grant the ſubſidies already voted. The caſe being referred to the judges, the majority gave it as their opinion, *that the convocation, being called by the king's writ under the great ſeal, doth continue till it be diſſolved by writ or commiſſion under the great ſeal, notwithſtanding the parliament be diſſolved.*

Signed May 14, 1640, by *John Finch*, Cuſtos, *M. S.*

H. Mancheſter,	*Ralph Whitfield*,	*Edw. Littleton*,
John Bramſton,	*Rob. Heath*,	*John Banks.*

* Collyer's Eccleſ. Hiſt. p. 793. Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 423.

† Fuller's Appeal, p. 67, 69.

Upon this a commiſſion under the great ſeal was granted, and the convocation re-aſſembled; however, notwithſtanding the opinion of theſe gentlemen of the long robe, Dr. *Hacket*, *Brownrigge*, *Holdiſworth*, and others, to the number of thirty-ſix, proteſted earneſtly againſt it, though in regard the ſeſſion was warranted by ſo many conſiderable perſons, they did not withdraw, nor enter their proteſt in form of law, as they ought to have done.* They were further ſo influenced by his majeſty's meſſage ſent by Sir *H. Vane*, ſecretary of ſtate, to acquaint them, "that it was his royal pleaſure, that "none of the prelates or clergy ſhould withdraw from the "ſynod or convocation, till the affairs they had in command "from the king were perfected and finiſhed."

Upon this dubious foundation the convocation was continued, and a committee of twenty-ſix appointed to prepare matters for the debate of the houſe; but the mob being ſo inflamed as to threaten to pull down the convocation-houſe, the king appointed them a guard of the militia of Middleſex, commanded by *Endymion Porter*, groom of the bed-chamber, a *papiſt*, under whoſe protection the *ſynod* was continued till the *canons* were perfected, and ſix ſubſidies granted by way of ſupply for the exigence of his majeſty's affairs, to be collected in ſix years, after the rate of four ſhillings in the pound, amounting to about one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds; after which it was diſſolved [May 29,] by a ſpecial *mandate* or *writ* from his majeſty, after it had continued twenty-five ſeſſions. The canons, having been approved by the privy council, were ſubſcribed by as many of both houſes of convocation as were preſent, and then tranſmitted to the provincial ſynod of York, by whom they were ſubſcribed at once, without ſo much as debating either matter or form. Dr. *John Williams*, biſhop of Lincoln, was in the tower, and had no concern with the canons. Dr. *Goodman*, biſhop of Glouceſter, a concealed papiſt, was the only prelate who declined the ſubſcription; till the archbiſhop threatened him with deprivation, and the reſt of his brethren preſſing him to comply, he was perſuaded to put his name to the book; but ſeveral of the members of the lower houſe avoided the *teſt*, by withdrawing before the day

* Fuller's Church Hiſtory, b. ix. p. 168.

of

of ſubſcription; for of above one hundred and ſixty, of which both houſes of convocation conſiſted, there were not many more than one hundred names to the book.

The unreaſonableneſs of continuing the ſynod after the diſſolution of parliament appears from hence, that the convocation conſiſting of biſhops, deans, archdeacons, and clerks, the three former act in their perſonal capacities only, and may give for themſelves what ſubſidies they pleaſe; but the clerks being choſen for their reſpective cathedrals and dioceſes, legally to ſit as long as the parliament continues, deſiſt from being *publick perſons* as ſoon as it is diſſolved, and loſe the character of *repreſentatives*; they are then no more than *private clergymen*, who, though they may give the king what ſums of money they pleaſe for themſelves, cannot vote away the eſtates of their brethren, unleſs they are re-elected. Beſides, it was contrary to all *law* and *cuſtom*, both before and ſince the act of *ſubmiſſion of the clergy* to king *Henry* VIII. except in the ſingle inſtance of queen *Elizabeth*.

The canons of this ſynod, conſiſting of ſeventeen articles, were publiſhed june 30, and entitled, *Conſtitutions and canons eccleſiaſtical, treated upon by the archbiſhops of* Canterbury *and* York, *preſidents of the convocation for their reſpective provinces, and the reſt of the biſhops and clergy of thoſe provinces, and agreed upon with the king's majeſty's licence, intheir ſeveral ſynods begun at London and York*, 1640.*

CANON I. *Concerning the Regal Power.*

"We ordain and decree, that every parſon, vicar, curate, "or preacher, upon one Sunday in every quarter of the "year, in the place where he ſerves, ſhall read the follow-"ing explanation of the regal power:—

"That the moſt high and ſacred order of kings is of DI-"VINE RIGHT, being the ordinance of God himſelf, founded "in the prime laws of nature and revelation, by which the "ſupreme power over all perſons civil and eccleſiaſtical is "given to them.

"That they have the care of God's church, and the "power of calling and diſſolving councils, both national and "provincial.

* Nalſon's Collection, p. 545.

"That

"That for any perſons to ſet up in the king's realms any "independent, coercive power, either papal or popular, is "treaſonable againſt God and the king. And for ſubjects to "bear arms againſt their king, either offenſive or defenſive, "upon any pretence whatſoever, is at leaſt to reſiſt the "powers ordained of God; and though they do not in- "vade, but only reſiſt, St. *Paul* ſays, *They ſhall receive* "*damnation.*

"And though tribute and cuſtom, aid and ſubſidy, be due "to the king, by the law of God, nature and nations, yet "ſubjects have a right and property in their goods and "eſtates; and theſe two are ſo far from croſſing one an- "other, that they mutually go together for the honourable "and comfortable ſupport of both.

"If any clergyman ſhall voluntarily and careleſsly neglect "to publiſh theſe explications, he ſhall be ſuſpended; or if "in any ſermon, or publick lecture, he ſhall maintain any "poſition contrary hereunto, he ſhall be forthwith excom- "municated and ſuſpended for two years; and if he offend a "ſecond time he ſhall be deprived."

CANON II. *For the better obſerving the Day of his Majeſty's Inauguration.*

"The ſynod decrees and ordains, that all perſons ſhall "come to church the morning of the ſaid day, and contiuue "there till prayers and preaching are ended, upon pain of "ſuch puniſhment as the law inflicts on thoſe who wilfully "abſent themſelves from church on holy days."

CANON III. *For ſuppreſſing the Growth of Popery.*

"All eccleſiaſtical perſons within their ſeveral pariſhes or "juriſdictions, ſhall confer privately with popiſh recuſants, "but if private conference prevail not, the church muſt "and ſhall come to her cenſures, and to make way for "them, ſuch perſons ſhall be preſented at the next viſita- "tion, who come not to church, and refuſe to receive the "holy euchariſt; or who either ſay or hear maſs; and if "they remain obſtinate after citation, they ſhall be excom- "municated.

"But

"But if neither conference nor cenſures prevail, the "church ſhall then complain of them to the civil power; "and this ſacred ſynod does earneſtly intreat the reverend "juſtices of aſſize, to be careful in executing the laws, as "they will anſwer it to God. And every biſhop ſhall once "a year ſend into the court of chancery, a *ſignificavit* of the "names of thoſe who have ſtood excommunicated beyond "the time limited by law, and ſhall deſire, that a writ *de ex-* "*communicato capiendo* may be at once ſent out againſt "them all.

"Care is likewiſe to be taken, that no perſon be admitted "to teach ſchool, but who has ſubſcribed to the church as "the law directs; and that no excommunicate perſon be ab- "ſolved by any appeal, unleſs he firſt take the oath *de pa-* "*rendo juri & ſtando mandatis eccleſiæ.*"

CANON IV. *Againſt Socinianiſm.*

"It is decreed, that no perſons ſhall import, print, or diſ- "perſe any of their books, on pain of excommunication, and "of being further puniſhed in the ſtar-chamber. No mi- "niſter ſhall preach any ſuch doctrines in his ſermons, nor "ſtudent have any ſuch books in his ſtudy, except he be a "graduate in divinity;* and if any layman embrace their "opinions, he ſhall be excommunicated, and not abſolved "without repentance and abjuration."

[*N. B.* None of the doctrines of *Socinus*, nor any of his peculiar ſentiments, are mentioned in this canon.]

CANON V. *Againſt Sectaries.*

"The ſynod decrees, that the canon abovementioned "againſt *papiſts* ſhall be in full force againſt all *anabaptiſts*, "*browniſts*, *ſeparatiſts*, and other ſectaries, as far as they are "applicable; and further, the clauſe againſt the books of "*Socinians* abovementioned, ſhall be in force againſt all "books written againſt the diſcipline and government of "the church of England.

"It is alſo ordained, that ſuch perſons who reſort to their "pariſh churches to hear the ſermon, but do not join in the

* Dr. *Grey* ſupplies here from *Nalſon*; "or ſuch as have *epiſcopal* or *archi-* "*diaconal* ordination, or any doctor of laws in order, as is aforeſaid." ED.

"publick

" publick prayers, ſhall be ſubject to the ſame penalties with " other *ſectaries* and *recuſants*."

CANON VI. *An Oath for preventing Innovations in Doctrine and Government.*

" The ſynod decrees, that all archbiſhops, biſhops, prieſts " and deacons, ſhall, before the 2d of November next, take " the following oath, which ſhall be tendered by the biſhop " in perſon, or ſome grave divine deputed by him, and ſhall " be taken in preſence of a public notary."

The OATH.

" *I*, A. B. *do ſwear, That I do approve the doctrine,* " *diſcipline, or government, eſtabliſhed in the church of Eng-* " *land, as containing all things neceſſary to ſalvation; and* " *that I will not endeavour by myſelf or any other, directly or* " *indirectly, to bring in any Popiſh* doctrine, contrary to that* " *which is ſo eſtabliſhed; nor will I ever give my conſent to* " *alter the government of this church by archbiſhops, biſhops,* " *deans and archdeacons, &c. as it ſtands now eſtabliſhed, and* " *as by right it ought to ſtand, nor yet ever to ſubject it to the* " *uſurpations and ſuperſtitions of the ſee of Rome. And all* " *theſe things I do plainly and ſincerely acknowledge and ſwear,* " *according to the plain and common ſenſe and underſtanding* " *of the ſame words, without any equivocation, or mental eva-* " *ſion, or ſecret reſervation whatſoever; and this I do heartily,* " *willingly, and truly, upon the faith of a chriſtian. So help* " *me God in Jeſus Chriſt.*"

" If any beneficed perſon in the church ſhall refuſe this " oath, he ſhall after one month† be ſuſpended *ab officio*; " after a ſecond month he ſhall be ſuſpended *ab officio &* " *beneficio*; and after a third month,‡ if he continue to re- " fuſe, he ſhall be deprived.

" It is likewiſe ordained, That all that are incorporated " in either of the univerſities, or take any degree, whether

* In his majeſty's duplicate of this canon, ſent by the archbiſhop to the biſhop of *Ely*, the word [Popiſh] is omitted, as it is in the duplicate ſent to the vice-chancellor of *Cambridge*, and ſeveral others.

† Allowed " to inform himſelf." ‡ " For his better information."

" lawyers

" lawyers, divines or phyſicians, ſhall take the ſame oath :*
" And all governors of halls and colleges in the univerſity;
" all ſchoolmaſters, and in general, all that enter into holy
" orders, or have licence to preach."

CANON VII. *A Declaration concerning ſome Rites and Ceremonies.*

" The ſynod declares, that the ſtanding of the commu-
" nion-table ſide-ways, under the eaſt window of the chan-
" cel or chapel, is in its own nature indifferent; but foraſ-
" much as queen *Elizabeth*'s injunctions order it to be placed
" where the altar was, we therefore judge it proper, that all
" churches and chapels do conform themſelves to the *cathe-*
" *dral* or *mother churches*. And we declare, that this ſitu-
" ation of the holy table does not imply that it is or ought
" to be eſteemed a true and proper altar, whereon Chriſt is
" again ſacrificed; but it may be called an altar in the ſenſe
" of the primitive church; and becauſe it has been obſerved
" that ſome people in time of divine ſervice have irreverently
" leaned, caſt their hats, or ſet upon, or under the commu-
" nion-table, therefore the ſynod thinks meet that the table
" be railed round.

" It is further recommended to all good people, that they
" do reverence at their entering in, and going out of the
" church; and that all communicants do approach the holy
" table to receive the communion at the rails,† which has
" heretofore been unfitly carried up and down by the mini-
" ſter, unleſs the biſhop ſhall diſpenſe with it."

CANON VIII. *Of Preaching for Conformity.*

" All publick preachers ſhall twice a year preach poſi-
" tively and plainly, that the rites and ceremonies of the
" church of England are lawful, and that it is the duty of all
" people to conform to them."

* The ſons of noblemen are expreſsly excepted. Dr. GREY.

† " At the rails" is not in the original; but appears to be implied by the order to rail round the communion-table. ED.

CANON

CANON IX. *A Book of Articles for Parochial Viſitation.*

"No other book of *articles of inquiry* ſhall be uſed in pa-
"rochial viſitation, but that which is drawn up by the ſynod."

CANON X. *Of the Converſation of the Clergy.*

"The clergy are enjoined to avoid all exceſſes and diſ-
"orders, and by their chriſtian converſation to adorn their
"holy profeſſion."

CANON XI. *Chancellors Patents.*

"No biſhop ſhall grant any patent to any chancellor, or
"official, for any longer term than the life of the *grantees*,
"and the biſhop ſhall keep in his own hands the power of
"inſtituting to benefices, and of licenſing to preach."

CANON XII. *Chancellor's Cenſures.*

"No chancellor, commiſſary or official, not being in holy
"orders, ſhall inflict any cenſure on the clergy in criminal
"cauſes, other than for neglect of appearing; but all ſuch
"cauſes ſhall be heard by the biſhop, or ſome dignified cler-
"gyman with the chancellor."

CANON XIII. *Excommunication and Abſolution.*

"No ſentence of excommunication or abſolution ſhall be
"pronounced but by a prieſt, and in open conſiſtory, or at
"leaſt in the church or chapel, having firſt received it under
"the ſeal of an eccleſiaſtical judge, from whom it comes."

CANON XIV. *Of Commutations.*

"No commutation of penance to be admitted without con-
"ſent of the biſhop, and the money to be diſpoſed of to cha-
"ritable uſes."

CANON XV. *Of Juriſdictions.*

"No executor ſhall be cited into any court or office, for
"the ſpace of ten days after the death of the teſtator, though
"the executor may prove the will within ſuch time."

CANON

CANON XVI. *Of Licences to marry.*

"No licence to marry ſhall be granted to any party, unleſs one of the parties have been *commorant* in the juriſdiction of the ordinary to whom he applies, for the ſpace of one month before the ſaid licence be deſired. The archiepiſcopal prerogative is excepted."

CANON XVII. *Againſt vexatious Citations.*

"No citation into any eccleſiaſtical court ſhall be iſſued out but under the hand and ſeal of one of the judges of thoſe courts, and within thirty days after committing the crime; and unleſs the party be convicted by two witneſſes, he ſhall be allowed to purge himſelf by oath, without paying any fee; provided that this canon extend not to any grievous crime, as *ſchiſm, incontinence, miſbehaviour in the church in the time of divine ſervice, obſtinate inconformity*, or the like."

When theſe canons were made publick, they were generally diſliked; ſeveral pamphlets were printed againſt them, and diſperſed among the people; as, *England's complaint to Jeſus Chriſt againſt the biſhops' canons; wherein the nakedneſs of them is expoſed in a ſolemn application to Jeſus Chriſt as the Saviour of his church. Queries relating to the ſeveral articles and determinations of the late ſynod*, &c. All who loved the *old Engliſh conſtitution* were diſſatisfied with the firſt canon, becauſe it declares for the *abſolute power of kings, and for the unlawfulneſs of defenſive arms on any pretence whatſoever*. The puritans diſapproved the fifth, ſixth, ſeventh and eighth canons; but the whole body of the clergy were nearly concerned in the ſixth, being obliged by the ſecond of November to take the oath therein mentioned, on pain of ſuſpenſion and deprivation. The London clergy, among whom were Dr. *Weſtfield, Downham, Burges*; Mr. *Calamy, Jackſon, John Goodwin, Offspring*, and others, drew up a petition againſt it to the privy-council; and to give it the more weight procured a great many hands. The miniſters, ſchoolmaſters, and phyſicians, in Kent, Devonſhire, Dorſetſhire, Northamptonſhire, and in moſt counties of England,

and, took the ſame method; ſome objecting to the *oath*, as contrary to the oath of ſupremacy; ſome complaining of the ET CÆTERA in the middle. Others objected to the power of the ſynod to impoſe an oath, and many confeſſed, that *they wiſhed ſome things in the diſcipline of the church might be altered*, and therefore could not ſwear never to attempt it in a proper way. Some of the biſhops endeavoured to ſatisfy their clergy by giving the moſt favourable interpretation to the *oath*. Biſhop *Hall* told them that it meant no more than this, "That I do ſo far approve of the diſcipline and doc-"trine of this church, as that I do believe there is nothing "in any other pretended diſcipline or doctrine neceſſary to "ſalvation, beſides that which is contained in the doctrine "and diſcipline of the church of England. And as I do "allow the government by archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, "archdeacons, ſo I will not, upon the ſuggeſtion of any fac-"tious perſons, go about to alter the ſame as it now ſtands, "and as by due right (being ſo eſtabliſhed) it ought to ſtand "in the church of England."* But moſt of the biſhops preſſed the *oath* abſolutely on their clergy; and to my certain knowledge (ſays Mr. *Fuller*,†) obliged them to take it *kneeling*, a ceremony never required in taking the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy; but to ſuch extravagance of power did theſe prelates aſpire upon the wing of the prerogative.

The archbiſhop was adviſed of theſe difficulties by Dr. *Sanderſon*, afterwards biſhop of Lincoln, who aſſured his *grace* by letter,§ "That multitudes of churchmen, not only "of the preciſer ſort, but of ſuch as were regular and con-"formable, would utterly refuſe to take the oath, or be "brought to it with much difficulty, and reluctance; ſo that, "unleſs by his majeſty's ſpecial direction, the preſſing the "oath may be forborn for a time; or that a ſhort explana-"tion of ſome paſſages in it moſt liable to exception, be "ſent to the ſeveral perſons who are to adminiſter the ſame, "to be publickly read before the tender of the ſaid *oath*. "The peace of this church is apparently in danger to be "more diſquieted by this one occaſion, than by any thing

* Nalſon's Collection, p. 496, 498. † Book xi. p. 171.

§ Nalſon, p. 497.

"that

"that has happened within our memories." However this reſolute prelate, as if he had been determined to ruin his own and his majeſty's affairs, would relax nothing to the times, but would have broken the king's intereſt among the conformable clergy, if the nobility and gentry, with the king at York, had not prevailed with his majeſty to lay him under a reſtraint by the following letter under the hand of the principal ſecretary of ſtate:

"*May it pleaſe your grace,*

"I AM by his majeſty's command to let you know, "that upon ſeveral petitions preſented by divers church-"men, as well in the dioceſe of Canterbury as York, to which "many hands are ſubſcribed, as the mode of petitions now "are, againſt the oath in the canons made in the laſt ſynod, "his majeſty's pleaſure is, that as he took order before his "coming into theſe parts, that the execution of neither "ſhould be preſſed on thoſe that were already beneficed in "the church, which was ordered at the council-board in "your grace's preſence, but that it ſhould be adminiſtered to "thoſe who were to receive orders and to be admitted; it is "his majeſty's pleaſure, that thoſe ſhould be diſpenſed with "alſo, and that there be no proſecution thereof till the meet-"ing of the convocation.

"*York, Sept.* 30, 1640. H. VANE."*

We have mentioned the ſecret correſpondence between the Engliſh and Scots nobility to recover the liberties of both kingdoms, which encouraged the Scots to march a ſecond time to their border, where the king met them with his army commanded by the earls of *Northumberland* and *Straſford*; but it ſoon appeared that the Engliſh nobility were not for conquering the Scots; nor had the proteſtant ſoldiers any zeal in his majeſty's cauſe, ſo that after a ſmall ſkirmiſh the Scots army paſſed the Tweed, Aug. 21, and on the 30th took poſſeſſion of the important town of Newcaſtle, the royal army retreating before them as far as York, and leaving them maſters of the three northern counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Durham, where they ſubſiſted their army, and raiſed what contributions they pleaſed. As ſoon

* Nalſon's Collection, p. 500.

as the Scots entered Newcaſtle, they ſent an expreſs to the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, to aſſure them they would not interrupt the trade between that town and the city of London, but would cultivate all manner of friendſhip and brotherly correſpondence. They alſo ſent meſſengers to the king, with an humble petition, that his majeſty would pleaſe *to confirm their late acts of parliament, reſtore their ſhips and merchandize, recall his proclamation which ſtiles them* rebels, *and call an Engliſh parliament to ſettle the peace between both kingdoms.* This was followed by another ſigned by twelve peers with his majeſty at York, and by a third from the city of London. The king finding it impoſſible to carry on the war, appointed commiſſioners to treat with the Scots at Rippon, who agreed to a *ceſſation of arms for two months*, from the 26th of October, the Scots to have eight hundred and fifty pounds a day for maintenance of their army; and the treaty to be adjourned to London, where a free parliament was immediately to be convened. The calling an Engliſh parliament was the grand affair that had been concerted with the Scots before their coming into England; and it was high time; becauſe to all appearance this was the laſt criſis for ſaving the conſtitution; if the Iriſh and Engliſh armies were raiſed to reduce Scotland, under the arbitrary power of the prerogative, (as lord *Clarendon* confeſſes) what could be expected, but that afterwards they ſhould march back into England, and eſtabliſh the ſame deſpotic power here, with a ſtanding army, beyond all recovery.

Sad and melancholy was the condition of the *prime miniſters*, when they ſaw themſelves reduced to the neceſſity of ſubmitting their conduct to the examination of an Engliſh parliament, ſupported by an army from Scotland, and the general diſcontents of the people! Several of the courtiers began to ſhift for themſelves; ſome withdrew from the ſtorm, and others, having been concerned in various illegal projects, deſerted their maſters, and made their peace by diſcovering the king's counſels to the leading members of parliament, which diſabled the *junto* from making any conſiderable efforts for their ſafety. All men had a veneration for the perſon of the KING, though his majeſty had loſt ground in their affections by his ill uſage of parliaments, and by

taking

taking the faults of his miniſters upon himſelf. But the QUEEN was in no manner of eſteem with any who had the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of their country, at heart. The BISHOPS had ſunk their character by their behaviour in the *ſpiritual courts*, ſo that they had nothing to expect but that their wings ſhould be clipt. And the JUDGES were deſpiſed and hated, for betraying the laws of their country, and giving a ſanction to the illegal proceedings of the *Council* and *Star-chamber*. As his majeſty had few friends of credit or intereſt among the people at home, ſo he had nothing to expect from abroad; France and Spain were pleaſed with his diſtreſs; the foreign proteſtants wiſhed well to the oppreſſed people of England; they publiſhed their reſentments againſt the *biſhops*, for their hard uſage of the Dutch and French congregations, and gave it as their opinion, *that a proteſtant king who countenanced papiſts, and at the ſame time drove his proteſtant ſubjects out of the kingdom, was not worthy the aſſiſtance of the reformed churches, eſpecially after he had renounced communion with them, and declared openly, that the religion of the church of England was not the ſame with that of the foreign proteſtants.*

Three conſiderable divines of a very different character died about this time; Mr. *John Ball*, educated in Brazennoſe college, Oxon, and afterwards miniſter of Whitmore, a ſmall village near Newcaſtle in Staffordſhire, where he lived upon twenty pounds a year, and the profits of a little ſchool. He was a learned and pious man, deſerving as high eſteem (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) as the beſt biſhop in England, though he was content with a poor houſe, a mean habit, and a ſmall maintenance. Being diſſatisfied with the terms of conformity, it was ſome time before he could meet with an opportunity to be ordained without *ſubſcription*, but at laſt he obtained it from the hands of an Iriſh biſhop, then occaſionally in London; though he lived and died a non-conformiſt, he was an enemy to a *ſeparation*, and wrote againſt Mr. *Can* and Mr. *Robinſon* upon that head. His laſt work, entitled, *A Stay againſt Straying*, was ſubſcribed by five moſt noted preſbyterian divines, who all teſtified that he died abundantly ſatisfied in the cauſe of non-conformity, which he diſtinguiſhed from ſeparation. His other works were

very numerous, and of great reputation in thoſe times. He died Oct. 20, 1640, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age.*

Dr. *Lawrence Chadderton*, born in Lancaſhire, 1546, of popiſh parents, who, when they heard their ſon had changed his religion, diſinherited him; he was firſt fellow of Chriſt college, and afterwards maſter of Emanuel college, Cambridge. King *James* nominated him one of the four repreſentatives of the puritans in the Hampton-court conference; and afterwards one of the tranſlators of the bible.† He commenced D. D. 1612, and governed his college with great reputation many years, being remarkable for gravity, learning and piety; he had a plain but effectual way of preaching (ſays *Fuller*,‖) having a ſtrict regard for the ſabbath, and a great averſion to *arminianiſm*. He was a fine grey-headed old gentleman, and could read without ſpectacles to his death, which happened in the 103d year of his age. Being advanced in years, and afraid of being ſucceeded by an *arminian* divine, he reſigned his maſterſhip to Dr. *Preſton*, whom he ſurvived; and ſaw Dr. *Sancroft*, and after him Dr. *Holdiſworth* ſucceed him, which laſt attended his funeral at St. *Andrew*'s church, and gave him a large and deſerved commendation in a funeral ſermon.

Dr. *Richard Neile*, archbiſhop of York, born in King-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, of mean parents, his father being a tallow-chandler; he was educated in St. John's college, Cambridge, and paſſed through all the degrees and orders of preferment in the church of England, having been a ſchool-maſter, curate, vicar, parſon, chaplain, maſter of the Savoy, dean of Weſtminſter, clerk of the cloſet to two kings, biſhop of Rocheſter, Litchfield, Lincoln, Durham, Wincheſter; and laſtly, archbiſhop of York. The Oxford hiſtorian ſays, he was an affectionate ſubject to his prince, an indulgent father to his clergy, a bountiful patron to his chaplains, and a true friend to all that relied upon him. Dr. *Heylin* confeſſes, that he was not very eminent either for parts or learning; Mr. *Prynne* ſays, he was a popiſh arminian prelate, and a perſecutor of all orthodox and godly miniſters. It is cer-

* Clarke's Lives annexed to his GENERAL MARTYROLOGY, p. 147.

† Ibid. p. 146. ‖ Book ii. p. 118.

tain

tain he had few or none of the qualifications of a primitive biſhop; he hardly preached a ſermon in twelve years, and gained his preferments by flattery and ſervile court compliances. He was a zealous advocate for pompous innovations in the church, and oppreſſive projects in the ſtate, for which he would have felt the reſentments of the houſe of commons, had he lived a little longer; but he died very ſeaſonably for himſelf in an advanced age, Oct. 31, 1640, three days before the meeting of the long parliament.

[To the divines, to whoſe memory Mr. *Neal* pays the juſt tribute of reſpect in the laſt chapter, may be added the great Mr. *Joſeph Mede*. He was deſcended from a good family, and born in October 1586, at Berden in Eſſex. He received his grammar learning firſt at Hoddeſdon in Hertfordſhire, and finiſhed it at Weathersfield in Eſſex. While he was at this laſt ſchool, he bought *Bellarmine*'s Hebrew grammar, and without the aſſiſtance of a maſter, attained conſiderable ſkill in the Hebrew tongue. In 1602 he was ſent to Chriſt's college in Cambridge. In 1612 he took the degree of maſter of arts; and 1618, that of bachelor in divinity; but his modeſty and humility reſtrained him from taking the degree of doctor. After taking the firſt degree, by the influence of biſhop *Andrews* he was choſen fellow of his college: having been paſſed over at ſeveral elections, as one ſuſpected of favouring puritanical principles. In 1627, at the recommendation of archbiſhop *Uſher*, he was elected provoſt of Trinity college, Dublin, but declined accepting this preferment; as he did alſo, when it was offered him a ſecond time, in 1630. On the ſmall income of his fellowſhip and a college lecture he was extremely generous and charitable; and conſtantly appropriated a tenth of it to charitable uſes. Temperance, frugality, and a care to avoid unneceſſary expences, enabled him to do this. His thoughts were much employed on the generous deſign of effecting an univerſal pacification amongſt proteſtants. It was a favourite ſaying with him: "That he never found himſelf prone to "change his hearty affections to any one, for mere differ-"ence in opinion." He was a friend to free enquiry. "I "cannot believe," ſaid he, "that truth can be prejudiced

"by

" by the diſcovery of truth; but I fear that the maintenance " thereof by fallacy or falſehood may not end with a bleſs- " ing." He was an eminent and faithful tutor. It was his cuſtom to require the attendance of his pupils in the even- ing, to examine them on the ſtudies of the day; the firſt queſtion he then propoſed to every one in his order was, " *Quid dubitas?* What doubts have you met with in your " ſtudies to-day?" For he ſuppoſed that to doubt nothing, and to underſtand nothing, was nearly the ſame thing. Be- fore he diſmiſſed them to their lodgings, after having ſolved their queſtions, he commended them and their ſtudies to God's protection and bleſſing, by prayer. He was anxious and laborious in his ſtudy of hiſtory and antiquities, and di- ligently applied every branch of knowledge to increaſe his ſkill in the ſacred writings. He led the way in ſhewing that papal Rome was one principal object of the apocalyptic vi- ſions; and was the firſt who ſuggeſted the ſentiments ſince eſpouſed and defended by the pens of *Lardner*, *Sykes*, and *Farmer*, that the dæmoniacs in the New Teſtament were not *real poſſeſſions*, but perſons afflicted with a lunacy and epi- lepſy. His days were ſpent in ſtudious retirement. He died on the 1ſt of October, 1638, in the 52d year of his age. In 1677, a complete edition of his works was publiſhed in folio by Dr. *Worthington*. Britiſh Biography, vol. iv. p. 446,—452, and his Life prefixed to his works. ED.]

CHAP. VII.

King Charles I. 1640.

The Character of the Long Parliament. Their Arguments againſt the late Convocation and Canons. The Impeachment of Dr. WILLIAM LAUD, *Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Votes of the Houſe of Commons againſt the Promoters of the late* Innovations.

WE are now entering upon the proceedings of the *long parliament*, which continued ſitting with ſome little intermiſſion for above eighteen years, and occaſioned ſuch prodigious revolutions in church and ſtate, as were the ſurprize and wonder of all Europe. The houſe of commons have been ſeverely cenſured for the ill ſucceſs of their endeavours to recover and ſecure the conſtitution of their country; but the attempt was glorious, though a train of unforeſeen accidents rendered it fatal in the event. The members conſiſted chiefly of country gentlemen, who had no attachment to the court; for, as *Whitlock* obſerves, "though "the court laboured to bring in their friends, yet thoſe who "had moſt favour with them, had leaſt in the country; "and it was not a little ſtrange to ſee what a ſpirit of oppo- "ſition to the court proceedings was in the hearts and ac- "tions of moſt of the people, ſo that very few of that party "had the favour of being choſen members of this parlia- "ment."* Mr. *Eachard* inſinuates ſome unfair methods of election, which might be true on both ſides; but both he and lord *Clarendon* admit, that there were many great and worthy PATRIOTS in the houſe, and as eminent as any age had ever produced; men of gravity, of wiſdom, and of great and plentiful fortunes, who would have been ſatisfied with ſome few amendments in church and ſtate.

Before the opening of the ſeſſion the principal members conſulted meaſures for *ſecuring the frequency of parliaments*; *for redreſſing of grievances in church and ſtate*; and *for bringing the king's arbitrary miniſters to juſtice*; to accompliſh

* Memorials, p. 35.

which

which it was thought neceſſary to ſet ſome bounds to the prerogative, and to leſſen the power of the biſhops; but it never entered into their thoughts to overturn the *civil* or *eccleſiaſtical* conſtitution, as will appear from the concurrent teſtimony of the moſt unexceptionable hiſtorians.

"As to their religion (ſays the noble hiſtorian,*) they "were all members of the eſtabliſhed church, and almoſt to "a man for epiſcopal government. Though they were un- "devoted enough to the court, they had all imaginable duty "for the king, and affection for the government eſtabliſhed "by law, or ancient cuſtom; and without doubt the majo- "rity of that body were perſons of gravity and wiſdom, "who being poſſeſſed of great and plentiful fortunes, had "no mind to break the peace of the kingdom, or to make "any conſiderable alterations in the government of the "church or ſtate." Dr. *Lewis du Moulin*, who lived through theſe times, ſays, "that both lords and commons "were moſt, if not all, peaceable, orthodox church of Eng- "land men, all conforming to the rites and ceremonies of "epiſcopacy, but greatly averſe to popery and tyranny, and "to the corrupt part of the church that inclined towards "Rome." This is further evident from their order of Nov. 20, 1640, *that none ſhould ſit in their houſe but ſuch as would receive the communion according to the uſage of the church of England.* The commons, in their grand remonſtrance of Dec. 1, 1641, declared to the world, "that it was far from "their purpoſe to let looſe the golden reins of diſcipline and "government in the church, to leave private perſons, or "particular congregations, to take up what form of divine "ſervice they pleaſed; for we hold it requiſite (ſay they) "that there ſhould be throughout the whole realm a confor- "mity to that order which the law enjoins, according to the "word of God." The *noble hiſtorian* adds further, "that "even after the battle of Edgehill the deſign againſt the "church was not grown popular in the houſe; that in the "years 1642 and 1643, the lords and commons were in "perfect conformity to the church of England, and ſo "was their army, the general and officers both by ſea and "land being neither *preſbyterians*, *independentss*, *anabaptiſts*,

* Clarendon, vol. i. p. 184, &c.

"nor

" nor *conventiclers*; and that when they caſt their eyes upon " Scotland, there were in truth very few in the two houſes " who deſired the extirpation of epiſcopacy. Nay, his lord- " ſhip is of opinion, that the nation in general was leſs in- " clined to the puritans than to the papiſts; at leaſt, that " they were for the eſtabliſhment, for when the king went " to Scotland, [1641] the common-prayer was much reve- " renced throughout the kingdom, and was a general object " of veneration with the people.——There was a full ſub- " miſſion and love to the eſtabliſhed government of the " church and ſtate, eſpecially to that part of the church " which concerned the liturgy and book of common-prayer;" which, though it be hardly credible, as will appear hereafter by the numbers of petitions from ſeveral counties againſt the hierarchy, yet may ſerve to ſilence thoſe of his lordſhip's admirers, who through ignorance and ill-will have repreſented the long parliament, and the body of the puritans at their firſt ſitting down, as in a plot againſt the whole eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment.

If we may believe his lordſhip's character of the leading members of both houſes, even of thoſe who were moſt active in the war againſt the king, we ſhall find even they were *true churchmen* according to law; and that they had no deſigns againſt epiſcopacy, nor any inclinations to *preſbytery* or the *ſeparation*.

The earl of ESSEX was captain-general and commander in chief of the parliament army, and ſo great was his reputation, that his very name commanded thouſands into their ſervice. It had been impoſſible for the parliament to have raiſed an army, in lord *Clarendon*'s opinion, if the earl of *Eſſex* had not conſented to be their general; and " yet *this* " *nobleman*," ſays he,* " *was not indevoted to the function of* " *biſhops, but was as much devoted as any man to the book of* " *common-prayer, and obliged all his ſervants to be preſent* " *with him at it; his houſhold chaplain being always a con-* " *formable man, and a good ſcholar.*"

The earl of BEDFORD was general of the horſe under the earl of *Eſſex*, but " *he had no deſire that there ſhould be any* " *alteration in the government of the church*; he had always

* Clarendon, vol. i. p. 182, 185, 189, 211, 212, 233, 507; and vol. ii. p. 211, 212, 214, 462, 597, &c.

" lived

" lived towards my lord of *Canterbury* himſelf, with all re-
" ſpect and reverence; he frequently viſited and dined with
" him, ſubſcribed liberally to the repairing of St. *Paul*'s,
" and ſeconded all pious undertakings."

Lord KIMBOLTON, afterwards earl of *Mancheſter*, was a man of great generoſity and good breeding; and no man was more in the confidence of the diſcontented party, or more truſted; he was commander of part of the parliament forces, *and rather complied with the changes of the times than otherwiſe*; he had a conſiderable ſhare in the reſtoration of king *Charles* the ſecond, and was in high favour with him till his death.

The earl of WARWICK was admiral of the parliament fleet; he was the perſon who ſeized on the king's ſhips, and employed them againſt him during the whole courſe of the war; he was looked upon as the greateſt patron of the puritans, and yet *this nobleman* (ſays lord *Clarendon*) *never diſcovered any averſion to epiſcopacy, but much profeſſed the contrary.*

In truth, (ſays the noble hiſtorian) when the bill was brought into the houſe to deprive the biſhops of their votes in parliament, there were only at that time taken notice of in the houſe of peers, the lords SAY and BROOK, as poſitive enemies to the whole fabrick of the church, and to deſire a diſſolution of the government.

Amongſt the leading members in the houſe of commons, we may reckon WILLIAM LENTHALL, eſq; their ſpeaker, *who was of no ill reputation for his affection to the government both of church and ſtate*, (ſays his lordſhip,) and declared on his death-bed after the reſtoration, that he had always eſteemed epiſcopal government to be the beſt governmen of the church, and accordingly died a dutiful ſon of the church of England.

Mr. PYM had the leading influence in the houſe of commons, and was in truth the moſt popular man, and moſt able to do hurt of any who lived in his time; and yet, lord *Clarendon* ſays, *though he was an enemy to the arminians, he profeſſed to be very entirely for the doctrine and diſcipline of the church of England, and was never thought to be for violent meaſures, till the king came to the houſe of commons, and attempted to ſeize him amongſt the five members.*

DENZIL

DENZIL HOLLIS, eſq; after the reſtoration promoted to the dignity of a *baron*, was at the head of all the parliament's councils till the year 1647. *He had an indignation* (ſays lord *Clarendon*) *againſt the independents, nor was he affected to the preſbyterians, any, otherwiſe than as they conſtituted a party to oppoſe the others, but was well pleaſed with the government of the church.*

Sir H. VANE the elder, did the king's affairs an unſpeakable prejudice, and yet *in his judgment he liked the government both of church and ſtate; nay, he not only appeared highly conformable himſelf, but exceeding ſharp againſt thoſe that were not.*

Sir JOHN HOTHAM was the gentleman who ſhut the gates of Hull againſt the king; and in a ſally that he made upon the king's forces ſhed the firſt blood that was ſpilt in the civil war, and was the firſt his majeſty proclaimed a traitor; and yet his lordſhip declares, *he was very well affected to the government.*

His lordſhip is a little more dubious about the famous Mr. HAMPDEN, but ſays, that moſt people believed *his diſlike was rather to ſome churchmen, than to the eccleſiaſtical government of the church.*

I might mention Mr. WHITLOCK, SELDEN, LANGHORNE, and others, who are repreſented without the leaſt inclination to preſbytery; but it is ſufficient to obſerve from his lordſhip, *that all the earl of* Eſſex's *party in both houſes were men of ſuch principles, that they deſired no alteration in the court or government, but only of the perſons that acted in it; nay, the chief officers of his army were ſo zealous for the liturgy, that they would not hear a man as a miniſter that had not epiſcopal ordination.*

Nathaniel Fiennes, eſq; Sir *H. Vane*, jun. and ſhortly after Mr. *Hampden*, were believed to be for *root* and *branch*; yet (ſays his lordſhip) Mr. PYM was not of that mind, nor Mr. HOLLIS, nor any of the nor thernmen, nor any of thoſe lawyers who drove on moſt furiouſly with them; all of whom were well pleaſed with the government of the church; for though it was in the hearts of ſome few to remove foundations, they had not the courage and confidence to communicate it,

This

This was the preſent temper and conſtitution of both houſes; from which his lordſhip juſtly concludes, that *as they were all of them, almoſt to a man, conformiſts to the church of England, they had all imaginable duty for the king and affection for the government eſtabliſhed by law; and as for the church, the major part even of theſe perſons would have been willing to ſatisfy the king; the rather, becauſe they had no reaſon to think the two houſes, or indeed either of them, could have been induced to purſue the contrary.* How injurious then are the characters of thoſe church hiſtorians, and others, who have repreſented the members of this parliament, even at their firſt ſeſſion, as men of the *new religion*, or of *no religion*, *fanaticks*, men deeply engaged in a deſign againſt the whole conſtitution in church and ſtate!

The parliament was opened Nov. 3, with a moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne, wherein his majeſty declares, he would concur with them in ſatisfying their juſt grievances, leaving it with them where to begin. Only ſome offence was taken at ſtiling the Scots, REBELS, at a time when there was a pacification ſubſiſting; upon which his majeſty came to the houſe, and inſtead of ſoftening his language, very imprudently avowed the expreſſion, ſaying, *he could call them neither better nor worſe.* The houſes petitioned his majeſty to appoint a faſt for a divine bleſſing upon their counſels, which was obſerved Nov. 17, the reverend Mr. *Marſhal* and Mr. *Burges* preached before the commons; the former on 2 Chron xv. 2. *The Lord is with you, while you are with him; if you ſeek him he will be found of you, but if you forſake him he will forſake you.* The latter on Jer. l. 5. *They ſhall aſk the way to Zion with their faces thitherward, ſaying, come, and let us join ourſelves to the Lord in a perpetual covenant that ſhall not be forgotten.* The ſermons were long, but delivered with a great deal of caution: the houſe gave them thanks, and a piece of plate for their labours. The biſhops of Durham and Carliſle preached before the lords in the abbey church of Weſtminſter; the one a courtier, and the other a favourer of the puritans. The Lord's-day following, all the members in a body received the ſacrament from the hands of biſhop *Williams* dean of Weſtminſter, not at the rails about the altar, but at a communion-table placed by

by order of the houſe, in the middle of the church on that occaſion.

At their firſt entrance upon buſineſs they appointed four grand committees; the *firſt* to receive petitions about grievances of religion, which was afterwards ſubdivided into twenty or thirty; the *ſecond* for the affairs of Scotland and Ireland; the *third* for civil grievances, as ſhip-money, judges, courts of juſtice, monopolies, &c. the *fourth* concerning popery, and plots relating thereunto. Among the grievances of religion, one of the firſt things that came before the houſe was, the acts and canons of the late convocation; ſeveral warm ſpeeches were made againſt the compilers of them, Nov. 9, and among others lord *Digby*, who was as yet with the country party, ſtood up and ſaid, "Does "not every parliament-man's heart riſe, to ſee the prelates "uſurping to themſelves the grand pre-eminence of parliament? the granting ſubſidies under the name of a benevolence, under no leſs a penalty to them that refuſe it, "than the loſs of heaven and earth; of heaven by excommunication, and of earth by deprivation, and this without "redemption by appeal? What good man can think with "patience, of ſuch an enſnaring oath, as that which the new "canons enjoin to be taken, by miniſters, lawyers, phyſicians, and graduates in the univerſity, where, beſides the "ſwearing ſuch an impertinence, as that things neceſſary to "ſalvation are contained in diſcipline; beſides the ſwearing "thoſe to be of *divine right*, which among the learned was "never pretended to, as the ARCH things in our hierarchy; "beſides the ſwearing not to conſent to the change of that, "which the ſtate may, upon great reaſons, think fit to alter; "beſides the bottomleſs perjury of an *et cætera*; beſides all "this, men muſt ſwear that they ſwear freely and voluntarily, what they are compelled to; and laſtly, that they "ſwear to the oath in the literal ſenſe, whereof no two of "the makers themſelves that I have heard of, could ever "agree in the underſtanding."*

* Dr. *Grey* contraſts this ſpeech of lord *Digby*'s, as far as it cenſures the convocation for taxing the clergy, with ſome reflections on it from *Collier*; who aſſerts, that the clergy had always the privilege of taxing their own body; that from Magna Charta to the 37th of *Henry* VIII. there is no parliamentary

Sir *B. Rudyard*, Sir *J. Culpeper*, Sir *Edward Deering*, Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, ſpoke with the ſame warmth and ſatyrical wit, for *diſcharging* the canons, *diſmounting* them, and *melting them down*; nor did any gentleman ſtand up in their behalf but Mr. *Holbourn*, who is ſaid to make a ſpeech of two hours in their vindication; but his arguments made no impreſſion on the houſe, for at the cloſe of the debate a committee of twelve gentlemen, among whom were Mr. *Selden*, *Maynard*, and *Coke*, was appointed to ſearch for the warrants by which the convocation was held, after the parliament broke up, and for the letters patent of the *benevolence*, and for ſuch other materials as might aſſiſt the houſe in their next debate upon this argument, which was appointed for December 14, when ſome of the members would have aggravated the crime of the convocation to high treaſon, but ſerjeant *Maynard* and Mr. *Bagshaw* moderated their reſentments, by convincing them that they were only in a præmunire. At the cloſe of the debate the houſe came to the following reſolutions:

Reſolved nem. contradicente, "That the clergy of Eng-
"land convened in any convocation or ſynod, or otherwiſe,
"have no power to make any conſtitutions, canons or acts
"whatſoever, in matters of doctrine, diſcipline, or otherwiſe,
"to bind the clergy or laity of the land, without conſent
"of parliament.

Reſolved, "That the ſeveral conſtitutions and canons
"eccleſiaſtical, treated upon by the archbiſhops of Canter-

liamentary confirmation of ſubſidies given by the clergy; and that in 1585, there is an inſtance of the convocation granting and levying a ſubſidy or benevolence by ſynodical authority. The credit of Mr. *Neal*'s hiſtory, in this point, is no further concerned than as he faithfully repreſents lord *Digby*'s ſpeech. This Dr. *Grey* does not diſpute. Yet it may be proper to obſerve, that a great lawyer ſays, "that the grants of the clergy were illegal, and not binding, unleſs they were confirmed in parliament:" and that lord *Clarendon*, ſpeaking of this convocation giving ſubſidies out of parliament, cenſures it as doing that "*which it certainly might not do.*" The laſt ſubſidies granted by the clergy were thoſe confirmed by the ſtatute 15 *Car.* I. cap. 10. Since which this practice of granting eccleſiaſtical ſubſidies has given way to another method of taxation, comprehending the clergy as well as the laity; and in recompence for it, the beneficed clergy are allowed to vote for knights of the ſhire. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 795. Blackſtone's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 311, 8vo. 1778; and Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 148. ED.

bury

" bury and York, preſidents of the convocations for their " reſpective provinces, and the reſt of the biſhops and clergy " of thoſe provinces, and agreed upon with the king's ma- " jeſty's licence, in their ſeveral ſynods begun at London " and York, 1640, do not bind the clergy or laity of the " land, or either of them.

Reſolved, " That the ſeveral conſtitutions and canons " made and agreed to in the convocations or ſynods above- " mentioned, do contain in them many matters contrary to " the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and ſtatutes " of this realm, to the rights of parliament, to the property " and liberty of the ſubject, and matters tending to ſedition, " and of dangerous conſequence.

Reſolved, " That the ſeveral grants of benevolences or " contributions, granted to his moſt excellent majeſty by the " clergy of the provinces of Canterbury and York, in the " ſeveral convocations or ſynods holden at London and York, " in the year 1640, are contrary to the laws, and ought not " to bind the clergy."

If the firſt of theſe reſolutions be agreeable to law, I apprehend there were then no canons ſubſiſting, for thoſe of 1603 were not brought into parliament, but, being made in a parliamentary convocation, were ratified by the king under the great ſeal, and ſo became binding on the clergy, according to the ſtatute of the 25th of king *Henry* VIII. In the Saxon times all eccleſiaſtical laws and conſtitutions were confirmed by the peers, and by the repreſentatives of the people;* but thoſe great councils, to which our parliaments

* This Dr. *Grey* controverts, and ſays, " I ſhould be glad to know what " authority he has for this aſſertion." It is not for the editor to give the authority, when Mr. *Neal* has not himſelf referred to it; but he can ſupply the want of it by an authority, which, if Dr. *Grey* were living, would command his reſpect: viz. that of Dr. *Burn*, who tells us, that " *even in the* " *Saxon times*, if the ſubject of any laws was for the outward peace and " temporal government of the church, ſuch laws were properly ordained " by the king and his great council of clergy and laity intermixed, as our " acts of parliament are ſtill made. But if there was any doctrine to be " tried, or any exerciſe of pure diſcipline to be reformed, then the clergy of " the great council departed into a ſeparate ſynod, and there acted as the " proper judges. Only when they had thus provided for the ſtate of reli- " gion, *they brought their canons from the ſynod to the great council, to be* " *ratified by the king, with the advice of his great men, and ſo made the* " *conſtitutions*

ſucceed, being made up of laicks and eccleſiaſticks, were afterwards ſeparated, and then the clergy did their buſineſs by themſelves, and enacted laws without confirmation of king or parliament, during the reign of popery, till the act *of the ſubmiſſion of the clergy* to king *Henry* VIII. ſo that the claim of making canons without the ſanction of parliament, ſeemed to ſtand upon no other foundation than the uſurped power of the pope; nor did the parliaments of thoſe times yield up their right, for in the 51ſt of *Edward* III. the commons paſſed a bill, that no act or ordinance ſhould be made for the future upon the petition of the clergy, without the conſent of the commons; *and that the ſaid commons ſhould not be bound for the future by any conſtitutions of the clergy, to which they had not given their conſent in parliament.* But the bill being dropt, things went on upon the former foot till the reign of king *Henry* VIII. when the pope's uſurped power being aboliſhed, both parliament and clergy agreed (by the *act of ſubmiſſion*) that no canons ſhould be binding without the royal aſſent; and that the clergy in convocation ſhould not ſo much as conſult about any, without the king's ſpecial licence; but ſerjeant *Maynard* delivered it as his opinion in the houſe, that it did not follow, that becauſe the clergy might not make canons *without the king's licence*, that therefore they might make them and bind them on the clergy by his licence ALONE; for this were to take away the ancient rights of parliament before the pope's uſurpation, which

" *conſtitutions of the church to be laws of the realm.* And the Norman " Revolution made no change in this reſpect." This author further ſays, " that the convocation tax did always paſs both houſes of parliament; ſince " it could not bind as a law, till it had the conſent of the legiſlature." Judge *Foſter*, in his examination of biſhop *Gibſon*'s codex, appeals to the laws of *Ethelbert* and *Withred*, kings of Kent, and of *Ina* of Weſſex; to the laws of *Alfred*, *Edward* the elder, *Athelſtan*, *Edmund*, *Edgar*, and *Canute*, as proofs that the eccleſiaſtical and civil concerns of the kingdom were not, in the times of the Saxons, under the care of two ſeparate legiſlatures, and ſubject to different adminiſtrations; but blended together, and directed by one and the ſame legiſlature, the GREAT COUNCILS (or, in modern ſtile, the parliaments) of the reſpective kingdoms during the heptarchy, and of the united kingdom afterwards. Burn's Eccleſiaſtical Law, vol. ii. p. 22, 26. 8vo. An Examination of the Scheme of Church Power laid down in the Codex, p. 126, &c. ED.

* Fuller's Appeal, p. 42.

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they never yielded up, nor does the *act of ſubmiſſion of the clergy* take away. Upon this reaſoning the commons voted their *firſt reſolution*, the ſtrength of which I leave to the reader's conſideration.

The arguments upon which the other reſolutions are founded will be laid together, after we have related the proceedings of the convocation.

The convocation was opened Nov. 4, 1640. Dr. *Bargrave*, dean of Canterbury, preached the ſermon, and Dr. *Steward*, dean of Chicheſter, was choſen prolocutor, and preſented to the archbiſhop's acceptance in king *Henry* the VIIth's chapel, when his *grace* made a pathetic ſpeech, lamenting the danger of the church, and exhorting every one preſent to perform the duty of their places with reſolution, and not to be wanting to themſelves or the cauſe of religion; but nothing of moment was tranſacted, there being no commiſſion from the king; only Mr. *Warmiſtre*, one of the clerks for the dioceſe of Worceſter, being convinced of the invalidity of the late canons, moved the houſe that *they might cover the pit which they had opened*, and prevent a parliamentary inquiſition, by petitioning the king for leave to review them; but his motion was rejected, the houſe being of opinion that the canons were juſtifiable; nor would they appear ſo mean as to condemn themſelves before they were accuſed. Mr. *Warmiſtre* ſuffered in the opinion of his brethren within doors for his cowardly ſpeech; and was reproached from without as an enemy to the church, and a *turn-coat*, becauſe he had ſubſcribed thoſe articles which now he condemned. This obliged him to publiſh his ſpeech to the world, wherein, after having declared his ſatisfaction in the doctrine, diſcipline, and government of the church of England, as far as it is eſtabliſhed by law, he goes on to wiſh there had been no private innovations introduced; for though he approves of an outward reverence in the worſhip of God, he is againſt directing it to altars and images. He apprehends it reaſonable, that ſuch innocent ceremonies as have a proper tendency to decency and order ſhould be retained, but wiſhes the removal of croſſes and images out of churches, as ſcandalous and ſuperſtitious, having an apparent tendency towards idolatry; and that there might be no lighted candles in the day-time; he then

gives his reaſons againſt the *oath in the ſixth canon*, and concludes with theſe words: "If my ſubſcription be urged "againſt what I have ſaid, I was perſuaded it was the prac- "tice of *ſynods* and *councils*, that the whole body ſhould "ſubſcribe to thoſe acts which are paſſed by the major part "as *ſynodical acts*, notwithſtanding their private diſſent; if "my ſubſcription implied any more, I do ſo far recant and "condemn it in myſelf, and deſire pardon both of God and "the church, reſolving by God's grace to be more cautious "hereafter." Mr. *Warmiſtre*'s behaviour ſhewed him to be a wiſe and diſcreet clergyman; and his being ſequeſtered from his livings ſome time after, for not ſubmitting to the parliament, ſhews him to have been a man of principle, not to be moved from his integrity by the reſentments of his friends, or the flatteries of his enemies. And though the convocation was ſo ſanguine at their firſt coming together, as to deſpiſe Mr. *Warmiſtre*'s motion, yet when they ſaw the vigorous reſolutions of the houſe of commons againſt the canons, and the articles of impeachment againſt the metropolitan for high treaſon, one of which was *for compiling the late canons*, they were diſpirited, and in a few weeks deſerted their ſtations in the convocation-houſe; the biſhops alſo diſcontinued their meetings, and in a few weeks both houſes dwindled to nothing, and broke up without either adjournment or prorogation.

To return to the parliament. It was argued againſt the *late convocation*, that they were no legal aſſembly after the diſſolution of the parliament; that his majeſty had no more power to continue them than to recal his parliament;* nor could

* Archbiſhop *Laud*, to exculpate himſelf from blame in this matter, declared, that "this ſitting of the convocation was not by his advice or "deſire; but that he humbly deſired a writ to diſſolve it." It was ſet up in defence of this meaſure, (and the argument has ſince been adopted by Dr. *Warner*) that the parliament and convocation being ſeparate bodies, and convened by different writs, the diſſolution of the former does not neceſſarily infer the diſſolution of the latter, which could not riſe till diſcharged by another writ. Dr. *Burn* has advanced this reaſon into a general principle, but on no other authority than that of Dr. *Warner* in this caſe. The lord-keeper, the judges, and king's council, aſſured the king, that the clergy might legally continue their ſitting. But much allowance is to be made for the influence under which the opinion of court lawyers is given; as in the caſe

could he by his letters patent convert them into a national or provincial ſynod, becauſe the right of their election ceaſing at the expiration of the convocation, they ought to have been re-choſen before they could act in the name of the clergy whom they repreſented, or bind them by their decrees. It is contrary to all law and reaſon in the world, that a number of men met together in a convocation, upon a ſummons limited to a certain time, ſhould, after the expiration of that time, by a new commiſſion, be changed into a national or provincial ſynod, without the voice or election of any one perſon concerned. The commons were therefore at a loſs by what name to call this extraordinary aſſembly, being in their opinion neither *convocation* nor *ſynod*, becauſe no repreſentative body of the clergy. The words *convocation* and *ſynod* are convertible terms, ſignifying the ſame thing, and it is eſſential to both that they be choſen by (if they are to make conſtitutions and canons to bind) the clergy. Some indeed have thought of a ſmall diſtinction, as that a *convocation* muſt begin and end with the parliament, whereas a *ſynod* may be called by the king out of parliament, but then ſuch an aſſembly cannot give ſubſidies for their brethren, nor make laws by which they will be bound.

The objections to the particular canons were theſe:

I. Againſt the *firſt canon* it was argued, that the compilers of it had invaded the rights and prerogative of parliament, by pretending to ſettle and declare the extent of the king's power, and the ſubjects' obedience.

By declaring the ſacred order of kings to be of *divine right*, founded in the prime laws of nature and revelation, by which they condemned all other governments.

By affirming that the king had an *abſolute power* over all his ſubjects, and a *right* to the ſubſidies and aids of his people without conſent of parliament.

caſe of ſhip-money. Mr. *Neal*'s reaſoning on this point, carries great weight with it. Lord *Clarendon* ſpeaks of the continued ſitting of the convocation as rather unprecedented; for he ſays, that this aſſembling of the clergy cuſtomarily began and ended with parliaments. It was evidently impolitic, in ſuch a conjuncture of time, to deviate from the cuſtom, and to ſtretch the prerogative.——Dr. *Grey*'s Examination in loc. *Nalſon*'s Collections, vol. i. p. 365. *Warner*'s Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 535. *Burn*'s Eccleſ. Law, vol. ii. p. 27, and Lord *Carendon*'s Hiſt. vol. i. p. 148. Ed.

By affirming that ſubjects may not bear arms againſt their king, either offenſive or defenſive, upon any pretence whatſoever, upon pain of *receiving to themſelves damnation.*

By taking upon themſelves to define ſome things to be treaſon not included in the ſtatute of treaſons.,

And *laſtly*, by inflicting a penalty on ſuch of the king's ſubjects as ſhall dare to diſobey them, in not reading and publiſhing the above-mentioned particulars; in all which caſes it was averred that they had *invaded the rights of parliament, deſtroyed the liberty of the ſubject, and ſubverted the very fundamental laws and conſtitutions of England.*

II. It was objected againſt the *ſecond canon*, that they had aſſumed the legiſlative power, in appointing a new *holy day* contrary to the ſtatute, which ſays, that there ſhall be ſuch and ſuch *holy days* and no *more.*

IV. It was objected againſt the *fourth canon*, that whereas the determination of *hereſy* is expreſsly reſerved to parliament, the convocation had declared *that* to be *hereſy* which the law takes no notice of; and had condemned *ſocinianiſm* in general, without declaring what was included under that denomination, ſo that after all it was left in their own breaſts, whom they would condemn and cenſure under that character.

VI. It was objected againſt the *ſixth canon*, that it impoſed a *new oath* upon the ſubject, which is a power equal if not ſuperior to the making a *new law.** It was argued likewiſe againſt the *oath itſelf*, that in ſome parts it was very ambiguous and doubtful, and in others directly falſe and illegal.

We are to ſwear in the *oath*, that *we approve the doctrine, diſcipline, or government eſtabliſhed in the church of England*, and yet we are not told wherein that doctrine and diſcipline

* The archbiſhop, in reply to this objection, referred to various canons, made in king *James*'s time, and appointing different oaths, merely by the authority of convocation, (viz. canons 40, 118, 103 and 127) as precedents, which had never been declared illegal, nor the makers of them cenſured by parliaments; and which juſtified, therefore, the power aſſumed by this convocation. His Lordſhip in urging, and Dr. *Grey* in repeating this defence, did not perceive, that it is a bad and inſufficient plea for doing wrong, that others had eſcaped the cenſure and puniſhment due to illegal condnct. *Grey*'s Examination in loc. ED.

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are contained; whether by the doctrine of the church we are to underſtand only the thirty-nine articles, or likewiſe the homilies and church catechiſm; and by the diſcipline, only the book of canons, or likewiſe all other eccleſiaſtical orders, not repealed by ſtatute; for it is obſervable, that the words of the oath are, *as it is eſtabliſhed*, and not, *as it is eſtabliſhed by law*. And the ambiguity is further increaſed by that remarkable *et cætera*, inſerted in the body of the oath; for whereas oaths ought to be explicit, and the ſenſe of the words as clear and determined as poſſible, we are here to ſwear to we know not what, to ſomething that is not expreſſed; by which means we are left to the arbitrary interpretation of the judge, and may be involved in the guilt of perjury before we are aware.

But beſides the ambiguity of the oath, it contains ſome things falſe and illegal; for it affirms the government of the church by archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, and archdeacons, to be of *divine right*; for after we have ſworn to the hierarchy as eſtabliſhed by the law of the land, we are to ſwear further, that *by right it ought ſo to ſtand:* which words are a mere tautology, or elſe muſt infer ſome further right than that which is included in the legal eſtabliſhment, which can be no other than a *divine right*. Now, though it ſhould be allowed, that the government of the church by biſhops is of divine right, yet certainly archbiſhops, deans, and archdeacons, can have no pretence to that claim.

Beſides, to ſwear, *never to give our conſent to alter the government of this church by archbiſhops, biſhops, &c. as it ſtands now eſtabliſhed*, is directly contrary to the oath of ſupremacy, for in that oath we are ſworn to aſſiſt his majeſty in the exerciſe of his eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction or government, by his commiſſion under the great ſeal, directed to ſuch perſons as he ſhall think meet; ſo that if his majeſty ſhould think fit at any time to commiſſion other perſons to exerciſe eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction than at preſent, we are ſworn by the oath of ſupremacy, not only to conſent, but to aid and aſſiſt him in it; whereas in this new oath we ſwear, never to conſent to any ſuch alteration.

Nothing is more evident, than that the *diſcipline* of the church is alterable; the church itſelf laments the want of godly

godly diſcipline; and many of the clergy and laity wiſh and deſire and amendment; it is therefore very unreaſonable, that all who take degrees in the univerſities, many of whom may be members of parliament, ſhall be ſworn beforehand, *never to conſent to any alteration.* And though it is known to all the world that many of the conforming clergy are diſſatisfied with ſome branches of the preſent eſtabliſhment, yet they are to ſwear that they take this oath HEARTILY and WILLINGLY, though they are compelled to it under the penalties of ſuſpenſion and deprivation. Some objections were made to the ſeventh, and other canons, but theſe were the chief.

Archbiſhop *Laud*, in his anſwer to the impeachment of the houſe of commons againſt himſelf, boldly undertakes to refute all theſe objections, and to juſtify the whole, and every branch of the canons; his words are theſe, "I hope I am "able to make it good in any learned aſſembly in Chriſten-"dom, that this oath, and all thoſe canons (then made, and "here before recited) and every branch in them, are juſt "and orthodox, and moderate, and moſt neceſſary for the "preſent condition of the church of England, how unwel-"come ſoever to the preſent diſtempers."* Lord *Clarendon* expreſſes himſelf modeſtly on the other ſide; he doubts, whether the convocation was a legal aſſembly after the diſſolution of the parliament, and is very ſure, that their proceedings are not to be juſtified. "The convocation-houſe, "(ſays he) which is the regular and legal aſſembling of the "clergy, was, after the determination of the parliament, "continued by a new writ under the proper title of a *ſynod*; "made canons, which it was thought it might do; and gave "ſubſidies out of parliament, and enjoined oaths, which "certainly it might not do; in a word, did many things

* Dr. *Grey* aſks here, "Where does the archbiſhop ſay this? Our hiſto-"rian quotes no authority; and as he is often faulty when he quotes "chapter and verſe, ſo without it I am unwilling wholly to depend upon "his bare *ipſe dixit.*" The editor is not able, at preſent, to ſupply here Mr. *Neal*'s omiſſion; but he finds the ſame words of archbiſhop *Laud* quoted by Dr. *Warner*, (who never refers to his authorities) as ſpoken in the houſe of lords. And the doctor expreſſes on them his belief, that as to many of the articles contained in the canons, the archbiſhop here undertook to do what he would have found it difficult to make good. Eccles. Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 535. ED.

which

"which in the beſt of times might have been queſtioned, "and therefore were ſure to be condemned in the worſt." The parliament that ſat after the reſtoration was of the ſame mind with his Lordſhip, foraſmuch as theſe canons were excepted out of the act of 13 *Car.* II. *cap.* 12, and declared of no validity. Mr. *Eachard* is of opinion, that the ſynod that framed theſe canons was not a legal repreſentative of the clergy after the diſſolution of the two houſes. But biſhop *Kennet*, in his complete hiſtory, ſays, that theſe publick cenſures of the canons were grounded upon prejudice and faction; that it is hard to find any defect of legality in the making of them; and that if theſe canons were not binding, we have no proper canons ſince the reformation; he therefore wiſhes, them or ſome others like them, revived, becauſe *in very much of doctrine and diſcipline they are a good example to any future convocation; and, that we can hardly hope for unity, or any tolerable regularity, without ſome conſtitutions of the like nature.* Strange! that a dignified clergyman, that held his biſhoprick upon *revolution principles*, ſhould wiſh the ſubverſion of the conſtitution of his country, and declare for principles of perſecution. If I might have liberty to wiſh, it ſhould be, That neither we nor our poſterity may ever enjoy the bleſſings of unity and regularity upon the foot of ſuch canons.

Upon the ſame day that the houſe paſſed the above-mentioned reſolutions againſt the canons, ſeveral warm ſpeeches were made againſt the archbiſhop of Canterbury, as the chief author of them; and a committee was appointed to enquire more particularly, how far his grace had been concerned in the proceedings of the convocation, and in the treaſonable deſign of ſubverting the religion and laws of his country, in order to draw up articles aghinſt him. Next day the earl of Briſtol acquainted the houſe of lords, that the Scots commiſſioners had preſented ſome papers againſt the archbiſhop of Canterbury,* which were read by the lord *Paget*, and then

* "Mr. *Neal*," ſays Dr. *Grey*, "has given us all the objections of the "Scots againſt the archbiſhop; and I am ſo old-faſhioned a perſon, as to "think, that the archbiſhop's anſwers to their objections ſhould likewiſe "have been produced by an impartial hiſtorian." He renews the ſame complaint againſt our author in his ſecond volume, p. 173. Mr. *Neal*'s reaſon, for paſſing over the archbiſhop's anſwer, appears to have been, that his

then reported to the houſe of commons, at a conference between the two houſes. Their charge conſiſted of divers grievances (which had occaſioned great diſturbances in the kingdom of Scotland) ranged under three heads, of all which they challenged the archbiſhop to be the chief author upon earth.

The firſt branch of the charge conſiſted of *divers alterations in religion, impoſed upon them without order, and againſt law, contrary to the form eſtabliſhed in their kirk*; as, his enjoining the biſhops to appear in the chapel in their *whites*,(1.) contrary to the cuſtom of their kirk, and the archbiſhop's own promiſe; his directing the *Engliſh ſervice* to be read in the chapel twice a day; (2.) his ordering a liſt of thoſe counſellors and ſenators of the college of juſtice, who did not communicate in the chapel, according to a form received in their kirk, to be ſent up to him, in order to their being puniſhed; (3.) his preſumptuous cenſuring the practice of the kirk, *in faſting ſometimes on the lord's day*, as oppoſite to chriſtianity itſelf; (4.) his obtaining warrants for the fitting

his *grace* evaded the whole charge at his trial, by pleading the act of oblivion at the pacification of the Scots troubles. But, as Dr. *Grey* has endeavoured to ſupply Mr. *Neal*'s deficiency, the ſubſtance of the archbiſhop's defences ſhall be given in the following notes; and the reader will judge of their importance, and of Mr. *Neal*'s conduct in omitting them. Ed.

(1.) His *grace* replies to this charge, "that he underſtood himſelf a great deal better than to *enjoin* where he had no power: and, perhaps he might expreſs his majeſty's command, as dean of his chapel in England, that the ſervice in Scotland ſhould be kept anſwerable to it here as much as might be." Ed.

(2.) Here his *grace* pleads his majeſty's command; and his hope, that it was no crime for a biſhop in England to ſignify to one in Scotland, the king's pleaſure concerning the ſervice of his own chapel. Ed.

(3.) The defence ſet up on this head by the archbiſhop was, the king's command; and that the form preſcribed, which was kneeling, was an article of the ſynod of Perth, made in a general aſſembly, and confirmed by act of parliament. As to the requiſition itſelf, he pleaded, that it amounted to no more, than if his majeſty ſhould command all his judges and counſellors in England, once in the year, to receive the communion in his chapel at Whitehall. Ed.

(4.) The *archbiſhop* vindicates himſelf, in this inſtance, by ample teſtimonies from the fathers, and by decrees of antient councils, to prove that, in the antient church, it was held unlawful to faſt on the lord's day.

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ſitting of an *high commiſſion court* once a week at Edinburgh; (5.) and his directing the taking down of galleries and ſtone walls in the kirks of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, to make way for altars, and adoration towards the eaſt. (6.)

The ſecond branch of their charge was, *his obtruding upon them a book of canons and conſtitutions eccleſiaſtical, deviſed for the eſtabliſhing a tyrannical power in the perſons of their prelates, over the conſciences, liberties and goods of the people*; (7.) *and for aboliſhing that diſcipline and government of their kirk, which was ſettled by law, and had obtained amongſt them ever ſince the reformation.* For proof of this they alledged that the book of canons was corrected, altered, and enlarged by him at his pleaſure, as appears by the interlineations and marginal notes in the book, written with the archbiſhop's own hand: that he had added ſome entire new canons, and altered others, in favour of ſuperſtition and popery; and in ſeveral inſtances relating to the cenſures of

The fact, there is no doubt, was ſo, and it gave the archbiſhop a ground of arguing with the church of Scotland on their practice: but would it juſtify the aſperity of cenſure towards weaker chriſtians; or the exerciſe of authority, where every one ought to be perſuaded in his own mind? Ed.

(5.) His *grace* anſwers to this charge, that the warrants were not procured by him, but by a Scotchman of good place, employed about it by the biſhops: and that the high commiſſion court was ſettled, and in full execution in the church of Scotland, in 1610, before ever he appeared in publick life. Ed.

(6.) The *archbiſhop* abſolutely denies, to the beſt of his memory, giving command or direction, for taking down the galleries of St. Andrew's: and urges, that it was very improbable, that *he* ſhould iſſue ſuch commands, where he had nothing, who in London, and other parts of his province, permitted the galleries of the churches to ſtand. As to the galleries and ſtone walls in the kirks of Edinburgh, they were removed by the king's command; not to make way for altars and adoration towards the eaſt, but to convert the two churches into a cathedral. Ed.

(7.) The term *obtruding* the *archbiſhop* thinks bold, eſpecially as pointing at the king's authority, whoſe command enjoined the book of canons on the church of Scotland, and who in this exerciſed no other power than that which king *James* challenged as belonging to him in right of his crown. His *grace* does not allow the imputations caſt on the book of canons; and, if they did belong to them, he pleads that it was owing to invincible ignorance and the Scotch biſhops, who would not tell wherein the canons went *againſt their laws*, if they did. As to himſelf, it was his conſtant advice, in the whole buſineſs, that nothing *againſt law* ſhould be attempted. Ed.

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the church, had lodged an unbounded power in the prelates over the conſciences of men.

The third and great innovation with which they charged the archbiſhop, was, *the book of common prayer, adminiſtration of the ſacraments, and other parts of divine worſhip, brought in without warrant from their kirk, to be univerſally received as the only form of divine ſervice, under the higheſt pains both civil and eccleſiaſtical*; (1.) *which book contained many popiſh errors and ceremonies, repugnant to their confeſſion of faith, conſtitutions of their general aſſemblies, and to acts of parliament.* Several of theſe errors are mentioned in the article, and they declare themſelves ready, when deſired, to diſcover a great many more of the ſame kind; all which were impoſed upon the kingdom, contrary to their earneſt ſupplications; and upon their refuſal to receive the *ſervice book*, they were, by his *grace*'s inſtigation, declared *rebels* and *traitors*;(2.) an army was raiſed to ſubdue them, and a prayer compoſed and printed by his direction, to be read in all the pariſh churches in England, in time of divine ſervice, wherein they are called *traiterous ſubjects, having caſt off all obedience to their ſovereign*; and ſupplication is made to the Almighty, to cover their faces with ſhame, as enemies to God and the king. They therefore pray, that the archbiſhop* may be immediately removed from his majeſty's preſence, and that he may be brought to a trial, and receive ſuch cenſure as he has deſerved, according to the laws of the kingdom.

The archbiſhop has left behind him a particular anſwer to theſe articles, in his diary,† which is written with peculiar

(1.) "That the liturgy was brought in without warrant of the kirk," if it were true, the archbiſhop pleads was the fault of the Scotch prelates, whom he had, on all occaſions, urged to do nothing, in this particular, without warrant of law; and to whom, though he approved the liturgy, and obeyed his majeſty's command in helping to order that book, he wholly left the manner of introducing it; becauſe he was ignorant of the laws of Scotland. Ed.

(2.) His *grace* contends, that they deſerved theſe titles, but he did not procure that they ſhould be declared ſuch: but the proclamation fixing theſe names on them, went out by the common advice of the lords of the council. Ed.

* In the original, "This great fire-brand." Dr *Grey*.

† In the hiſtory of his troubles and trial. Dr. *Grey*.

ſharpneſs

ſharpneſs of ſtile, and diſcovers a great opinion of his own abilities, and a contempt of his adverſaries; but either from a diſtruſt of the ſtrength of his reply, or for ſome other reaſons, his *grace* was pleaſed wiſely to evade the whole charge at his trial, by pleading *the act of oblivion* (3.) at the pacification of the Scots troubles.†

When the report of theſe articles was made to the commons, the reſentments of the houſe againſt the archbiſhop immediately broke out into a flame; many ſevere ſpeeches were made againſt his late conduct; and among others, one was by Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, ſpeaker of that parliament, which reſtored king *Charles* II. who ſtood up and ſaid, "That this great man, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, was "the very *ſty* of all that peſtilential filth that had infeſted "the government; that he was the only man that had ad- "vanced thoſe, who, together with himſelf, had been the "authors of all the miſeries the nation now groaned under. "That he had managed all the projects that had been ſet "on foot for theſe ten years paſt, and had condeſcended ſo "low as to deal in *tobacco*, by which thouſands of poor peo- "ple had been turned out of their trades, for which they "ſerved an apprenticeſhip; that he had been charged in this "houſe, upon very ſtrong proof, with deſigns to ſubvert the "government, and alter the proteſtant religion in this king- "dom, as well as in Scotland; and there is ſcarce any griev- "ance or complaint comes before the houſe, wherein he is "not mentioned, like an angry waſp, leaving his ſting in "the bottom of every thing." He therefore moved, that the charge of the Scots commiſſioners might be ſupported by an impeachment of their own; and, that the queſtion might now be put, *whether the archbiſhop had been guilty of*

(3.) This Dr. *Grey* denies, and adds, "that he pleaded the king's "ſpecial pardon." The doctor confounds here two different matters. The act of oblivion was pleaded by his *grace*, before the trial came on, to cover himſelf from the charge of the Scots commiſſioners; the king's pardon was produced when the trial was over, in bar of the ordinance paſſed for his execution. Mr. *Neal*, in which he is ſupported by the authority of *Collier*, ſpeaks of the former. Lord *Clarendon*, whom Dr. *Grey* quotes, expreſsly ſpeaks of the latter. The reader will not deem it generous in the *doctor* to impeach Mr. *Neal*'s veracity on the ground of his own miſtake. ED.

† Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 380.

high

high treaſon? which being voted, Mr. *Hollis* was immediately ſent up to the bar of the houſe of lords to impeach him in the name of all the commons of England, and to deſire, that his perſon might be ſequeſtered, and that in convenient time they would bring up the particulars of *their charge*; upon which his grace, being commanded to withdraw, ſtood up in his place and ſaid, "That he was heartily ſorry for "the offence taken againſt him, but humbly deſired their "lordſhips to look upon the whole courſe of his life, which "was ſuch, as that he was perſuaded not one man in the "houſe of commons did believe in his heart that he was a "*traitor.*" To which the earl of Eſſex replied, *That it was a high reflection upon the whole houſe of commons, to ſuppoſe that they would charge him with a crime which themſelves did not believe.* After this his *grace* withdrew, and being called in again, was delivered to the uſher of the black rod, to be kept in ſafe cuſtody till the houſe of commons ſhould deliver in their articles of impeachment.

Upon the 26th of February Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hampden*, and Mr. *Maynard*, by order of the commons, went up to the lords, and at the bar of that houſe preſented their lordſhips with fourteen articles, in maintenance of their former charge of high treaſon againſt the archbiſhop, which were read, his *grace* being preſent.

In the *firſt*, he is charged with endeavouring to ſubvert the conſtitution, by introducing an arbitrary power of government, without any limitation or rule of law. In the *ſecond*, he is charged with procuring ſermons to be preached, and other pamphlets to be printed, in which the authority of parliaments is denied, and the ABSOLUTE POWER of the king aſſerted to be agreeable to the law of God. The *third* article charges him with interrupting the courſe of juſtice, by meſſages, threatenings, and promiſes to the judges. The *fourth*, with ſelling juſtice in his own perſon, under colour of his eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and with adviſing his majeſty to ſell places of judicature, contrary to law. In the *fifth*, he is charged with the canons, and oath, impoſed on the ſubject by the late convocation. In the *ſixth*, with robbing the king of ſupremacy, by denying the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction to be derived from the crown. In the *ſeventh*, with bringing in popiſh

popiſh doctrines, opinions, and ceremonies, contrary to the articles of the church, and cruelly perſecuting thoſe who oppoſed them. In the *eighth*, he is charged with promoting perſons to the higheſt and beſt preferments in the church, who are corrupt in doctrine and manners. In the *ninth*, with employing ſuch for his domeſtick chaplains, as he knew to be popiſhly affected, and committing to them the licenſing of books, whereby ſuch writings have been publiſhed as have been ſcandalous to the proteſtant religion. The *tenth* article charges him with ſundry attempts to reconcile the church of England with the church of Rome. The *eleventh*, with diſcountenancing of preaching, and with ſilencing, depriving, impriſoning, and baniſhing, ſundry godly and orthodox miniſters. The *twelfth*, with dividing the church of England from the foreign proteſtant churches. The *thirteenth*, with being the author of all the late diſturbances between England and Scotland. And the *laſt*, with endeavouring to bereave the kingdom of the legiſlative power, by alienating the king's mind from his parliaments.

At the delivery of theſe articles Mr. *Pym* declared, that the commons reſerved to themſelves the liberty of preſenting ſome *additional articles*, by which they intended to make their charge more *particular* and *certain* as to the time and other circumſtances; and prayed their lordſhips to put the cauſe into as quick a forwardneſs as they could.

When the archbiſhop had heard the articles read, he made his obeiſance to the houſe, and ſaid, "That it was "a great and heavy charge, and that he was unworthy to "live if it could be made good; however, it was yet but in "*generals*, and generals made a great noiſe, but were no "proof. For human frailties he could not excuſe himſelf, but "for corruption in the leaſt degree, he feared no accuſer that "would ſpeak truth. But that which went neareſt him, was "that he was thought *falſe in his religion*, as if he ſhould pro-"feſs with the church of England, and have his heart at "Rome." He then beſought their lordſhips that he might enlarge himſelf, and ſo made a ſhort reply to each article, which conſiſted in an abſolute denial of the whole. The lords voted him to the *tower*; whither he was carried in Mr. *Maxwell*'s coach through the city, on *Monday March* 1.

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It was deſigned he ſhould have paſſed *incognito*; but an apprentice in Newgate-ſtreet happening to know him raiſed the mob, which ſurrounded the coach, and followed him with huzzas and inſults till he got within the tower gate. Indeed, ſuch was the univerſal hatred of all ranks and orders of men againſt this inſolent prelate, for his cruel uſage of thoſe who had fallen into his hands in the time of his proſperity, that no man's fall in the whole kingdom was ſo unlamented as his. His *grace* being lodged in the tower, thought it his intereſt to be quiet, without ſo much as moving the lords to be brought to a trial, or putting in his anſwer to the articles of impeachment, till the commons, after two or three years, exhibited their additional articles, and moved the peers to appoint a day for his trial.

Before the archbiſhop was confined, he had the mortification to ſee moſt of the church and ſtate priſoners releaſed; Nov. 16, the biſhop of Lincoln was diſcharged from his impriſonment in the tower, and his fine remitted. Next day being a publick faſt, he appeared in the Abbey church at Weſtminſter, and officiated as dean. When he reſumed his ſeat in the houſe of lords, he behaved with more temper than either the king or the archbiſhop could expect; whereupon his majeſty ſent for him, and endeavoured to gain him over to the court, by promiſing to make him full ſatisfaction for his paſt ſufferings; in order to which his majeſty commanded all the judgments that were entered againſt him to be diſcharged, and within a twelvemonth tranſlated him to the archbiſhoprick of York, with leave to hold his deanry of Weſtminſter in *commendam* for three years: the biſhop therefore never complained to the houſe of his ſufferings, nor petitioned for ſatisfaction.

Mr. *Prynne*, Mr. *Burton*, and Dr. *Baſtwick*, being remanded from the ſeveral iſlands to which they had been confined, upon their humble petition to the houſe of commons, were met ſome miles out of town by great numbers of people on horſeback with roſemary and bays in their hats, and eſcorted into the city in a ſort of triumph, with loud acclamations for their deliverance; and a few weeks after, the houſe came to the following reſolutions: "That the ſeveral judgments "againſt them were illegal, unjuſt, and againſt the liberty of "the

" the ſubject; that their ſeveral fines be remitted; that they " be reſtored to their ſeveral profeſſions; and that, for repa- " ration of their loſſes, Mr. *Burton* ought to have ſix thou- " ſand pounds, and Mr. *Prynne* and Dr. *Baſtwick* five " thouſand pounds each, out of the eſtates of the archbiſhop " of Canterbury, the high commiſſioners, and thoſe lords " who had voted againſt them in the ſtar-chamber; but the " confuſion of the times prevented the payment of the " money."

Dr. *Leighton* was releaſed about the ſame time, and his fine of ten thouſand pounds remitted: the reading his petition drew tears from the houſe, being to this effect:

" *The humble Petition of* Alexander Leighton, *Priſoner in the* Fleet,

" *Humbly ſheweth*,

" THAT on Feb. 17, 1630, he was apprehended " coming from ſermon by a high commiſſion warrant, and " dragged along the ſtreet with bills and ſtaves to London- " houſe. That the gaoler of Newgate being ſent for, clapt " him in irons, and carried him with a ſtrong power into a " loathſome and ruinous dog-hole, full of rats and mice, " that had no light but a little grate, and the roof being " uncovered, the ſnow and rain beat in upon him, having " no bedding, nor place to make a fire, but the ruins of an " old ſmoaky chimney. In this woeful place he was ſhut " up for fifteen weeks, nobody being ſuffered to come near " him, till at length his wife only was admitted.

" That the fourth day after his commitment the *purſui-* " *vant*, with a mighty multitude, came to his houſe to ſearch " for jeſuits books, and uſed his wife in ſuch a barbarous " and inhuman manner as he is aſhamed to expreſs; that " they rifled every perſon and place, holding a piſtol to the " breaſt of a child of five years old, threatening to kill him " if he did not diſcover the books; that they broke open " cheſts, preſſes, boxes, and carried away every thing, even " houſhold ſtuff, apparel, arms, and other things; that at " the end of fifteen weeks he was ſerved with a *ſubpæna*, on " an information laid againſt him by Sir *Robert Heath*, " attorney-general, whoſe dealing with him was full of cru-

" elty

" elty and deceit; but he was then ſick, and, in the opinion " of four phyſicians, thought to be poiſoned, becauſe all his " hair and ſkin came off; that in the height of this ſickneſs " the cruel ſentence was paſſed upon him mentioned in the " year 1630, and executed Nov. 26 following, when he " received thirty-ſix ſtripes upon his naked back with a " threefold cord, his hands being tied to a ſtake, and then " ſtood almoſt two hours in the pillory in the froſt and ſnow, " before he was branded in the face, his noſe ſlit, and his " ears cut off; that after this he was carried by water to the " Fleet, and ſhut up in ſuch a room that he was never well, " and after eight years was turned into the common gaol." The houſe voted him ſatisfaction for his ſufferings; but it does not appear that he actually received any, except being keeper of Lambeth-houſe as a priſon, for which he muſt be very unfit, being now in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, and worn out with poverty, weakneſs, and pain.

Beſides thoſe aforenamed, there were likewiſe ſet at liberty, Dr. *Oſbaldeſton*, one of the prebendaries of Weſtminſter; the reverend Mr. *Henry Wilkinſon*, B. D. of Magdalen-hall, Oxford, Mr. *Smith*, *Wilſon*, *Small*, *Cooper*, and *Brewer*, who had been in priſon fourteen years;* Mr. *Geo. Walker*, who had been committed for preaching a ſermon Oct. 14, 1638, at St. John the Evangeliſt's London, and detained four weeks in the hands of a meſſenger, to whom he paid twenty pounds fees.† This gentleman after his proſecution in the ſtar-chamber, had been ſhut up ten weeks in the gate-houſe, and at laſt compelled to enter into a bond of a thouſand pounds to confine himſelf priſoner in his brother's houſe at Chiſwick, where he continued till this time, his parſonage being ſequeſtered; and in general all who were confined by the high commiſſion were releaſed, paſſing their words to be forth-coming whenever they ſhould be called for.

The impriſonment of the above-mentioned gentlemen being declared illegal, it is natural to imagine the houſe would make ſome enquiry after their proſecutors. About the latter end of January, Dr. *Coſins* prebendary of Durham, and afterwards biſhop of the dioceſe, was ſent for into cuſtody, on account of the ſuperſtitious innovations which he

* Nalſon's Col. p. 571. † Ib, p. 570.

had

had introduced into that cathedral.* The doctor in his anſwer denied the whole charge, and as to the particulars he replied, that the marble altar with cherubims was ſet up before he was prebendary of the church;† that he did not approve of the image of God the Father, and that to his knowledge there was no ſuch repreſentation in the church at Durham; that the crucifix with a blue cap and golden beard, was miſtaken for the top of biſhop *Hatfield*'s tomb, which had been erected many years before; that there were but two candles on the communion table; and, that no more were uſed on *Candlemas* night than in the *Chriſtmas* holidays; that he did not forbid the ſinging the pſalms in metre;§ nor direct the ſinging of the anthem to the three kings of Colen;‡ nor uſe a conſecrated knife at the ſacrament. The lords were ſo far ſatisfied with the doctor's anſwer, as not to commit him at preſent;‖ but the commons having voted him unfit to hold any eccleſiaſtical promotion, the doctor, foreſeeing the ſtorm that was coming upon the church, wiſely withdrew into France,¶

* Nalſon's Col. p. 789.

† But when *Smart* was one of the chapter; and that many of the things objected to himſelf were introduced while his accuſer was prebendary. Dr. *Grey*, from *Collier*. Ed.

§ But uſed to ſing them himſelf, with the people at morning prayer.

‡ But ordered it, on his firſt coming to the Cathedral, to be cut out of the old ſong book belonging to the choriſters: and no ſuch anthem had been ſung in the choir during his being there, nor, as far as his enquiry could reach, for threeſcore years before. Dr. *Grey* from *Collier*. Ed.

‖ The doctor's anſwer was entered on the rolls of parliament, and made good before the lords by himſelf, and by the witneſs that *Smart* and his ſon-in-law produced againſt him. Upon this *Smart*'s lawyer told him, at the bar of the houſe of lords, that he was aſhamed of the complaint, and refuſed to proceed in the ſupport of it. *Collier* alſo ſays, that many of the lords declared, that *Smart* had abuſed the houſe of commons with a groundleſs complaint againſt *Coſins*; who, by an order from the lords, delivered to him by the earl of Warwick, had liberty to go where he pleaſed. Eccles. Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 798. Ed.

¶ He fixed his reſidence in Paris, where he was appointed chaplain to the proteſtant part of queen *Henrietta*'s family. Many advantageous offers were made him, to tempt him over to the communion of the church of Rome; and he was alſo attacked by threats of aſſaſſination; but continued an unſhaken proteſtant. The arts of the papiſts ſucceeded with his only ſon, whom they prevailed with to embrace the catholick faith, and to take upon him religious orders. This was a very heavy affliction to his father, who on this ground left his eſtate from him. Granger's Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 234, 8vo. and Nalſon's Collections, vol. i. p. 519. Ed.

where he behaved diſcreetly and prudently till the reſtoration being ſoftened in his principles by age and ſufferings.

Dr. *Matthew Wren*, late biſhop of Norwich, and now of Ely, having been remarkably ſevere againſt the puritan clergy in his dioceſes, the inhabitants of Ipſwich drew up a petition againſt him, and preſented it to the houſe Dec. 22, 1640;* upon which the committee of parliament exhibited a charge againſt him, conſiſting of twenty-five articles relating to the late innovations. It was carried up to the lords by Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, and ſets forth, that during the time of his being biſhop of Norwich, which was about two years, fifty miniſters had been excommunicated, ſuſpended, and deprived, *for not reading the ſecond ſervice at the communion table; for not reading the book of ſports; for uſing conceived prayers before the afternoon ſermon, &c.* and that by his rigorous ſeverities many of his majeſty's ſubjects, to the number of three thouſand, had removed themſelves, their families, and eſtates, to Holland, and ſet up their manufactories there, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom. I do not find that the biſhop put in a particular anſwer to theſe articles, nor was he taken into cuſtody, but only gave bond for his appearance. Some time after the commons voted him unfit to hold any eccleſiaſtical preferment in the church; and both lords and commons joined in a petition to the king, to remove the ſaid biſhop from his perſon and ſervice; after which he was impriſoned, with the reſt of the proteſting biſhops. Upon his releaſe he retired to his houſe at Downham in the iſle of Ely, from whence he was taken by a party of parliament ſoldiers and conveyed to the tower, where he continued a patient priſoner till the end of the year 1659, without being brought to his trial, or admitted to bail.

Complaints were made againſt ſeveral other biſhops and clergymen, as Dr. *Pierce* biſhop of Bath and Wells, Dr. *Montague* biſhop of Norwich, Dr. *Owen* biſhop of Landaff, and Dr. *Manwaring* biſhop of St. David's; but the houſe had too many affairs upon their hands to attend to their proſecutions. Of the inferior clergy, Dr. *Stone*, *Chaffin*, *Aſton*, *Jones*, and ſome others, who had been inſtruments of ſeve-

* Nalſon's Collections, p. 692.

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rity in the late times, were voted unfit for eccleſiaſtical promotions. Dr. *Layfield*, archdeacon of Eſſex, pleaded his privilege as a member of convocation, according to an old popiſh ſtatute of *Henry* VI.* but the committee over-ruled it, and voted the doctor into cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms. Dr. *Pocklington*, canon of Windſor, and prebendary of Peterborough, was complained of for two books, one entitled the *Chriſtian Altar*; the other, *Sunday no Sabbath*; which had been licenſed by Dr. *Bray*, one of the archbiſhop's chaplains. The doctor acknowledged his offence at the bar of the houſe, confeſſed that he had not examined the books with that caution that he ought, and made a publick recantation in the church of Weſtminſter; but *Pocklington*, refuſing to recant about thirty falſe propoſitions, which the biſhop of Lincoln had collected out of his books, was ſentenced by the lord keeper *to be deprived of his eccleſiaſtical preferments; to be for ever diſabled to hold any place or dignity in the church or commonwealth; never to come within the verge of his majeſty's court; and his books to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman in the city of London, and the two univerſities.* Both the doctors died ſoon after. The number of petitions that were ſent up to the committee of religion from all parts of the country againſt their clergy is incredible;† ſome complaining of their ſuperſtitious impoſitions, and others of the immorality of their lives, and neglect of their

* There was no particular propriety, rather it was, as Dr. *Grey* intimates, ſomewhat invidious in Mr. *Neal*, thus to characteriſe this ſtatute, relative to the privilege of the clergy coming to convocation, as it muſt, being of ſo antient a date, neceſſarily be popiſh; as is one fourth part of the ſtatute law: and there are various inſtances of its being enforced ſince the reformation, and even in the preſent century; of which Dr. *Grey* gives ample proof. Ed.

† Dr. *Grey* judges it not at all incredible; becauſe, on the authority of lord *Clarendon*, he adds, unfair methods of obtaining petitions were uſed in thoſe times of iniquity and confuſion. The diſingenuous art of which, his lordſhip complains, was procuring ſignatures to a petition drawn up in modeſt and dutiful terms, and then cutting it off and ſubſtituting another of a different ſtrain and ſpirit, and annexing it to the liſt of ſubſcribers. This practice, if his lordſhip aſſerted it on good evidence, deſerves to be cenſured in the ſtrongeſt terms. A virtuous mind has too often occaſion to be ſurpriſed, and ſhocked, at the arts which party prejudice and views can adopt. Hiſtory of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 203. Ed.

cures; which ſhews the little eſteem they had among the people, who were weary of their yoke, regarding them no longer than they were under the terror of their excommunications.

Such was the ſpirit of the populace, that it was difficult to prevent their outrunning authority, and tearing down in a tumultuous manner what they were told had been illegally ſet up. At St. Saviour's, Southwark, the mob pulled down the rails about the communion table. At Halſtead in Eſſex, they tore the ſurplice, and abuſed the ſervice-book; nay, when the houſe of commons was aſſembled at St. Margaret's Weſtminſter, as the prieſt was beginning the ſecond ſervice at the communion table, ſome at the lower end of the church began a pſalm, which was followed by the congregation, ſo that the miniſter was forced to deſiſt. But to prevent theſe ſeditious practices for the future, the lords and commons paſſed a very ſevere ſentence on the rioters, and publiſhed the following order, bearing date Jan. 16, 1640-1, appointing it to be read in all the pariſh churches of London, Weſtminſter, and the borough of Southwark, viz. "That "divine ſervice ſhall be performed as it is appointed by the "acts of parliament of this realm; and that all ſuch as "diſturb that wholeſome order ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed "by law." But then it was added, "That the parſons, "vicars, and curates, of the ſeveral pariſhes, ſhall forbear to "introduce any rites or ceremonies that may give offence, "otherwiſe than thoſe which are eſtabliſhed by the laws of "the land." The deſign of this proviſo was to guard againſt the late innovations, and in particular, againſt the clergy's refuſing the ſacrament to ſuch as would not receive it kneeling at the rails.

There was ſuch a violent clamour againſt the *high clergy*, that they could hardly officiate according to the late injunctions, without being affronted, nor walk the ſtreets in their habits (ſays *Nalſon*) without being reproached as *popiſh prieſts*, *Cæſar's friends*, *&c.* The reputation of the liturgy began to ſink; reading prayers was called a *lifeleſs form of worſhip*, and a quenching the Holy Spirit, whoſe aſſiſtances are promiſed in the matter, as well as the manner of our prayers; beſides, the nation being in a criſis, it was thought impoſſible

impoſſible that the old forms ſhould be ſuitable to the exigency of the times, or to the circumſtances of particular perſons, who might deſire a ſhare in the devotions of the church. Thoſe miniſters, therefore, who prayed with fervency and devotion,* in words of their own conception, ſuitable either to the ſermon that was preached, or to the preſent urgency of affairs, had crouded and attentive auditories, while the ordinary ſervice of the church was deſerted as cold, formal, and without ſpirit.

The diſcipline of the church being relaxed, the *Browniſts* or *Independants*, who had aſſembled in private, and ſhifted from houſe to houſe for twenty or thirty years, reſumed their courage, and ſhewed themſelves in publick. We have given an account of their original, from Mr. *Robinſon* and Mr. *Jacob*, in the year 1616, the laſt of whom was ſucceeded by Mr. *John Lathorp*, formerly a clergyman in Kent, but having renounced his orders, he became paſtor of this little ſociety. In his time the congregation was diſcovered by *Tomlinſon*, the biſhop's purſuivant, April 29, 1632, at the houſe of Mr. *Humphry Barnet*, a brewer's clerk, in Black-Fryars, where forty-two of them were apprehended, and only eighteen eſcaped: of thoſe that were taken, ſome were confined in the Clink, others in New-Priſon and the Gate-houſe, where they continued about two years, and were then releaſed upon bail, except Mr. *Lathorp*, for whom no favour could be obtained; he therefore petitioned the king for liberty to depart the kingdom, which being granted, he went, in the year 1634, to New-England, with about thirty of his followers. Mr. *Lathorp* was a man of learning, and of a meek and

* Dr. *Grey* gives ſome ſpecimens of this, which are very much in the ſtyle of thoſe in the piece entitled "Scotch Preſbyterian Eloquence." The improved taſte of this age, and rational devotion, revolt at them. But Dr. *Grey* did not reflect, that the offenſive improprieties, which he expoſes, were not peculiar to extemporary prayer, nor to the puritans; they were agreeable to the faſhion of the age, and incorporated themſelves with the precompoſed prayers publiſhed by royal command. The thankſgiving for victory in the North, 1643, affords an inſtance of this. "Lord! look "to the righteouſneſs of our cauſe. See the *ſeamleſs coat* of thy ſon torne, "the *throne* of thine anointed trampled on, thy *church* invaded by ſacrilege, "and thy *people* miſerably deceived with lies." *Robinſon*'s Tranſlation of *Claude*'s Eſſay on the Compoſition of a Sermon, vol. ii. p. 84. Ed.

quiet ſpirit, but met with ſome uneaſineſſes, upon occaſion of one of his people carrying his child to be re-baptized by the pariſh miniſter; ſome of the congregation inſiſting, that it ſhould be baptized, becauſe the other adminiſtration was not valid; but when the queſtion was put, it was carried in the negative, and reſolved by the majority, not to make any declaration at preſent, *Whether or no pariſh churches were true churches?* Upon this ſome of the more rigid, and others who were diſſatisfied about the lawfulneſs of infant baptiſm, deſired their diſmiſſion, which was granted them; theſe ſet up by themſelves, and choſe Mr. *Jeſſe* their miniſter, who laid the foundation of the firſt baptiſt congregation* that I have met with in England. But the reſt renewed their covenant, *to walk together in the ways of God, ſo far as he had made them known, or ſhould make them known to them, and to forſake all falſe ways.* And ſo ſteady were they to their vows, that hardly an inſtance can be produced, of one that deſerted to the church by the ſevereſt proſecutions.

Upon Mr. *Lathorp*'s retiring into New-England the congregation choſe for their paſtor the famous Mr. *Canne*,† author of the marginal references in the bible, who, after he had preached to them in private houſes for a year or two, was driven by the ſeverity of the times into Holland, and became paſtor of the *Browniſt* congregation at Amſterdam.

* According to *Croſby* this is a miſtake, and there were three baptiſt churches in England before that of Mr. *Jeſſe*. One formed by the ſeparation of many perſons from Mr. *Lathorp*'s, in 1633, before he left England. Another by a ſecond ſeparation from the ſame church in 1638, the members of which joined themſelves to Mr. *Spilſbury*. And a third, which originated, in 1639, with Mr. *Green* and Captain *Spencer*, whom Mr. *Paul Hobſon* joined. *Croſby*'s Hiſtory of the Engliſh Baptiſts, vol. iii. p. 41, 42. Ed.

† *Croſby* ſays, that the church, of which Mr. *Canne*, Mr. *Samuel Howe*, and Mr. *Stephen More*, were ſucceſſively paſtors, was conſtituted and planted by Mr. *Hubbard*. And it is not certain, whether Mr. *Canne* was a baptiſt or not. He was the author of three ſets of notes on the bible, which accompanied three different editions of it. One printed *by him* at Amſterdam, 1647; which refers to a former one, and profeſſes to add "many hebra-"iſms, diverſitie of readings, with conſonancie of parallel ſcriptures, *taken* "*out of the laſt annotations*, and all ſet in due order and place." Another is commonly known, and has been often reprinted. There was alſo an impreſſion of it at Amſterdam, 1664. A new edition of the bible of 1664, is a deſideratum. Two Treatiſes of *Henry Ainſworth*. Pref. p. 35, note; and *Croſby*, vol. iii. p. 40. Ed.

After

After Mr. *Canne*, Mr. *Samuel Howe* undertook the paſtoral care of this little flock; he was a man of learning, and printed a ſmall treatiſe, called, *The Sufficiency of the Spirit's Teaching*.* But not being enough upon his guard in converſation, he laid himſelf open to the *informers*, by whoſe means he was cited into the Spiritual Courts, and excommunicated; hereupon he abſconded, till being at laſt taken, he was ſhut up in cloſe priſon, where he died. His friends would have buried him in Shoreditch church-yard, but, being excommunicated, the officers of the pariſh would not admit it, ſo they buried him in a piece of ground at Anniſeed Clear, where many of his congregation were buried after him.†

Upon Mr. *Howe*'s death the little church was forced to take up with a layman, Mr. *Stephen More*, a citizen of London, of good natural parts, and of conſiderable ſubſtance in the world; he had been their deacon for ſome years, and in the preſent exigency accepted of the paſtoral office, to the apparent hazard of his eſtate and liberty. However, the face of affairs beginning now to change, this poor congregation, which had ſubſiſted almoſt by a miracle for above twenty-four years, ſhifting from place to place, to avoid the notice of the publick, ventured to open their doors in Dead-Man's place, in Southwark, Jan. 18, 1640-1. Mr. *Fuller* calls them a congregation of *Anabaptiſts*, who were met together to the number of eighty; but by their journal or church book, an abſtract of which is now before me, it appears to be Mr. *More*'s congregation of *Independants*, who, being aſſembled in Dead-Man's place on the Lord's

* The treatiſe here mentioned, we are informed, diſplayed ſtrength of genius, but was written by a COBLER; as appears by the following recommendatory lines prefixed to it:

"What *How?* how now? hath *How* ſuch learning found,
To throw art's curious image to the ground?
Cambridge and *Oxford* may their glory now
Veil to a *Cobler*, if they knew but *How*."

This treatiſe was founded on 2 Pet. iii. 16, and deſigned to ſhew not the inſufficiency only of human learning to the purpoſes of religion, but that it was dangerous and hurtful. So that Mr. *Neal* was miſtaken in ſpeaking of its author as a man of learning. *Croſby*, vol. iii. p. 39, note. ED.

† *Croſby*'s Hiſtory of Engliſh Baptiſts, vol. i. p. 165.

day,

day, were diſturbed by the marſhal of the King's-bench, and moſt of them committed to the Clink priſon. Next morning ſix or ſeven of the men were carried before the houſe of lords, and charged with denying the king's ſupremacy in eccleſiaſtical matters, and with preaching in ſeparate congregations, contrary to the ſtatute of the 35th of *Eliz.* The latter they confeſſed, and as to the former, they declared to the houſe, that *they could acknowledge no other head of the church but Chriſt*; *that they apprehended no prince on earth had power to make laws to bind the conſcience*; *and that ſuch laws as were contrary to the laws of God, ought not to be obeyed*; *but that they diſowned all foreign power and juriſdiction.* Such a declaration a twelvemonth ago might have coſt them their ears; but the houſe, inſtead of remitting them to the eccleſiaſtical courts, diſmiſſed them with a gentle reprimand, and three or four of the members came out of curioſity to their aſſembly next Lord's day, to hear their miniſter preach, and to ſee him adminiſter the ſacrament, and were ſo well ſatisfied, that they contributed to their collection for the poor.

To return to the parliament. It has been obſerved, that one of their firſt reſolutions was to reduce the powers of the ſpiritual courts. The old popiſh canons, which were the laws by which they proceeded, (as far as they had not been controuled by the common law or particular ſtatutes) were ſuch a labyrinth, that when the ſubject was got into the commons he knew not how to defend himſelf, nor which way to get out. The kings of England had always declined a reformation of the *eccleſiaſtical laws*, though a plan had been laid before them ever ſince the reign of king *Edw.* VI. But the grievance was now become inſufferable, by the numbers of illegal impriſonments, deprivations, and fines levied upon the ſubject in the late times, for crimes not actionable in the courts of Weſtminſter-hall; it was neceſſary therefore to bring the juriſdiction of theſe courts to a parliamentary ſtandard, but, till this could not be accompliſhed by a new law, all that could be done was to vote down the late innovations, which had very little effect; and therefore on the 23d of Jan. the houſe of commons ordered commiſſioners to be ſent into all the counties, to demoliſh, and remove out of churches and chapels, all *images, altars, or tables turned altarwiſe, crucifixes,*

ſixes, ſuperſtitious pictures, and other monuments and relicts of idolatry, agreeably to the injunctions of king *Edward* VI. and queen *Elizabeth*. How far the houſe of commons, who are but one branch of the legiſlature, may appoint commiſſioners to put the laws in execution, without the concurrence of the other two, is ſo very queſtionable, that I will not take upon me to determine.

The univerſity of Cambridge having complained of the oaths and ſubſcriptions impoſed upon young ſtudents at their matriculation, as *ſubſcribing to the book of common prayer, and to the thirty-nine articles*, the houſe of commons voted, "That the ſtatute made twenty-ſeven years ago in the uni-"verſity of Cambridge, impoſing upon young ſcholars a "ſubſcription, according to the thirty-ſixth canon of 1603, "is againſt law and the liberty of the ſubject, and ought "not to be impoſed upon any ſtudents or graduates what-"ſoever." About five months forwards they paſſed the ſame reſolution for Oxford, which was not unreaſonable, becauſe the univerſities had not an unlimited power, by the thirty-ſixth canon, to call upon all their ſtudents to ſubſcribe, but only upon ſuch lecturers or readers of divinity whom they had a privilege of licenſing; and to this I conceive the laſt words of the canon refer; *if either of the univerſities offend therein, we leave them to the danger of the law and his majeſty's cenſure.*

And it ought to be remembered, that all the proceedings of the houſe of commons this year, in puniſhing delinquents, and all their votes and reſolutions about the circumſtances of publick worſhip, had no other view, than the cutting off thoſe illegal additions and innovations, which the ſuperſtition of the late times had introduced, and reducing the diſcipline of the church to the ſtandard of the ſtatute law. No man was puniſhed for acting according to law; but the diſpleaſure of the houſe ran high againſt thoſe, who, in their publick miniſtrations, or in their eccleſiaſtical courts, had bound thoſe things upon the ſubject which were either contrary to the laws of the land, or about which the laws were altogether ſilent.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Antiquity of Liturgies, and of the Epiſcopal Order, debated between Biſhop HALL *and* SMECTYMNUUS. *Petitions for and againſt the Hierarchy.* ROOT *and* BRANCH *Petition. The Miniſters Petition for Reformation. Speeches upon the Petitions. Proceedings againſt Papiſts.*

THE debates in parliament concerning the *Engliſh* liturgy and hierarchy engaged the attention of the whole nation, and revived the controverſy without doors. The preſs being open, great numbers of anonymous pamphlets appeared againſt the eſtabliſhment, not without indecent and provoking language, under theſe and the like titles; *Prelatical Epiſcopacy not from the Apoſtles. Lord Biſhops not the Lord's Biſhops. Short view of the Prelatical Church of* England. *A compariſon between the Liturgy and the Maſs Book. Service Book no better than a Meſs of Pottage, &c.* Lord *Brook* attacked the order of biſhops in a treatiſe of the *Nature of Epiſcopacy*, wherein he reflects in an ungenerous manner upon the low pedigree of the preſent *bench*, as if nothing except a noble deſcent could qualify men to ſit among the peers. Several of the biſhops vindicated their pedigree and families, as biſhop *Williams*, *Moreton*, *Curle*, *Cooke*, *Owen*, &c. and archbiſhop *Uſher* defended the *order*, in a treatiſe entitled, *The Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy*;* but then, by a *biſhop* his lordſhip underſtood no more than a ſtated

* *Nalſon*, in his Collections, vol. ii. p. 279, 280, and after him, *Collier*, Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 808, have abridged the arguments of this piece; but theſe abſtracts do not ſhew, as Dr. *Grey* would intimate, the extent of juriſdiction, or the nature of the power, according to biſhop *Uſher*'s idea, exerciſed by the primitive biſhops. They go to prove only a ſuperiority to elders; and by a quotation from *Beza*, it ſhould ſeem that this prelate, as Mr. *Neal* ſays, meant by a biſhop only a preſident of the preſbytery of a place or diſtrict. The preſbyterians are charged with miſrepreſenting the biſhop's opinion, and with printing a faulty and ſurreptitious copy of his book. If this were done knowingly and deſignedly, it muſt rank with ſuch *pious arts* as deſerve ſevere cenſure. Dr. *Grey*. ED.

preſident

preſident over an aſſembly of preſbyters, which the *puritans* of theſe times were willing to admit. The moſt celebrated writer on the ſide of the eſtabliſhment, was the learned and pious biſhop *Hall*, who, at the requeſt of archbiſhop *Laud*, had publiſhed a treatiſe entitled, EPISCOPACY OF DIVINE RIGHT, as has been related. This reverend prelate, upon the gathering of the preſent ſtorm, appeared a ſecond time in its defence, in *an humble remonſtrance to the high court of parliament*; and ſometime after, in *a defence of that remonſtrance*, in vindication of the antiquity of liturgies and of dioceſan epiſcopacy.

The biſhop's remonſtrance was anſwered by a celebrated treatiſe under the title of SMECTYMNUUS, a fictitious word made up of the initial letters of the names of the authors, *(viz.) Stephen Marſhal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen*, and *William Spurſtow*. When the biſhop had replied to their book, theſe divines publiſhed *a vindication of their anſwer to the humble remonſtrance*; which, being an appeal to the legiſlature on both ſides, may be ſuppoſed to contain the merits of the controverſy, and will therefore deſerve the reader's attention.

The debate was upon theſe two heads;

I. Of the antiquity of liturgies, or forms of prayer.
II. Of the apoſtolical inſtitution of dioceſan epiſcopacy.

The biſhop begins with liturgies, by which he underſtands *certain preſcribed and limited forms of prayer, compoſed for the publick ſervice of the church, and appointed to be read at all times of publick worſhip*. The antiquity of theſe, his lordſhip derives down from *Moſes*, by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion, to the preſent time. "God's people, ſays he, ever ſince "*Moſes*'s day, conſtantly practiſed a ſet form, and put it over "to the times of the goſpel. Our bleſſed Saviour, and his "gracious forerunner, taught a direct form of prayer. "When *Peter* and *John* went up to the temple at the ninth "hour of prayer, we know the prayer wherein they joined "was not of an *extempore* and ſudden conception, but of a "regular preſcription; and the evangelical church ever ſince "thought it could never better improve her peace and hap-"pineſs, than in compoſing thoſe religious models of invoca-

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" tion and thankſgiving, which they have traduced unto us, " as the liturgies of St. *James*, *Baſil*, and *Chryſoſtom*, and " which, though in ſome places corrupted, ſerve to prove " the thing itſelf."

SMECTYMNUUS replies, that if there had been any liturgies in the times of the firſt and moſt venerable antiquity, the great inquirers after them would have produced them to the world before this time; but that there were none in the chriſtian church is evident from *Tertullian* in his *Apol. cap.* 30, where he ſays, The chriſtians of thoſe times, in their publick aſſemblies, prayed *ſine monitore quia de pectore, without any prompter except their own hearts.* And in his treatiſe of prayer, he adds, There are ſome things to be aſked *according to the occaſions of every man.* St. *Auſtin* ſays the ſame thing, *Ep.* 121. " It is free to aſk the ſame things " that are deſired in the Lord's prayer, *aliis atque aliis verbis*, " ſometimes in one manner of expreſſion, and ſometimes in " another." And before this, *Juſtin Martyr* in his apology ſays, ὁ προεστὼς, *the preſident*, or he that inſtructed the people, prayed *according to his ability*, or as well as he could. Nor was this liberty of prayer taken away till the times when the *arian* and *pelagian* hereſies* invaded the church; it was then firſt ordained, that none ſhould pray *pro arbitrio, ſed ſemper eaſdem preces*; *that they ſhould not uſe the liberty which they had hitherto practiſed, but ſhould always keep to one form of prayer.* Concil. Laod. can. 18th. Still this was a form of their own compoſing, as appears by a canon of the council of Carthage, *anno* 397, which gives this reaſon for it, *ut nemo in precibus vel patrem pro filio, vel filium pro patre nominet, & cum altari adſiſtitur ſemper ad patrem dirigatur oratio; & quicunque ſibi preces aliunde deſcribit, non iis utatur niſi prius eas cum fratribus inſtructioribus contulerit*; i. e. " That " none in their prayers might miſtake the Father for the Son,

* It is to be wiſhed that Mr. *Neal* had uſed the word *opinions* inſtead of *hereſies*. It was indeed, the ſtile of the times, when he wrote, and of many preceding ages: but the application of the term conveys not only the idea of error, but of error accompanied with malignity of mind and guilt. There may be *great errors*, without any of that *criminality*, which the word *hereſy*, in the ſcripture meaning of it, implieth. Beſides pronouncing opinions, *hereſies*, is rather the language of authority and infallibility, than of the enquirer after truth, and prejudiceth the mind. ED.

" or

" or the Son for the Father; and that when they aſſiſt at the " altar, prayer might be always directed to the Father. And " whoſoever compoſes any different forms, let him not make " uſe of them till he has firſt conſulted with his more learned " brethren." It appears from hence, that there was no uniform preſcribed liturgy at this time in the church, but that the more ignorant prieſts might make uſe of forms of their own compoſing, provided they conſulted their more learned brethren; till at length it was ordained at the council of Milan, *anno* 416, that none ſhould uſe ſet forms of prayer, except ſuch as were approved in a ſynod. They go on to tranſcribe, from *Juſtin Martyr* and *Tertullian*, the manner of publick worſhip in *their* times, which was this; firſt the ſcriptures were read; after reading, followed an exhortation to the practice and imitation of what was read; then all roſe up and joined in prayer; after this they went to the ſacrament, in the beginning whereof the preſident of the aſſembly poured out prayers and thankſgivings, *according to his ability*, and the people ſaid *amen*; then followed the diſtribution of the elements, and a collection of alms. This was *Juſtin Martyr*'s liturgy or ſervice, and *Tertullian*'s is the ſame, only he mentions their beginning with prayer before reading the ſcriptures, and their *love feaſts*, which alſo opened and concluded with prayer, and were celebrated with ſinging of pſalms. Although the *Smectymnuans* admit that our bleſſed Saviour taught his diſciples a form of prayer, yet they deny that he deſigned to confine them to the uſe of thoſe words only, nor did the primitive church ſo underſtand it, as has been proved from St. *Auſtin*. The pretended liturgies of St. *James*, *Baſil*, and St. *Chryſoſtom*, are of little weight in this argument, as being allowed by the biſhop, and the moſt learned critics both proteſtants and papiſts, to be full of forgeries and ſpurious inſertions. Upon the whole, therefore, they challenge his lordſhip to produce any one genuine liturgy, uſed in the chriſtian church for three hundred years after Chriſt.*

* Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, [Hiſt. Ref. part 2d, p. 72,] That it was in the fourth century that the liturgies of St. *James*, St. *Baſil*, &c. were firſt mentioned; that the council of Laodicea appointed the ſame prayers to be uſed mornings and evenings, but that theſe forms were left to the diſcretion of every biſhop; nor was it made the ſubject of any public conſultation till St. *Auſtin*'s time, when, in their dealing with hereticks, they found they took advantage

From the antiquity of liturgies in general, the biſhop deſcends to a more particular commendation of that which is eſtabliſhed in the church of England, as that it was drawn up by wiſe and good men with great deliberation; that it had been ſealed with the blood of martyrs; and was ſelected out of ancient models, not *roman* but *chriſtian*.

In anſwer to which theſe divines appeal to the proclamation of *Edward* VI. wherein the original of it is publiſhed to the world. The *ſtatute* mentions four different forms then in uſe, out of which an uniform office was to be collected, *viz. the uſe of* Sarum, *of* Bangor, *of* York, and *of* Lincoln; all which were ROMAN rather than CHRISTIAN; they admit his lordſhip's other encomiums of the Engliſh liturgy, but affirm that it was ſtill imperfect, and in many places offenſive to tender conſciences.

The good biſhop, after all, ſeems willing to compromiſe the difference about prayer. "Far be it from me (ſays his "lordſhip) to diſhearten any good chriſtian from the uſe of "conceived prayer in his *private devotions*, and upon occa- "ſion alſo in the *publick*. I would hate to be guilty of pour- "ing ſo much water upon the ſpirit, to which I ſhould gladly "add oil rather. No, let the full ſoul freely pour out itſelf "in gracious expreſſions of its holy thoughts into the boſom "of the Almighty; let both the ſudden flaſhes of our quick "ejaculations, and the conſtant flames of our more fixed "conceptions, mount up from the altar of a zealous heart "unto the throne of grace; and if there be ſome ſtops or "ſoleciſms, in the fervent utterance of our private wants, "theſe are ſo far from being offenſive, that they are the moſt

advantage from ſome of the prayers that were in ſome churches; upon which it was ordered, that there ſhould be no publick prayers uſed but by common advice. Formerly, ſays the biſhop, the worſhip of God was a pure and ſimple thing, and ſo it continued, till ſuperſtition had ſo infected the church, that thoſe forms were thought too naked, unleſs they were put under more artificial rules, and dreſſed up with much ceremony. In every age there were notable additions made, and all the writers almoſt in the eighth and ninth centuries employed their fancies to find out myſtical ſignifications for every *rite* that was then uſed, till at length there were ſo many *miſſals, breviaries, rituals, pontificals, pontoiſes, pies, graduals, antiphonals, pſalteries, hours*, and a great many more, that the underſtanding how to officiate was become ſo hard a piece of trade, that it was not to be learned without long practice.

"pleaſing

"pleaſing muſick to the ears of that God unto whom our "prayers come; let them be broken off with ſobs and ſighs, "and incongruities of our delivery, our good God is no "otherways affected to this imperfect elocution, than an in-"dulgent parent is to the clipped and broken language of "his dear child, which is more delightful to him than any "other's ſmooth oratory. This is not to be oppoſed in "another, by any man that hath found the true operations "of this grace in himſelf——" "What I have profeſſed "concerning *conceived prayers*, is that which I have ever "allowed, ever practiſed, both in private and publick. God "is a free Spirit, and ſo ſhould ours be, in pouring out our "voluntary devotions upon all occaſions; nothing hinders "but that this liberty and a publick liturgy ſhould be good "friends, and go hand in hand together; and whoſoever "would forcibly ſeparate them, let them bear their own "blame——the over-rigorous preſſing of the liturgy, to the "juſtling out of preaching or *conceived prayers*, was never "intended either by the law-makers, or moderate governors "of the church." If the biſhops, while in power, had practiſed according to theſe pious and generous principles, their affairs could not have been brought to ſuch a dangerous criſis at this time.

II. The other point in debate between the biſhop and his adverſaries, related to the *ſuperior order of biſhops*. And here the controverſy was not about the name, which ſignifies in the *greek* no more than an OVERSEER, but about the office and character; the *Smectymnuan* divines contended, that a *primitive biſhop* was no other than a *parochial paſtor*, or a preaching preſbyter, without pre-eminence or any proper rule over his brethren. His lordſhip on the other hand affirms, that *biſhops* were originally a *diſtinct order from preſbyters, inſtituted by the apoſtles themſelves, and inveſted with the ſole power of ordination and eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction*; that in this ſenſe they are of *divine inſtitution*, and have continued in the church by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion to the preſent time. The biſhop enters upon this argument with unuſual aſſurance, bearing down his adverſaries with a torrent of bold and unguarded expreſſions. His words are theſe, "This "holy calling (meaning the order of biſhops as diſtinct from "peſbyters)

"preſbyters) fetches its pedigree from no leſs than apoſtoli-
"cal, and therefore divine inſtitution. Except all hiſtories,
"all authors fail us, nothing can be more plain than this;
"out of them we can and do ſhew on whom the apoſtles of
"Chriſt laid their hands, with an acknowledgment and con-
"veyance of IMPARITY and JURISDICTION. We ſhew
"what biſhops ſo ordained lived in the times of the apoſtles,
"and ſucceeded each other in their ſeveral charges under the
"eyes and hands of the then living apoſtles. We ſhew who
"immediately ſucceeded thoſe immediate ſucceſſors in their
"ſeveral ſees, throughout all the regions of the chriſtian
"church, and deduce their uninterrupted line through all
"the following ages to this preſent day; and if there can
"be better evidence under heaven for any matter of fact,
"(and, in this cauſe, matter of fact ſo derived evinceth mat-
"ter of right) let epiſcopacy be for ever abandoned out of
"God's church.—Again, if we do not ſhew, out of the
"genuine and undeniable writings of thoſe holy men who
"lived both in the times of the apoſtles and ſome years after
"them, and converſed with them as their bleſſed fellow la-
"bourers, a clear and received diſtinction both of the names
"and offices of biſhops, preſbyters, and deacons, as *three*
"*diſtinct ſubordinate callings in God's church*, with an evi-
"dent ſpecification of the duty and charge belonging to each
"of them; let this claimed hierachy be for ever hooted out
"of the church."*

The biſhop admits,† that, in the language of ſcripture, *biſhops* and *preſbyters* are the ſame; that there is a plain identity in their denomination, and that we never find theſe three orders mentioned together, *biſhops*, *preſbyters*, and *deacons*; but though there be no diſtinction of names, his lordſhip apprehends there is a real diſtinction and ſpecification of powers; which are,

I. The ſole right of ordination.
II. The ſole right of ſpiritual juriſdiction.

I. The *ſole right of ordination* his lordſhip proves from the words of St. *Paul*, 2 Tim. i. 6. *Stir up the gift of God which is in thee by the laying on of* MY HANDS; and that this

* Remonſtrance, p. 21. † Defence, p. 47.

power

power was never communicated to *preſbyters*, from the words of St. *Jerom*, by whom ordination is excepted from the office of a preſbyter: *quid facit epiſcopus, quod non facit preſbyter, excepta ordinatione.* And yet (ſays his lordſhip) our *Engliſh* biſhops do not appropriate this *power* to themſelves: "Say, brethren, I beſeech you after all this noiſe, what "biſhops ever undertook to ordain a preſbyter *alone*, or "without the concurrent impoſition of many hands? This "is perpetually and unfailably done by us."

The *Smectymnuan divines* contend on the other hand, that biſhops and preſbyters were originally the ſame; that *ordination* to the office of a biſhop does not differ from the ordination of a preſbyter; that there are no powers conveyed to a biſhop which preſbyters are ſecluded from; nor any qualification required in one more than in the other; that admitting *Timothy* was a proper biſhop, which they deny, yet that he was ordained by the laying on of the hands of the *preſbytery* as well as of St. *Paul*'s, 1 Tim. iv. 14. That the original of the *order* of biſhops, was from the preſbyters chooſing one from among themſelves to be ſtated preſident in their aſſemblies, in the ſecond or third century; that St. *Jerom* declares, once and again, that in the days of the apoſtles, biſhops and preſbyters were the ſame; that as low as his time they had gained nothing but *ordination*; and that St. *Chryſoſtom* and *Theophylact* affirm, that while the apoſtles lived, and for ſome ages after, the names of biſhops and preſbyters were not diſtinguiſhed. This (ſay they) is the voice of the moſt primitive antiquity.* But the *Smectymnuans* are amazed at his lordſhip's aſſertion, that the biſhops of the church of England never ordained without preſbyters; and that this was ſo conſtant a practice, that no inſtance can be

* In the debate of the houſe on this head, the authority of that very ancient parchment copy of the bible in St. *James*'s library, ſent by *Cyrillus* patriarch of *Alexandria*, to king *Charles* I. being all written in great capital *Greek* letters, was vouched and aſſerted by Sir *Simon D'Ewes*, a great antiquary, wherein the poſtſcript to the epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus* are only this, "This firſt to *Timothy*, written from *Laodicea*; to *Titus* written from *Nicopolis*;" whence he inferred, that the ſtiling of *Timothy* and *Titus* firſt biſhops of *Epheſus* and *Crete*, were the ſpurious additions of ſome eaſtern biſhop or monk, at leaſt five hundred years after Chriſt.

Ruſhworth, vol. iv. p. 284.

produced of its being done without them. "Strange! (ſay "they) when ſome of us have been eye-witneſſes of many "ſcores who have been ordained by a biſhop in his private "chapel, without the preſence of any preſbyter, except his "domeſtick chaplain, who only read prayers. Beſides, the "biſhop's *letters of orders* make no mention of the aſſiſtance "of preſbyters, but challenge the whole power to them-"ſelves, as his lordſhip had done in his book entitled, *Epiſ-"copacy of Divine Right*, the fifteenth ſection of which has "this title, *The power of ordination is only in biſhops.*"

But the main point upon which the biſhop lays the whole ſtreſs of the cauſe is, *Whether preſbyters may ordain without a biſhop?* For the proof of this, the *Smectymnuans* produce the author of the comment on the *Epheſians*, which goes under the name of St. *Ambroſe*, who ſays, that *in* Egypt *the preſbyters ordain if the biſhop be not preſent*; ſo ſaith St. *Auguſtine* in the ſame words; and the *chorepiſcopus*, who was only a *preſbyter*, had power to impoſe hands, and to ordain within his precincts with the biſhop's licence; nay further, the preſbyters of the city of *Alexandria*, with the biſhop's leave, might ordain, as appears from *Con. Ancyr. Carit.* 3. where it is ſaid, *it is not lawful for chorepiſcopi to ordain preſbyters or deacons*; *nor for the preſbyters of the city without the biſhop's letter*, IN ANOTHER PARISH; which implies they might do it with the biſhop's letter, or perhaps without it, in their *own*; and *Firmilianus* ſays of them who rule in the church, whom he calls *ſeniores & præpoſiti*, that is, *preſbyters* as well as *biſhops*, that they had the power of baptizing and of laying on of hands in ordaining.*

II. The

* It may be ſome ſatisfaction to the reader, to ſee the judgment of other learned men upon this argument, which has broke the bands of brotherly love and charity, between the church of England and all the foreign proteſtants that have no biſhops.

The learned primate of Ireland, archbiſhop *Uſher*, in his letter to Dr. *Bernard*, ſays, "I have ever declared my opinion to be, that *epiſcopus & "preſbyter gradu tantum differunt, non ordine*, and conſequently, that in "places where biſhops cannot be had, the ordination by preſbyters ſtands "valid; but the ordination made by ſuch preſbyters as have ſevered them-"ſelves from thoſe biſhops to whom they have ſworn canonical obedience, I "can't excuſe from being ſchiſmatical. I think that churches that have no "biſhops are defective in their government, yet, for the juſtifying my com-

munion

II. The other branch of *power* annexed to the epiſcopal office, is *the ſole right of ſpiritual juriſdiction*; this the biſhop ſeems in ſome ſort to diſclaim: "Whoever (ſays he) chal-"lenged a SOLE juriſdiction? We willingly grant that preſ-"byters have, and ought to have, a juriſdiction within their "own charge; and that in all great affairs of the church "they ought to be conſulted. We admit, that biſhops of old "had their eccleſiaſtical council of preſbyters; and we ſtill "have the ſame in our *deans and chapters*; but we ſay that "the ſuperiority of juriſdiction is ſo in the biſhop, that preſ-"byters may not exerciſe it without him, and that the exer-"ciſe of external juriſdiction is derived from, by, and under "him, to thoſe who exerciſe it within his dioceſe." This his lordſhip proves from ſeveral teſtimonies out of the fathers.

The *Smectymnuans* agree with his lordſhip, that in the ancient church, biſhops could do nothing without the con-

"munion with them, (which I do love and honour as true members of the "church univerſal) I do profeſs if I were in Holland, I ſhould receive the "bleſſed ſacrament at the hands of the Dutch, with the like affection as I "ſhould from the hands of the French miniſters, wree I at *Charenton*." The ſame moſt reverend prelate, in his anſwer to Mr. *Baxter*, ſays, "That "the king having aſked him at the iſle of Wight, whether he found in an-"tiquity, that *preſbyters alone ordained any?* he replied yes, and that he "could ſhew his majeſty more *even where preſbyters alone ſucceſſively or-"dained biſhops*, and inſtanced in *Hierom*'s words, *Epiſt. ad Evagrium*, of "the preſbyters of *Alexandria* chooſing and making their own biſhops from "the days of *Mark*, till *Heraclus* and *Dionyſius*. Baxter's Life, p. 206.

This was the conſtant ſenſe of our firſt reformers, *Cranmer*, *Pilkington*, *Jewel*, *Grindal*, *Whitgift*, &c. and even of *Bancroft* himſelf; for when Dr. *Andrews*, biſhop of Ely, moved that the *Scots* biſhops elect might firſt be ordained preſbyters, in the year 1610, *Bancroft* replied there was no need of it, ſince *ordination by preſbyters was valid*; upon which the ſaid biſhop concurred in their conſecration. And yet lower, when the arch-biſhop of Spalato was in England, he deſired biſhop *Moreton* to re-ordain a perſon that had been ordained beyond ſea, that he might be more capable of preferment; to which the biſhop replied, that it could not be done, but to the ſcandal of the reformed churches, wherein he would have no hand. The ſame reverend prelate adds, in his *Apol. Cathol.* that to ordain was the *jus antiquum* of preſbyters. To theſe may be added the teſtimony of biſhop *Burnet*, whoſe words are theſe: "As for the notion of diſtinct offices of "biſhop and preſbyter, I confeſs it is not ſo clear to me, and therefore, ſince "I look upon the ſacramental actions as the higheſt of ſacred performances, "I cannot but acknowledge thoſe who are empowered for them muſt be "of the higheſt office in the church." *Vindication of the Church of* Scot-land, p. 336.

ſent of the clergy; nor in caſes of excommunication and abſolution without the allowance of the whole body of the church to which the delinquent belonged, as appears from the teſtimonies of *Tertullian* and St. *Cyprian*; but they aver, upon their certain knowledge, that our *Engliſh* biſhops have exerciſed ſeveral parts of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction without their preſbyters. And further (ſay they) where, in all antiquity, do we meet with ſuch delegates, as *lay-chancellors*, *commiſſaries*, and others as never received impoſition of hands? Theſe offices were not known in thoſe times; nor can any inſtance be produced of laity or clergy who had them for above four hundred years after Chriſt.

Upon the whole, allowing that, in the third or fourth century, biſhops were a *diſtinct order* from preſbyters, yet, ſay theſe divines, our modern biſhops of the church of England differ very widely from them; the primitive biſhops were elected by a free ſuffrage of the preſbyters, but ours by a *congé d'eſlire* from the king. They did not proceed againſt criminals but with the conſent of their preſbyters, and upon the teſtimony of ſeveral witneſſes; whereas ours proceed by an oath *ex officio*, by which men are obliged to accuſe themſelves; the primitive biſhops had no lordly titles and dignities, no lay-chancellors, commiſſaries and other officials, nor did they engage in ſecular affairs, &c. After ſeveral compariſons of this kind, they recapitulate the late ſeverities of the biſhops in their eccleſiaſtical courts; and conclude with a humble petition to the high court of parliament, "That if *epiſcopacy* "be retained in the church it may be reduced to its primitive "ſimplicity; and if they muſt have a *liturgy*, that there may "be a conſultation of divines to alter and reform the pre-"ſent; and that even then it may not be impoſed upon the "clergy, but left to the diſcretion of the miniſter, how much "of it to read when there is a ſermon."

By this repreſentation it appears, that the controverſy between theſe divines might have been compromiſed, if the reſt of the clergy had been of the ſame ſpirit and temper with biſhop *Hall*; but the *court biſhops* would abate nothing as long as the crown could ſupport them; and as the parliament increaſed in power, the *puritan divines* ſtiffened in their demands, till methods of accommodation were impracticable.

While

While this controverſy was debating at home, letters were ſent from both ſides to obtain the judgment of foreign divines, but moſt of them were ſo wiſe as to be ſilent. Dr. *Plume*, in the life of biſhop *Hacket*, writes that *Blondel*, *Voſſius*, *Hornbeck*, and *Salmaſius*, were ſent to by the king's friends in vain; *Blondel* publiſhed a very learned treatiſe on the *puritan ſide*; but *Deodate* from *Geneva*, and *Amyraldus* from *France*, wiſhed an accommodation, and (as *Plume* ſays) were for epiſcopal government. The papiſts triumphed, and had raiſed expectations from theſe differences, as appears by a letter of *T. White*, a roman catholic, to the lord viſcount *Gage* at Dublin, dated Feb. 12, 1639, in which are theſe words; "We are in a fair way to aſſuage hereſy and her epiſcopacy; "for EXETER's book has done more for the catholics, than "they could have done themſelves, he having written, that "epiſcopacy in office and juriſdiction is abſolutely JURE "DIVINO, (which was the old quarrel between our biſhops "and king *Henry* VIII. during his hereſy) which book does "not a little trouble our adverſaries, who declare this tenet "of *Exeter*'s to be contrary to the laws of this land——All "is like to proſper here, ſo I hope with you there."* However it is certain, the body of foreign proteſtants were againſt the biſhops, for this reaſon among others, becauſe they had diſowned *their ordinations*; and could it be ſuppoſed they ſhould compliment away the validity of their adminiſtrations, to a ſet of men that had diſowned their communion, and turned the *french* and *dutch* congregations out of the land? No, they wiſhed they might be humbled by the parliament. Lord *Clarendon* adds, "They were glad of an occaſion to "publiſh their reſentments againſt the church, and to enter "into the ſame conſpiracy againſt the crown, without which "they could have done little hurt."

But the cauſe of the hierarchy being to be decided at another tribunal, no applications were wanting on either ſide to make friends in the parliament-houſe, and to get hands to petitions. The induſtry of the ſeveral parties on this occaſion is almoſt incredible; and it being the faſhion of the time to judge of the ſenſe of the nation this way, meſſengers were ſent all over England to promote the work. Lord

* Foxes and Fire-brands, part 2d, p. 81.

Clarendon, and after him Dr. *Nalſon* and others of that party, complain of great diſingenuity on the ſide of the *puritans*: his lordſhip ſays,* "That the paper which contained the "*miniſters'* petition was filled with a very few hands, but "that many other ſheets were annexed, for the reception of "numbers that gave credit to the undertaking; but that "when their names were ſubſcribed, the petition itſelf was "cut off, and a new one of a very different nature annexed "to the long liſt of names; and when ſome of the miniſters "complained to the reverend Mr. *Marſhall*, with whom the "petition was lodged, that they never ſaw the petition to "which their hands were annexed, but had ſigned another "againſt the *canons*, Mr. *Marshall* is ſaid to reply, that it "was thought fit by thoſe that underſtood buſineſs better "than they, that the latter petition ſhould be rather pre-"ferred than the former." This is a charge of a very high nature,† and ought to be well ſupported: if it had been true, why did they not complain to the committee which the houſe of commons appointed to enquire into the irregular methods of procuring hands to petitions? His lordſhip anſwers, that *they were prevailed with to ſit ſtill and paſs it by*; for which we have only his lordſhip's word, nothing of this kind being to be found in *Ruſhworth*, *Whitlock*, or any diſintereſted writer of thoſe times.

However, it cannot be denied that there was a great deal of art and perſuaſion uſed to get hands to petitions on both ſides, and many ſubſcribed their names who were not capable to judge of the merits of the cauſe. The petitions againſt the hierarchy were of two ſorts; ſome deſiring that the whole fabrick might be deſtroyed; of theſe the chief was the ROOT AND BRANCH petition, ſigned by the hands of about fifteen thouſand citizens and inhabitants of London; others aiming only at a reformation of the hierarchy; of

* Clarendon, vol. i. p. 204.

† This charge we have ſeen brought forward by Dr. *Grey*, to diſcredit what Mr. *Neal* had reported, concerning the number of petitions ſent up from all parts of the country, againſt the clergy. When, as he proceeded in his review of Mr. *Neal*'s hiſtory, he ſaw that our author had himſelf laid before his readers this charge of Lord *Clarendon*'s, it would have been candid in him, to have cancelled his own ſtrictures on this point, or to have expoſed the futility of Mr. *Neal*'s reply to his lordſhip. ED.

theſe

theſe the chief was the MINISTERS' PETITION, ſigned with the names of ſeven hundred beneficed clergymen, and followed by others with an incredible number of hands, from Kent, Glouceſterſhire, Lancaſhire, Nottingham, and other counties. The petitions in favour of the preſent eſtabliſhment were not leſs numerous, for within the compaſs of this and the next year, there were preſented to the king and houſe of lords no leſs than nineteen, from the two univerſities, from Wales, Lancaſhire, Staffordſhire, and other counties, ſubſcribed with about one hundred thouſand hands, whereof, according to Dr. *Walker*, ſix thouſand were nobility, gentry, and dignified clergy. One would think by this account, that the whole nation had been with them; but can it be ſuppoſed, that the honeſt freeholders of Lancaſhire and Wales could be proper judges of ſuch allegations in their petitions as theſe?——That there can be no church without biſhops—that no ordination was ever performed without biſhops;—that without biſhops there can be no preſbyters, and by conſequence no conſecration of the Lord's ſupper—that it has never been cuſtomary for preſbyters to lay hands upon biſhops, from whence the diſparity of their function is evident—that a biſhop has a character that cannot be communicated but by one of the ſame diſtinction—and that the church has been governed by biſhops without interruption for fifteen hundred years. Theſe are topicks fit to be debated in a ſynod of learned divines, but the tacking a hundred thouſand names of freeholders on either ſide, could prove no more than that the honeſt countrymen acted too much by an implicit faith in their clergy. Loud complaints being made to the parliament of unfair methods of procuring names to petitions, the houſe appointed a committee to examine into the matter; but there being great faults (as I apprehend) on both ſides, the affair was dropt.

The ROOT AND BRANCH petition was preſented to the houſe December 11, 1640, by alderman *Pennington* and others, in the name of his majeſty's ſubjects in and about the city of London, and adjacent counties. It was thought to be the contrivance of the *Scots* commiſſioners, who were become very popular at this time. The petition ſheweth, "That whereas the government of archbiſhops, and lord

"biſhops,

" biſhops, deans, and archdeacons, &c. with their courts " and miniſtrations in them, have proved prejudicial, and " very dangerous to the church and commonwealth; *they* " *themſelves having formerly held*, that they have their juriſ- " diction or power of human authority, till of late they have " claimed their calling immediately from Chriſt, which is " againſt the laws of this kingdom, and derogatory to his " majeſty's ſtate royal. And whereas the ſaid government " is found by woeful experience, to be a main cauſe and oc- " caſion of many foul evils, preſſures, and grievances of a " very high nature to his majeſty's ſubjects, in their con- " ſciences, liberties, and eſtates, as in a ſchedule of particu- " lars hereunto annexed, may in part appear:

" We therefore moſt humbly pray and beſeech this ho- " nourable aſſembly, the premiſes conſidered, that the ſaid " government with all its dependences, ROOTS AND " BRANCHES, may be aboliſhed, and all the laws in their " behalf made void, and that the government, according to " God's word, may be rightly placed among us; and we " your humble ſupplicants, as in duty bound, ſhall ever " pray, &c."

The ſchedule annexed to the petition contained twenty-eight grievances and preſſures, the chief of which were, the biſhops ſuſpending and depriving miniſters for non-conformity to certain rites and ceremonies; their diſcountenancing preaching; their claim of *jus divinum*; their adminiſtring the oath *ex officio*; the exorbitant power of the high commiſſion, with the other innovations already mentioned.

The friends of the eſtabliſhment oppoſed this petition, with one of their own in favour of the hierarchy, in the following words:

To the honourable the knights, citizens, &c. the petition of, &c.

Humbly ſheweth,

" THAT whereas of late, a petition ſubſcribed by " many who pretend to be inhabitants of this city, hath " been delivered, received, and read in this honourable houſe, " againſt the ancient, preſent, and by law eſtabliſhed, go- " vernment of the church; and that not ſo much for the

" reformation

" reformation of biſhops, as for the utter ſubverſion and " extirpation of epiſcopacy itſelf; we whoſe names are un- " derwritten, to ſhew there be many, and thoſe of the better " ſort of the inhabitants of this city, otherwiſe and better " minded, do humbly repreſent unto this honourable houſe, " theſe conſiderations following:

1. " That epiſcopacy is as ancient as chriſtianity itſelf in " this kingdom.

2. " That biſhops were the chief inſtruments in the re- " formation of the church againſt popery, and afterwards " the moſt eminent martyrs for the proteſtant religion, and " ſince, the beſt and ableſt champions for the defence of it.

3. " That ſince the reformation the times have been very " peaceable, happy and glorious, notwithſtanding the epiſco- " pal government in the church, and therefore that this go- " vernment can be no cauſe of our unhappineſs.

4. " We conceive that not only many learned, but divers " other godly perſons, would be much ſcandalized and trou- " bled in conſcience, if the government of epiſcopacy, con- " ceived by them to be an apoſtolical inſtitution, were altered; " and ſince there is ſo much care taken, that no man ſhould " be offended in the leaſt ceremony, we hope there will be " ſome, that ſuch men's conſciences may not be preſſed upon " in a matter of an higher nature and conſequence, eſpecially " conſidering that this government by epiſcopacy is not only " lawful and convenient for edification, but likewiſe ſuitable " to, and agreeable with the civil policy and government " of this ſtate.

5. " That this government is lawful, it appears by the " immediate univerſal and conſtant practice of all the chriſ- " tian world, grounded upon ſcripture, from the apoſtles' " time to this laſt age, for above fifteen hundred years to- " gether, it being utterly incredible, if not impoſſible, that " the whole church, for ſo long a time, ſhould not diſcover, " by God's word, this government to be unlawful, if it had " been ſo; to which may be added, that the moſt learned " proteſtants, even in thoſe very churches which now are " not governed by biſhops, do not only hold the govern- " ment by epiſcopacy to be lawful, but wiſh that they them- " ſelves might enjoy it.

" Again,

"Again, that the government by epiſcopacy is not only "lawful, but convenient for edification, and as much or "more conducing to piety and devotion than any other, it "appears, becauſe no modeſt man denies that the primitive "times were moſt famous for piety, conſtancy and perſeve- "rance in the faith, notwithſtanding more frequent, and more "cruel perſecutions than ever have been ſince, and yet it is "confeſſed that the church in thoſe times was governed by "biſhops.

"*Laſtly*, That the government of the church by epiſco- "pacy is moſt ſuitable to the form and frame of the civil "government here in this kingdom, it appears by the happy "and flouriſhing union of them both for ſo long a time to- "gether; whereas no man can give us an aſſurance how "any church government beſides this (whereof we have had "ſo long experience) will ſuit and agree with the civil policy "of this ſtate. And we conceive it may be of dangerous "conſequence for men of ſettled fortunes, to hazard their "eſtates, by making ſo great an alteration, and venturing "upon a new form of government, whereof neither we nor "our anceſtors have had any trial or experience, eſpecially "conſidering that thoſe who would have epiſcopacy to be "aboliſhed, have not yet agreed, nor (as we are verily per- "ſuaded) ever will or can agree upon any other common "form of government to ſucceed in the room of it; as ap- "pears by the many different and contrary draughts and "platforms they have made and publiſhed, according to the "ſeveral humours and ſects of thoſe that made them; where- "as, ſeeing every great alteration in a church or ſtate muſt "needs be dangerous, it is juſt and reaſonable, that whoſo- "ever would introduce a new form inſtead of an old one, "ſhould be obliged to demonſtrate and make it evidently "appear aforehand, that the government he would introduce "is proportionably ſo much better than that he would abo- "liſh, as may recompenſe the loſs we may ſuſtain, and may "be worthy of the hazard we muſt run in aboliſhing the "one, and introducing and ſettling of the other; but this we "are confident can never be done, in regard of this particular.

"And therefore our humble and earneſt requeſt to this "honourable houſe, is, that as well in this conſideration, as

all

" all the other aforeſaid, we may ſtill enjoy that government
" which moſt probably holds its inſtitution from the apoſtles,
" and moſt certainly its plantation with our chriſtian faith
" itſelf in this kingdom, where it hath ever ſince flouriſhed,
" and continued for many ages without any interruption or
" alteration; whereby it plainly appears, that as it is the
" moſt excellent government in itſelf, ſo it is the moſt ſuit-
" able, moſt agreeable, and every way moſt proportionable
" to the civil conſtitution and temper of this ſtate; and there-
" fore we pray and hope, will always be continued and pre-
" ſerved in it and by it, notwithſtanding the abuſes and cor-
" ruptions which in ſo long a tract of time, through the
" errors or negligence of men, have crept into it; which
" abuſes and corruptions being all of them (what and how
" many ſoever there may be) but merely accidental to epiſ-
" copacy, we conceive and hope there may be a reformation
" of the one, without a deſtruction of the other;

" *Which is the humble ſuit of &c. &c.*"

A third petition was preſented to the houſe, Jan. 23, by ten or twelve clergymen, in the name of ſeven hundred of their brethren who had ſigned it, called the MINISTERS' PETITION, praying for a reformation of certain grievances in the hierarchy, but not an entire ſubverſion of it; a ſchedule of theſe grievances was annexed, which being referred to the committee, Mr. *Crew* reported the three following, as proper for the debate of the houſe: 1. *The ſecular employments of the clergy.* 2. *The ſole power of the biſhops in eccleſiaſtical affairs, and particularly in ordinations and church cenſures.* 3. *The large revenues of deans and chapters, with the inconveniences that attend the application of them.*

Two days after the delivery of this petition [Jan. 25] his majeſty came to the houſe, and very unadviſedly interrupted their debates by the following ſpeech: " —— There
" are ſome men that more maliciouſly than ignorantly will put
" no difference between reformation and alteration of go-
" vernment: hence it comes to paſs, that divine ſervice is
" irreverently interrupted, and petitions in an ill way given
" in, neither diſputed nor denied, againſt the preſent eſtab-
" liſhed government, in the names of divers counties, with
" threatnings

" threatnings againſt the biſhops, that they will make them " but cyphers. Now I muſt tell you, that I make a great " difference between reformation and alteration of govern- " ment; though I am for the firſt, I cannot give way to the " latter. If ſome of them have overſtretched their power, " and encroached too much on their temporality, I ſhall not " be unwilling that theſe things ſhould be redreſſed and re- " formed; nay further, if you can ſhew me, that the biſhops " have ſome temporal authority inconvenient for the ſtate, " and not neceſſary for the government of the church and " upholding epiſcopal juriſdiction, I ſhall not be unwilling to " deſire them to lay it down; but this muſt not be underſtood " that I ſhall any ways conſent that their voices in parlia- " ment ſhould be taken away, for in all the times of my pre- " deceſſors, ſince the conqueſt and before, they have enjoyed " it as one of the fundamental conſtitutions of the king- " dom." This unhappy method of the king's coming to the houſe, and declaring his reſolutions before-hand, was certainly unparliamentary, and did the church no ſervice; nor was there any occaſion for it at this time, the houſe being in no diſpoſition as yet, to order a bill to be brought in for ſubverting the hierarchy.

In the months of February and March, ſeveral days were appointed for the conſideration of theſe petitions; and when the bill for the utter extirpating the epiſcopal order was brought into the houſe in the months of May and June, ſeveral warm ſpeeches were made on both ſides; I will ſet the chief of them before the reader at one view, though they were ſpoken at different times.

Among thoſe who was for *Root and Branch*, or the total extirpating of epiſcopacy, was Sir *Henry Vane*, who ſtood up and argued, that " ſince the houſe had voted *epiſcopal go-* " *vernment a great impediment to the reformation and growth* " *of religion*, it ought to be taken away, for it is ſo corrupt " in the foundation (ſays he) that if we pull it not down, it " will fall about the ears of thoſe that endeavour it within " a few years. This government was brought in by anti- " chriſt, and has let in all kinds of ſuperſtition in the church " ——It has been the inſtrument of diſplacing the moſt godly " and conſcientious miniſters, of vexing, puniſhing, and ba-

" niſhing

" niſhing out of the kingdom, the moſt religious of all ſorts " and conditions, that would not comply with their ſuper- " ſtitious inventions and ceremonies. In a word, it has " turned the edge of the government againſt the very life " and power of godlineſs, and the favour and protection of " it towards all prophane, ſcandalous, and ſuperſtitious per- " ſons that would uphold their party——It has divided us " from the foreign proteſtant churches, and has done what " it could to bind the nation in perpetual ſlavery to them- " ſelves and their ſuperſtitious inventions, by the late canons. " ——Further, this government has been no leſs prejudicial " to the civil liberties of our country, as appears by the bi- " ſhops preaching up the doctrine of arbitrary power, by " their encouraging the late illegal projects to raiſe money " without parliament, by their kindling a war between Eng- " land and Scotland, and falling in with the plots and com- " binations that have been entered into againſt this preſent " parliament." Sir *Harry* concludes from theſe premiſes, " that the proteſtant religion muſt always be in danger, as " long as it is in the hands of ſuch governors; nor can there " be any hopes of reformation in the ſtate, while the biſhops " have votes in parliament; *that the fruit being ſo bad the " tree muſt be bad.* Let us not then halt between two opi- " nions, (ſays he) but with one heart and voice give glory to " God, by complying with his providence, and with the " ſafety and peace of the church and ſtate, which is by " paſſing the *root and branch bill.*"*

Mr. Serjeant *Thomas* gave the houſe a long hiſtorical narration of the viciouſneſs and miſbehaviour of the biſhops in the times of popery; of their treaſonable and rebellious conduct towards their ſovereigns; of their antipathy to the laws and liberties of their country; of their ignorance, pride, and addictedneſs to the pomp of this world, to the apparent neglect of their ſpiritual functions; and of their enmity to all methods of reformation to this day.†

Mr. *Bagshaw* ſtood up to reply to the objections made againſt aboliſhing the order of biſhops.

" It is aſſerted, ſays he, *that it is of divine right*, which is " contrary to the ſtatute 37 of *Henry* VIII. *cap.* 17, which

* Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 276. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 211.

" ſays,

" ſays, they have their epiſcopal authority and all other ec-
" cleſiaſtical juriſdiction whatſoever, *ſolely* and *only*, by, from,
" and under the king.

" It is argued, that *epiſcopacy is inſeparable from the crown*,
" and therefore it is commonly ſaid, *no biſhop no king*; which
" is very ridiculous, becauſe the kings of England were long
" before biſhops, and may ſtill depoſe them.

" It is ſaid, *that epiſcopacy is a third ſtate in parliament*;
" but this I deny, for the three ſtates are the king, the lords
" temporal, and the commons. Kings of England have held
" ſeveral parliaments without biſhops; king *Edward* I. in
" the 24th of his reign, held a parliament *excluſo clero*; and
" in the parliament of the 7th *Richard* II. there is mention
" made of the conſent of the lords temporal and the com-
" mons, but not a word of the clergy; ſince therefore the
" preſent hierarchy was of mere human inſtitution, and had
" been found a very great grievance to the ſubject, he in-
" clined to the *Root and Branch petition*."

Mr. *White* entered more fully into the merits of the cauſe, and conſidered the preſent biſhops of the church with regard to their *baronies*, their *temporalities*, and their *ſpiritualities*.

" The former (ſays he) are merely of the king's favour,
" and began in this kingdom the 4th of *William* the con-
" queror, by virtue whereof they have had place in the
" houſe of peers in parliament; but in the 7th *Henry* VIII.
" (1846, *Kel.*) it was reſolved by all the judges of England,
" that the king may hold his parliament by himſelf, his tem-
" poral lords and commons, without any biſhop; for a biſhop
" has not any place in parliament by reaſon of his ſpirituali-
" ties, but merely by reaſon of his barony, and accordingly
" acts of parliament have been made without them, as 2
" *Richard* II. cap. 3. and at other times; nor were they
" ever called ſpiritual lords in our ſtatutes, till 16 *Richard*
" II. cap. 1.

" By the biſhop's *ſpiritualities* I mean thoſe ſpiritual pow-
" ers which raiſe him above the order of a preſbyter; and
" here I conſider, firſt, his authority over preſbyters by the
" oath of canonical obedience, by which he may command
" them to collect tenths granted in convocation, according
" to 20 *Henry* VI. *cap.* 13. Secondly, his office, which is

" partly

" partly judicial, and partly miniſterial; by the former, he " judges in his courts of all matters eccleſiaſtical and ſpiritual " within his dioceſe, and of the fitneſs of ſuch as are pre- " ſented to him to be inſtituted into benefices; by the latter " he is to *ſacred* places dedicated to divine ſervice. 9 *Henry* " VI. cap. 17, he is to provide for the officiating of cures in " the avoidance of churches, on neglect of the patron's " preſenting thereunto. He is to certify loyal [or lawful] " matrimony, general baſtardy, and excommunication. He " is to execute judgments given in *quare impedit*, upon the " writ *ad admittendum clericum*. He is to attend upon trials " for life, to report the ſufficiency or inſufficiency of ſuch " as demand clergy; and laſtly, he is to ordain deacons and " preſbyters.

" Now all theſe being given to theſe biſhops *jure humano*, " ſays Mr. *White*, I conceive, may for juſt reaſons be taken " away. He affirms, that, according to ſcripture, a biſhop " and preſbyter is one and the ſame perſon; for (1.) Their " duties are mentioned as the ſame, the biſhop being to teach " and rule his church, 1 *Tim.* iii. 2, 5, and the preſbyter " being to do the very ſame, 1 *Pet.* v. 2, 3. (2.) Preſby- " ters in ſcripture are ſaid to be biſhops of the Holy Ghoſt, " *Acts* xx. 28. And St. *Paul* charges the preſbyters of " *Epheſus*, to take heed to the flock over which the Holy " Ghoſt had made them biſhops or overſeers; and other " biſhops the Holy Ghoſt never made. (3.) Among the " enumeration of church-officers, *Eph.* iv. 11, whereof the " three former are extraordinary, and are ceaſed, there re- " mains only the paſtor and teacher, which is the very ſame " with the preſbyter. The biſhop, as he is more than this, " is no officer given by God; and it is an encroachment " upon the kingly office of Chriſt, to admit other officers " into the church than he himſelf has appointed.

" Seeing then epiſcopacy may be taken away in all, wherein " it exceeds the preſbyter's office, which is certainly JURE " DIVINO, we ought to reſtore the preſbyters to their rights " which the biſhops have taken from them, as particularly " to the right of *ordination*, *excommunication*, and liberty to " preach the whole counſel of God without reſtraint from a " biſhop; they ſhould have their ſhare in the diſcipline and " government

" government of the church; and in a word, all ſuperiority " of order between biſhops and preſbyters ſhould be taken " away." Mr. *White* is further of opinion, that the biſhops ſhould be deprived of their baronies, and all intermeddling with civil affairs; that inſtitution and induction, the juriſdiction of tithes, cauſes matrimonial and teſtamentary, and other uſurpations of the eccleſiaſtical courts, ſhould be reſtored to the civil judicature, and be determined by the laws of the land.

In order to take off the force of theſe arguments, in favour of the *Root and Branch* petition, the friends of the hierarchy ſaid, that the very beſt things might be corrupted; that to take away the order of biſhops was to change the whole conſtitution for they knew not what; they therefore urged the *miniſters petition for reformation*, and declaimed with vehemence againſt the corruptions of the late times.

Lord *Falkland*, who in the judgment of the noble hiſtorian, was the moſt extraordinary perſon of his age, ſtood up and ſaid;

Mr. Speaker,

" HE is a great ſtranger in our Iſrael, who knows not " that this kingdom has long laboured under many and great " oppreſſions, both in religion and liberty; and that a prin- " cipal cauſe of both has been ſome biſhops and their adhe- " rents, who, under pretence of uniformity, have brought in " ſuperſtition and ſcandal under the title of decency; who " have defiled our churches by adorning them, and ſlackened " the ſtrictneſs of that union that was between us and thoſe " of our religion beyond ſea; an action both unpolitick and " ungodly."*

" They have been leſs eager on thoſe who damn our " church, than on thoſe who on weak conſcience, and per- " haps as weak reaſon, only abſtain from it. Nay, it has " been more dangerous for men to go to a neighbouring " pariſh when they had no ſermon in their own, than to be " obſtinate and perpetual recuſants. While maſs has been " ſaid in ſecurity, a conventicle has been a crime; and which " is yet more, the conforming to ceremonies has been more " exacted than the conforming to chriſtianity; and while

* Ruſhworth, vol. iv. p. 184, or part 3d, vol. i.

" men

" men for ſcruples have been undone, for attempts of *ſodomy* " they have only been admoniſhed.

Mr. *Speaker*, they have reſembled the dog in the fable, " they have neither practiſed themſelves, nor employed thoſe " that ſhould, nor ſuffered thoſe that would. They have " brought in catechizing only to thruſt out preaching; cried " down lectures by the name of faction, either becauſe other " men's induſtry in that duty appeared a reproof to their neg- " lect, or with *intent* to have brought in darkneſs, that they " might the eaſier ſow their tares while it was night.

" In this they have abuſed his majeſty as well as his peo- " ple, for when he had with great wiſdom ſilenced on both " parts thoſe opinions, that will always trouble the ſchools, " they made uſe of this declaration to tie up one ſide and " let the other looſe. The truth is, Mr. *Speaker*, as ſome " miniſters in our ſtate firſt took away our money, and after- " wards endeavoured to make our money not worth taking, " by depraving it; ſo theſe men firſt depreſſed the power of " preaching, and then laboured to make it ſuch, as the harm " had not been much if it had been depreſſed; the chief ſub- " jects of the ſermons being the *jus divinum* of biſhops and " tithes; the ſacredneſs of the clergy; the ſacrilege of im- " propriations; the demoliſhing of puritaniſm; the building " up of the prerogative, &c. In ſhort, their work has been " to try how much of the papiſt might be brought in with- " out popery, and to deſtroy as much as they could of the " goſpel, without bringing themſelves in danger of being " deſtroyed by the law.

" Mr. *Speaker*, theſe men have been betrayers of our rights " and liberties, by encouraging ſuch men as Dr. *Beal* and " *Manwaring*; by appearing for monopolies and ſhip-mo- " ney; ſome of them have laboured to exclude all perſons " and cauſes of the clergy from the temporal magiſtrate, and " by hindering *prohibitions*, to have taken away the only " legal bounds to their arbitrary power; they have encou- " raged all the clergy to ſuits, and have brought all ſuits " to the council table, that having all power in eccleſiaſtical " matters, they might have an equal power in temporals; they " have both kindled and blown the common fire of both na-

" tions, and have been the firſt and principal cauſe of the " breach ſince the pacification at Berwick.

" Mr. *Speaker*, I have repreſented no ſmall quantity, and " no mean degree of guilt, but this charge does not lie " againſt epiſcopacy, but againſt the perſons who have " abuſed that ſacred function; for if we conſider, that the " firſt ſpreaders of chriſtianity, the firſt defenders of it, both " with their ink and blood, as well as our late reformers, " were all biſhops; and even now, in this great defection of " the order, there are ſome that have been neither proud " nor ambitious; ſome that have been learned oppoſers of " popery, and zealous ſuppreſſers of arminianiſm, between " whom and their inferior clergy there has been no diſtinction " in frequent preaching; whoſe lives are untouched, not " only by guilt, but by malice; I ſay, if we conſider this, " we ſhall conclude, that biſhops may be good men, and let " us but give good men good rules, and we ſhall have good " government and good times.

" I am content to take away from them all thoſe things " which may, in any degree of poſſibility, occaſion the like " miſchiefs with thoſe I have mentioned; I am ſure, neither " their *lordſhips*, their *judging of tithes*, *wills*, and *marriages*, " no nor their *voices in parliament*, are *jure divino*. If their " revenues are too great, let us leave them only ſuch pro- " portion as may ſerve, in ſome good degree, for the ſup- " port of the dignity of learning and encouragement of " ſtudents. If it be found they will employ their laws againſt " their weaker brethren, let us take away thoſe laws, and " let no ceremonies which any number count unlawful, and " no man counts neceſſary, be impoſed upon them; but let " us not aboliſh, upon a few days debate, an order that has " laſted in moſt churches theſe ſixteen hundred years. I do " not believe the order of biſhops to be *jure divino*, nor do " I think them unlawful; but ſince all great changes in go- " vernment are dangerous, I am for trying if we cannot take " away the inconveniencies of biſhops, and the inconvenien- " cies of no biſhops. Let us therefore go upon the debate " of grievances, and if the grievances may be taken away " and the order ſtand, we ſhall not need to commit the Lon- " don *petition* at all; but if it ſhall appear that the abolition

" of

" of the one cannot be but by the deſtruction of the other, " then let us not commit the London petition, but grant it."

Lord *George Digby*, an eminent royaliſt, ſpoke with great warmth againſt the ROOT AND BRANCH petition, and with no leſs zeal for a reformation of grievances.

" If the *London petition* (ſays his lordſhip) may be conſi- " dered only as an index of grievances, I ſhould wink at the " faults of it, for no man within theſe walls is more ſenſible " of the heavy grievances of church government than my- " ſelf; nor whoſe affections are keener for the clipping thoſe " wings of the prelates, whereby they have mounted to ſuch " inſolence; but having reaſon to believe that ſome aim at " the total extirpation of biſhops, I cannot reſtrain myſelf " from labouring to divert it.

" I look upon the petition with terror, as on a comet or " a blazing ſtar, raiſed and kindled out of the poiſonous ex- " halations of a corrupted hierarchy: methoughts the comet " had a terrible tail, and pointed to the north; and I fear all " the prudence of this houſe will have a hard work to hinder " this meteor from cauſing ſuch diſtempers and combuſtions " as it portends by its appearance; whatever the event be, " I ſhall diſcharge my conſcience freely, unbiaſſed both from " popularity and court reſpect."*

His lordſhip then goes on to argue the unreaſonableneſs of aboliſhing a thing, becauſe of ſome abuſes that attend it; he complains of the preſumption of the petitioners, in deſiring the repeal of ſo many laws at once, and not applying in a more modeſt manner for a redreſs of grievances, as the *miniſters* have done. On the other hand, he allows the behaviour of the *prelates* had given too juſt an occaſion for it; that no people had been ſo inſulted as the people of England had lately been, by the inſolencies of the prelates; " their " vengeance has been ſo laid, as if it were meant no genera- " tion, no degree, no complexion of mankind, ſhould eſcape " it. Was there a man of tender conſcience (ſays his lord- " ſhip) him they loaded with unneceſſary impoſitions; was " there a man of a legal conſcience, him they nettled with " innovations, and freſh introductions to popery; was there " a man of an humble ſpirit, him they trampled to dirt in

* Ruſhworth, p. 172.

" their pride; was there a man of proud ſpirit, him they " have bereft of reaſon, with indignation at their ſuperlative " inſolence; was there a man faithfully attached to the rights " of the crown, how has he been galled by their *new oath*; " was there a man that durſt mutter againſt their inſolencies, " he may enquire for his lugs. They have been within the " biſhops viſitation as if they would not only derive their " brandiſhment of the *ſpiritual ſword* from St. *Peter*, but of " the *material* one too, and the right to cut off ears; for my " part I am ſo inflamed with theſe things, that I am ready to " cry, with the loudeſt of the fifteen thouſand, Down with " them to the ground.

" But Mr. *Speaker*, we muſt diveſt ourſelves of paſſion; " we all agree a reformation of church government is neceſ- " ſary; but before I can ſtrike at the ROOT, and agree to a " total extirpation of epiſcopacy, it muſt be made manifeſt to " me, (1.) That the miſchiefs we have felt ariſe from the " nature of epiſcopacy, and not from its abuſe. (2.) Such " a form of government muſt be ſet before us as is not liable " to proportionable inconveniencies. (3.) It muſt appear " that the *Utopia* is practicable. Let us therefore lay aſide " the thoughts of extirpating biſhops, and reduce them to " their primitive ſtandard; let us retrench their dioceſes; let " them govern by aſſemblies of their clergy; let us exclude " them from intermeddling in ſecular affairs, and appoint a " ſtanding committee to collect all the grievances of the " church, and no man's votes ſhall be given with more zeal " for redreſſing them than mine."

Surely the biſhops muſt have behaved very ill in the late times, that their very beſt friends could load them with ſuch reproaches! Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* ſurveyor of the court of wards, Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, with a great many others of unqueſtionable duty and loyalty to the king, ſpoke the ſame language, and it deſerves to be remembered (ſays lord *Clarendon**) that in the midſt of theſe complaints the *king* was never mentioned but with great honour; all the grievances being laid at the door of his miniſters, and all hopes of redreſs being placed in his majeſty alone. At the cloſe of the debate, it was ordered that the ROOT AND BRANCH peti-

* Clarendon, vol. i. p. 203.

tion

tion ſhould remain in the hands of the clerk of the houſe of commons, with direction that no copy ſhould be delivered out; but after the throwing out of the bill to deprive the biſhops of their votes in parliament, it was revived, and a bill brought in by Sir *Edward Deering* [May 20, 1641] for the utter extirpating of the whole order, as will be ſeen hereafter.

It was in this debate that ſome ſmart *repartees* paſſed between the members; Mr. *Grimſtone* argued thus, that biſhops are *jure divino* is a queſtion; that archbiſhops are not *jure divino* is out of queſtion; now that biſhops which are queſtioned whether *jure divino*, or archbiſhops which out of queſtion are not *jure divino*, ſhould ſuſpend miniſters which are *jure divino*, I leave to you to be conſidered. To which Mr. *Selden* anſwered, that the convocation is *jure divino* is a queſtion; that parliaments are not *jure divino* is out of the queſtion; that religion is *jure divino* is no queſtion; now that the convocation which is queſtionable whether *jure divino*, and parliaments which out of the queſtion are not *jure divino*, ſhould meddle with religion which queſtionleſs is *jure divino*, I leave to your conſideration. In both which I apprehend there is more of a jingle of words than ſtrength of argument.*

But the houſe was unanimous for a *reformation* of the hierarchy, which was all that the body of puritans as yet wiſhed for or deſired. The *miniſters petition* was therefore committed to a committee of the whole houſe, and on March 9, they came to this reſolution, "That the legiſlative and "judicial power of biſhops in the houſe of peers, is a great "hindrance to diſcharge of their ſpiritual function, prejudi-"cial to the commonwealth, and fit to be taken away by bill; "and that a bill be drawn up to this purpoſe." March 11, it was reſolved further, "That for biſhops or any other "clergyman to be in the commiſſion of peace, or to have "any judicial power in the Star-Chamber or in any civil "court, is a great hindrance to their ſpiritual function, and "fit to be taken away by bill." And not many days after it was reſolved, that they ſhould not be privy counſellors or in any temporal offices.

* *Selden*'s argument is conſidered by Biſhop *Warburton*, as a thorough confutation of *Grimſtone*'s. ED.

While the houſe of commons were thus preparing to clip the wings of the biſhops, they were not unmindful of the *Roman* catholicks; theſe were crimimals of an higher nature, and had a deep ſhare in the preſent calamities; their numbers were growing, and their pride and inſolence inſufferable: they flocked in great numbers about the court, and inſulted the very courts of judicature; the queen protected them, and the king and archbiſhop countenanced them as friends of the prerogative. *Andreas ab Harbernsfield*, the queen of Bohemia's chaplain, adviſed his grace of a popiſh confederacy againſt the king and the church of England; but when the names of *Montague*, ſir *Kenelm Digby*, *Winter*, *Windebank* and *Porter*, all papiſts and officers about the court, were mentioned as parties, the whole was diſcredited and ſtifled. When the houſe of commons petitioned the king to iſſue out a proclamation for putting the laws in execution againſt papiſts, it was done in ſo defective a manner, that the committee reported it would avail nothing; for in the clauſe which enjoins all popiſh recuſants to depart the city within fifteen days, it is added, *without ſpecial licence had thereunto;* ſo that if they could obtain a licence from his majeſty, or from the lords of the council, the biſhop, the lieutenant, or deputy lieutenant of the county, then they were not within the penalty. Beſides the diſarming of all popiſh recuſants was limited to *recuſants convict;* ſo that if they were not *convicted*, a juſtice of peace could not diſarm them. They obſerved further, that many recuſants had *letters of grace* to protect their perſons and eſtates; that inſtead of departing from London there was a greater reſort of papiſts at preſent than heretofore; and that their inſolence and threatning language was inſufferable and dangerous. A gentleman having given information in open court to one of the judges of the King's-bench, that in one pariſh in the city of Weſtminſter there were above ſix thouſand recuſants, the committee appointed Mr. *Heywood* an active juſtice of peace, to collect and bring in a liſt of the names of all recuſants within that city and liberties; for which purpoſe all the inhabitants were ſummoned to appear and take the oaths in Weſtminſter-hall: but while the juſtice was in the execution of his office, and preſſing one JAMES a papiſt to take them, the wretch drew

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out his knife and ſtabbed the juſtice in the open court, telling him, *he gave him that for perſecuting poor catholicks.* The old gentleman ſunk down with the wound, but by the care of ſurgeons was recovered, and the criminal taken into cuſtody.* This Mr. *Heywood* was the very perſon who, being commanded by king *James* I. to ſearch the cellars under the parliament-houſe at the time of the gun-powder plot, took *Guy Vaux* with his dark lanthorn in his hand, which lanthorn is preſerved among the archives of Oxford, with Mr. *Heywood*'s name upon it in letters of gold.

The parliament, alarmed at this daring attempt, ſent orders to all the juſtices of peace of Weſtminſter, London, and Middleſex, requiring them to command the churchwardens to make a return of the names of all recuſants within their pariſhes, in order to their being proceeded againſt according to law; a few days after the like orders were ſent to the juſtices in the remoter counties. The houſes petitioned his majeſty to diſcharge all popiſh officers in garriſons or in the army, who refuſed to take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, and to fill up their places with proteſtants. *March* 16, they petitioned his majeſty to remove all papiſts from court, and particularly ſir *Kenelm Digby*, ſir *Toby Matthews*, ſir *John Winter*, and Mr. *Montague*, and that the whole body of Roman catholicks might be diſarmed. The anſwer returned was, that his majeſty would take care that the papiſts about the court ſhould give no juſt cauſe of ſcandal; and as for diſarming them, he was content it ſhould be done according to law. So that their addreſſes had no other effect than to exaſperate the papiſts, the king and queen being determined to protect them as long as they were able.

* Dr. *Grey* is diſpleaſed with Mr. *Neal* for not informing his reader, how the king acted on this occaſion; eſpecially as he ſays, according to the firſt edition, "the king favours them," i. e. the papiſts. This is the marginal contents of the following paragraph, and the fact is there fully eſtabliſhed. With reſpect to the attempt made on the life of Mr. *Heywood*, his majeſty, it ſhould be acknowledged, expreſſed a proper abhorrence of it, and "recommended it to parliament, to take courſe for a ſpeedy and "exemplary puniſhment" of it. For which the houſe returned their humble thanks. But this inſtance of royal juſtice is not ſufficient to wipe off the charge of general and great partiality towards the catholicks. Ruſhworth's Collections, part. 3, vol. i. p. 57. Ed.

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There was at this time one *Goodman* a ſeminary prieſt under condemnation in Newgate, whom the king, inſtead of leaving to the ſentence of the law, reprieved in the face of his parliament; whereupon both houſes [Jan. 29, 1640] agreed upon the following remonſtrance:

"That conſidering the preſent juncture, they conceived "the ſtrict execution of the laws againſt recuſants more ne- "ceſſary than formerly,

1. "Becauſe by divers petitions from ſeveral parts of the "kingdom, complaints are made of the great increaſe of "popery and ſuperſtition; prieſts and jeſuits ſwarm in great "abundance in this kingdom, and appear as boldly as if "there were no laws againſt them.

2. "It appears to the houſe, that of late years many prieſts "and jeſuits condemned for high treaſon have been diſ- "charged out of priſon.

3. "That at this time the pope has a nuncio or agent in "this city; and papiſts go as publickly to maſs at Denmark "houſe, and at St. James's and the ambaſſadors' chapels, as "others do to their pariſh churches.

4. "That the putting the laws in execution againſt pa- "piſts, is for the preſervation and advancement of the true "religion eſtabliſhed in this kingdom; for the ſafety of their "majeſties perſons, and the ſecurity of the government.

5. "It is found that *Goodman* the prieſt has been twice "formerly committed and diſcharged; that his reſidence now "in London was in abſolute contempt of his majeſty's pro- "clamation; that he was formerly a miniſter of the church "of England; and therefore they humbly deſire he may be "left to the juſtice of the law."

To this remonſtrance the king replied,

"That the increaſe of popery and ſuperſtition, if any ſuch "thing had happened, was contrary to his inclination; but "to take off all occaſions of complaint he would order the "laws to be put in execution.

"That he would ſet forth a proclamation to command "jeſuits and prieſts to depart the kingdom within a month; "and in caſe they either failed or returned, they ſhould be "proceeded againſt according to law.

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"As touching the pope's nuncio *Roſetti*, his commiſſion "reached only to keep up a correſpondence between the "queen and the pope, in things relative to the exerciſe of "religion; that this correſpondence came within the com-"paſs of the full liberty of conſcience ſecured her by the "articles of marriage; however, ſince *Roſetti*'s character "happened to be miſunderſtood and gave offence, he had "perſuaded the queen to conſent to his being recalled.

"Further, his majeſty promiſed to take care to reſtrain "his ſubjects from going to maſs at Denmark-houſe, St. "James's, and the chapels of the ambaſſadors.

"Laſtly, touching *Goodman*, he was content to remit him "to the pleaſure of the houſe; but he puts them in mind "that *neither queen* Elizabeth *nor king* James, *ever put any* "*to death merely for religion;* and deſired them to conſider "the inconveniencies that ſuch a conduct might draw upon "his ſubjects and other proteſtants in foreign counties."

How ſtrange this aſſertion! Let the reader recollect the many executions of *papiſts* for denying the ſupremacy; the burning the Dutch *anabaptiſts*, for whom Mr. *Fox* the martyrologiſt interceded in vain; and the hanging of *Barrow*, *Greenwood*, *Penry*, &c. in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*; let him alſo remember the burning of *Bartholomew Legat*, and *Edward Wightman*, for the Arian hereſy by king *James* I. (of all which, and ſome others, the commons in their reply put his majeſty in mind;) and then judge of the truth of this part of his declaration. Nor did the jeſuits regard the other parts of it, for they knew they had a friend in the king's boſom that would protect them, and therefore, inſtead of removing out of the land, they lay concealed within the verge of the court. Even *Goodman* himſelf was not executed,* though the king promiſed to leave him to the law, and

* *Whitlocke* informs us, that the king left him to the parliament: "and "they," ſays biſhop *Warburton*, "would not order his execution. The "truth of the matter was this; each party was deſirous of throwing the "odium of *Goodman*'s execution on the other; ſo between both the man "eſcaped." On this ground, his lordſhip exclaims, "how prejudiced is "the repreſentation of our hiſtorian!" In reply to this reflection, it may be aſked, did it not ſhew the king's partiality and reluctance to have the law executed againſt *Goodman*, that he remitted the matter to the houſe? Did

and though he himſelf petitioned, like *Jonah* the prophet, to be thrown overboard to allay the tempeſt between the king and his ſubjects. Such was his majeſty's attachment to *this people!* to the apparent hazard of the proteſtant religion and the peace of his kingdoms, and to the ſacrificing all good correſpondence between himſelf and his parliament.

Did not the inflicting the ſentence of the law lie ſolely with himſelf, as inveſted with the executive power? and yet he did not inflict it. Doth not this conduct juſtify Mr. *Neal*'s repreſentation? nay, that repreſentation is juſt and candid if it pointed to the relief only, which produced the remonſtrance of the parliament. There would not have been any occaſion for that remonſtrance, had it not been for his majeſty's attachment to men of that deſcription.

The advocates of the king have conſidered his conduct towards *Goodman* as an amiable act of humanity; nay, as proceeding from a mind moſt ſenſibly touched with the "gallantry," as it is called, of this man in petitioning to be made a ſacrifice to the juſtice of the law, to ſerve his majeſty's intereſt and affairs.

Dr. Grey, and Nalſon's Collections, vol. i. p. 746. Ed.

CHAP. IX.

From the Impeachment of the Earl of STRAFFORD, *to the Receſs of the Parliament upon the* KING'S *Progreſs in Scotland.*

IT is impoſſible to account for the prodigious changes of this and the years immediately ſucceeding, without taking a ſhort view of ſome civil occurrences that paved the way for them. In purſuance of *the deſign of bringing corrupt miniſters to juſtice*, the parliament began with *Thomas Wentworth* earl of Strafford, an able ſtateſman, but a moſt dangerous enemy of the laws and liberties of his country, whom they impeached of high treaſon November 11, 1640, and brought to his trial the 22d of March following. The grand article of his impeachment* was, *For endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental laws of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government.* This was ſubdivided into ſeveral branches, ſupported by a multiplicity of facts, none of which were directly treaſon by law, but being put together were conſtrued to be ſuch *by accumulation.* The earl's reply to the facts conſiſted partly in excuſes and evaſions; with an humble acknowledgment that in ſome things he had been miſtaken; but his principal defence reſted upon a point of law, *Whether an endeavour to ſubvert the fundamental form of government, and the laws of the land, was high treaſon at common law, or by any ſtatute in force?* Mr. *Lane* the counſel for the priſoner maintained, (1.) That all treaſons were to be reduced to the particulars ſpecified in the 25th *Edw.* III. *cap.* 2. (2.) That nothing elſe was or

* When the earl of *Strafford* was impeached, the king came into the houſe of Lords, and deſired that the articles againſt him might be read; which the lord keeper ordered to be done, while *many lords* cried out *Privilege! privilege!* When the king was departed, the houſe ordered that no entry ſhould be made of the king's demand of hearing the articles read, or of the keeper's compliance with it. A MSS. memorandum of Dr. *Birch* in the Britiſh Muſeum, and quoted in Curioſities of Literature, vol. ii. p. 186. ED.

could

could be treaſon; and that it was ſo enacted by the 1ſt *Henry* IV. *cap.* 10. (3.) That there had been no precedent to the contrary ſince that time. And (4.) That by 1 *Mary*, *cap.* 12, an endeavour to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the land is declared to be no more than *felony*.

The commons felt the weight of theſe arguments; and not being willing to enter into debate with a private barriſter, changed their impeachment into a *bill of attainder*, which they had a right to do by virtue of a clauſe in the 25th *Edw.* III. *cap.* 2d,* which refers the deciſion of what is treaſon in all doubtful caſes to the king and parliament.† The attainder paſſed the commons April 19, yeas 204, noes 59; but it is thought would have been loſt in the houſe of lords had it not been for the following accident, which put it out of the power of the earl's friends to ſave him.

The king, being weary of his parliament and deſirous to protect his *ſervant*, conſented to a project of ſome perſons in the greateſt truſt about the court, to bring the army that was raiſed againſt the Scots up to London, in order to awe

* The words of the ſtatute are,

"And becauſe that many other like caſes of treaſon may happen in time "to come, which a man cannot think or declare at this preſent time, it is "accorded, that if any other caſe, ſuppoſed treaſon, which is not above ſpe- "cified, doth happen before any juſtice, the juſtices ſhall tarry without any "going to judgment of the treaſon till the cauſe be ſhewed and declared "before the king and his parliament, whether it ought to be judged treaſon "or felony."

† The bill of attainder againſt the earl of *Strafford* being formed on this principle and authority, there was a great propriety in the following clauſe of it: viz. "That no judge or judges, juſtice or juſtices whatſoever, "ſhall adjudge or interpret any act or thing to be treaſon, nor hear or de- "termine treaſon, in any other manner than he or they ſhould or ought to "have done before the paſſing of this act." This clauſe has been conſidered as a reflection on the bill itſelf, and as an acknowledgment, that the caſe was too hard and the proceedings too irregular to be drawn into a precedent. But this is a miſconſtruction of the clauſe, which did not intimate any conſciouſneſs of wrong in thoſe who paſſed it; but was meant to preſerve to parliament the right, in future, which is exerciſed in this inſtance, of determining what is treaſon in all doubtful caſes; and was intended to reſtrain the operation of the bill to this ſingle caſe. It ſhewed, obſerves Mrs. *Macaulay*, a very laudable attention to the preſervation of publick liberty. Macaulay's Hiſtory, vol. ii. 8vo. p. 444, note (†.) and Dr. Harris's Life of Charles I. p. 324-5. Ed.

the

the two houſes, to reſcue the earl, and to take poſſeſſion of the city of London. Lord *Clarendon* ſays,§ the laſt motion was rejected with abhorrence, and that the gentleman who made it was the perſon that diſcovered the whole plot. The conſpirators met in the *queen's lodgings* at Whitehall, where a petition was drawn up for the officers of the army to ſign, and to preſent to his majeſty; with a tender of their readineſs to wait upon him in defence of his prerogative againſt the turbulent ſpirits of the houſe of commons; the draught was ſhewn to the king, and ſigned in teſtimony of his majeſty's approbation *C. R.* but the plot being diſcovered to the earl of *Bedford*, to the lords *Say* and *Kimbolton*, and to Mr. *Pym*, with the names of the conſpirators; all of them abſconded, and ſome fled immediately into France.

Mr. *Pym* opened the conſpiracy to the houſe of commons, May 2, 1641,‖ and acquainted them, that among other branches of the plot, one was to ſeize the Tower, to put the earl of *Strafford* at the head of the Iriſh army of papiſts who were to be tranſported into England, and to ſecure the important town of Portſmouth, in order to receive ſuccours from France; ſir *William Balfour*, lieutenant of the Tower, confeſſed that the king had ſent him expreſs orders to receive a hundred men into that garriſon under the command of captain *Billingsly*, to favour the earl's eſcape; and that the *earl* himſelf offered him twenty thouſand pounds in money, and to advance his ſon in marriage to one of the beſt fortunes in the kingdom. Lord *Clarendon* has uſed all his rhetorick to colour over this conſpiracy, and to make poſterity believe it was little more than the idle chat of ſome officers at a tavern; but they who will compare the depoſitions in *Ruſhworth*, with his lordſhip's account of that matter, (ſays biſhop *Burnet*) will find, that there is a great deal more in the one, than the other is willing to believe.* Mr. *Eachard* confeſſes that the plot was not wholly without a foundation. The court would have diſowned it, but their keeping the conſpirators in their places, made the parliament believe that there was a great deal more in it than was

§ Clarendon, vol. i. p. 248. ‖ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 369, folio.
* May's Hiſt. p. 97, 98, 99. Ruſhworth, part 3, vol. i. p. 291.

yet

yet diſcovered; they therefore ſent orders immediately to ſecure the town and haven of Portſmouth, and to diſband the Iriſh army; they voted that all papiſts ſhould be removed from about the court; and directed letters to ſir *Jacob Aſhley*, to induce the army to a dutiful behaviour, and to aſſure them of their full pay.

The conſequences of this plot were infinitely prejudicial to the king's affairs; the court loſt its reputation; the reverence due to the king and queen was leſſened; and the houſe of commons began to be eſteemed the only barrier of the people's liberties; for which purpoſe they entered into a ſolemn *proteſtation* to ſtand by each other with their lives and fortunes; the Scots army was continued for their ſecurity; a bill for the continuance of the preſent parliament was brought in and urged with great advantage; and laſt of all, by the diſcovery of this plot, the fate of the earl of *Strafford* was determined; great numbers of people crouded in a tumultuous manner to Weſtminſter, crying *Juſtice! juſtice!* and threatning violence to thoſe members of the houſe of commons who had voted againſt his attainder. In this ſituation of affairs, and in the abſence of the bench of biſhops, (as being a caſe of blood) the bill paſſed with the diſſent only of eleven peers. The king had ſome ſcruples about giving it the royal aſſent, becauſe, though he was convinced the earl had been guilty of *high crimes and miſdemeanours*, he did not apprehend that an *endeavour to ſubvert the fundamental form of government, and to introduce an arbitrary power, was high treaſon;* his majeſty conſulted his *biſhops* and *judges*, but was not ſatisfied till he received a letter from the earl himſelf, beſeeching his majeſty to ſign the bill, in order to make way for an happy agreement between him and his ſubjects. Mr. *Whitlocke* inſinuates,* that this letter was but a feint of the earl's; for when ſecretary *Carlton* acquainted him with what the king had done, and with the *motive*, which was *his own conſent*, he roſe up in a great ſurprize, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, ſaid, *Put not your truſt in princes, nor in the ſons of men, for in them there is no ſalvation.* Two days after this [May 12,] he was executed upon Tower-hill, and ſubmitted to the ax with a Roman bravery

* Memorials, p. 44.

and

and courage; but at the reſtoration of king *Charles* II. his attainder was reverſed, and the articles of *accumulative treaſon* declared null, becauſe what is not treaſon in the ſeveral parts cannot amount to treaſon in the whole.*

This was the unhappy fate of *Thomas Wentworth*, earl of *Strafford*, once an eminent patriot and aſſertor of the liberties of his country, but after he was called to court, one of the moſt arbitrary miniſters that this nation ever produced. He was certainly a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed abilities, as appears by the incomparable defence he made on his trial, which gained him more reputation and eſteem with the people, than all the latter actions of his life put together; but ſtill he was a publick enemy of his country, and had as great a ſhare in thoſe fatal counſels that brought on the civil war as any man then living. "The earl (ſays Mr. *Eachard*) "was of a ſevere countenance, inſufferably proud and "haughty, having a ſovereign contempt of the people, "whom he never ſtudied to gratify in any thing; the an-"cient nobility looked upon his ſudden riſe, and univerſal "influence in publick affairs, with envy; ſo that he had "but few friends, and a great many enemies."

Lord *Digby*, in his famous ſpeech againſt the bill of attainder, wherein he waſhes his hands of the blood of the earl of *Strafford*, has nevertheleſs theſe expreſſions: "I "confidently believe him the moſt dangerous miniſter, and "the moſt inſupportable to free ſubjects, that can be cha-"racterred. I believe his practices in themſelves have been "as high and tyrannical as any ſubject ever ventured upon; "and the malignity of them are greatly aggravated by thoſe "abilities of his, whereof God has given him the uſe, but "the devil the application. In a word, I believe him ſtill "that *grand apoſtate to the commonwealth*, who muſt not "expect to be pardoned in this world, till he be diſpatched "to the other."

Lord *Falkland* ſays, "That he committed ſo many mighty "and ſo manifeſt enormities and oppreſſions in the kingdom "of Ireland, that the like have not been committed by any "governor in any government ſince *Verres* left Sicily; and "after his lordſhip was called over from being deputy of

* Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 203.

"Ireland,

"Ireland, to be in a manner deputy of England, he and the "*Junctillo* gave ſuch councils and purſued ſuch courſes as "it is hard to ſay, whether they were more unwiſe, more "unjuſt, or more unfortunate."

Lord *Clarendon* ſays,* "That he had been compelled, for "reaſons of ſtate, to exerciſe many acts of power, and had "indulged *ſome* to his own appetite and paſſion, as in the "caſe of the lord chancellor of Ireland, and the lord *Mount* "*Norris*, the former of which was *ſatis pro imperio*, but the "latter, the moſt extravagant piece of ſovereignty that in a "time of peace had been executed by any ſubject." From whence the reader may conclude, that whatever encomiums the *earl* might deſerve as a gentleman and a ſoldier, yet as a *ſtateſman* he deſerved the fate he underwent.

The execution of this great perſonage ſtruck terror into all the king's late miniſters; ſome of them reſigned their places, and others retired into France; among the latter was the lord keeper *Finch* and ſecretary *Windebank*. Six of the judges were impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanors, for *interpreting away the laws of their country*; but the parliament had too much buſineſs upon their hands to attend their proſecution at preſent. Thus this unhappy prince was deprived of thoſe counſellors who were in his own arbitrary ſentiments, and left as in a manner to himſelf, and the powerful influence of his bigotted queen and her cabal of papiſts; for the new *miniſters* who ſucceeded, were ſuch in whom the king would place no confidence. So that moſt men expected that theſe vigorous proceedings would induce him to put a ſpeedy end to the ſeſſion.

But that which prevented it, was the want of money to pay off the armies in the north; his majeſty preſſed the houſes to diſpatch this affair, and relieve the country from the burthen of contribution; on the other hand, the *commons* looked upon the Scots as their ſecurity, and that if they were ſent home, they ſhould again be at the mercy of the prerogative, ſupported by a ſtanding army. However, they had begun to borrow money of the city of London towards the expence; but when the *plot* to diſſolve the parliament broke out, the citizens declared they would lend

* Vol. I. p. 250. nothing

nothing upon parliamentary ſecurity, becauſe their ſitting was ſo very precarious. This gave riſe to a motion *for the continuance of the preſent parliament, till they ſhould diſſolve themſelves*, which was preſently turned into a ſhort bill, and paſſed both houſes with very little oppoſition, as the only expedient that could be thought of to ſupport the publick credit: it enacts, "*that this preſent parliament ſhall not be* "*adjourned, prorogued, or diſſolved, without their own con-* "*ſent:*" and was ſigned by commiſſion with the bill of attainder againſt the earl of Strafford.

All men ſtood amazed at the king's weakneſs on this occaſion; for by this haſty and unadviſed meaſure he concurred in a change of the whole conſtitution, giving the two houſes a co-ordinate power in the legiſlature with himſelf, for as long time as they pleaſed: if his majeſty had fixed their continuance to a limited time, it might have ſatisfied the people, and ſaved the prerogative; but by making them perpetual, he parted with the ſceptre out of his own hands, and put it into the hands of his parliament. "This (ſays Mr. "*Eachard*) has made ſome writers doubt, whether thoſe "who afterwards took up arms againſt the king could be "legally termed REBELS? For by paſſing this act his ma-"jeſty made the two houſes ſo far independent upon himſelf, "that they immediately acquired an uncommon authority, "and a ſort of natural right to inſpect and cenſure his ac-"tions, and to provide for the ſafety of the kingdom."

While the *commons* were alarmed with the diſcovery of the plot, and the flight of the conſpirators, Mr. *Pym* moved that both houſes might join in ſome band of defence for the ſecurity of their liberties, and of the proteſtant religion; accordingly the following proteſtation was drawn up, and ſubſcribed the very next day by the whole houſe, [May 3.]

"I *A. B.* do in the preſence of Almighty God vow and "proteſt, to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully I may, "with my life, power and eſtate, the true reformed proteſ-"tant religion, expreſſed in the doctrine of the church of "England, againſt all popery and popiſh innovations in this "realm, contrary to the ſaid doctrine; and according to the "duty of my allegiance, I will maintain and defend his

" majeſty's royal perſon, honour and eſtate; alſo the power " and privilege of parliament, the lawful rights and liberties " of the ſubject, and of every perſon who ſhall make this " *proteſtation* in whatſoever he ſhall do, in the lawful pur- " ſuance of the ſame. And to my power, as far as lawfully " I may, I will oppoſe, and by all good ways and means, " endeavour to bring to condign puniſhment all ſuch who " ſhall by force, practice, counſel, plot, conſpiracy, or other- " wiſe, do any thing to the contrary in this proteſtation " contained. And further, that I ſhall in all juſt and ho- " nourable ways endeavour to preſerve the union and peace " between the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and " Ireland; and neither for hope, fear, or any other reſpect, " ſhall relinquiſh this promiſe, vow and proteſtation."*

May 4, this proteſtation was made by all the peers preſent in parliament, except the earl of Southampton and Lord *Roberts*;† even by the biſhops themſelves, though (as Lord *Clarendon* obſerves)§ it comes little ſhort of the *Scots covenant*. Their lordſhips, indeed, would have interpreted thoſe words, *The true reformed proteſtant religion, expreſſed in the* DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, to have included the *government* or *hierarchy* of the church; but it was reſolved and declared by the houſe,‡ that by thoſe words was and is meant, *only the publick doctrine profeſſed in the ſaid church, ſo far as it is oppoſite to popery and popiſh innovations; and that the ſaid words are not to extend to the maintenance of any form of worſhip, diſcipline or government, nor of rites and ceremonies.** Within two days the proteſtation was taken by eighty temporal lords, ſeventeen biſhops, nine judges, and four hundred and thirty-eight of the houſe of

* Clarendon, vol. i. p. 251, &c.

† " Alledging, that there was no law that enjoined it: and that the " conſequence of ſuch voluntary engagements might prodnce effects, that " were not intended." Lord *Clarendon* as quoted by Dr. *Grey*. ED.

§ Vol. i. p. 253.

‡ Mr. *Neal*, according to Lord *Carendon*, has miſrepreſented this matter. For, he ſays, that this explanation was procured in the houſe of commons, without ever adviſing with the houſe of peers. The peers had previouſly taken the proteſtation. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, vol. ii. p. 252. Mr. *Neal* is properly corrected here by Dr. *Grey*. ED.

* Ruſhworth, part 3. vol. i.

commons.

commons. Next day it was printed, and ſent to the ſheriffs and juſtices of peace in the ſeveral counties of England, to be taken by the whole nation, with the following directions.

—— "That it be taken in the afternoon of ſome Lord's "day after ſermon, before the congregation be diſmiſſed, "by all maſters of families, their ſons that are of a proper "age, and men ſervants, in the manner following. *Firſt*, "That notice be given to the miniſter by the church-"wardens of the intention.——*Secondly*, That the miniſter "acquaint the people in his ſermon of the nature of the "*proteſtation*.——*Thirdly*, That the miniſter firſt take it "himſelf, reading it diſtinctly with an audible voice, that "all preſent may hear it; then the aſſembly ſhall take the "writing in their hands, ſaying with a diſtinct and audible "voice, *I* A. B. *do in the preſence of Almighty God vow and "proteſt the ſame, which the leading perſon that reads it did, "naming the perſon*.——*Fourthly*, The names of all that take "it ſhall be ſubſcribed in a regiſter; and the names of thoſe "that refuſe ſhall be entered."

The cities of London and Weſtminſter obſerved theſe directions, but the remoter counties were complained of for neglect; upon which the houſe of *commons* paſſed a bill to oblige all perſons to take it throughout the kingdom; which was loſt in the houſe of lords, the whole bench of biſhops oppoſing it; whereupon the *commons* came to this reſolution, that *whoſoever would not take the proteſtation was unfit to bear offices in the church or commonwealth*.

This was carrying matters to a very extraordinary length; there had been a parliamentary aſſociation in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, which her majeſty confirmed, and a ſolemn league and covenant in Scotland, which the king had complied with; but the enforcing a *proteſtation* or *vow* upon his majeſty's ſubjects without his conſent, was aſſuming a power, which even this dangerous criſis of affairs, and the uncommon authority with which this parliament was inveſted by the late act of *continuance*, can by no means ſupport or juſtify. The odium of putting a ſtop to the *proteſtation* fell upon the *bench of biſhops*, who were already ſinking under their own weight; and his majeſty's not interpoſing in this affair at all, was afterwards made uſe of as a precedent for impoſing

ſolemn league and covenant upon the whole kingdom without his concurrence.*

The PURITANS had alſo objected to the lordly titles and dignities of the biſhops; but their votes in the houſe of peers were now eſteemed a very great grievance, and an effectual bar to the proceedings of parliament. It was remembered that they had been always averſe to reformation; thar they had voted unanimouſly againſt the *ſupremacy* in king *Henry* the VIIIth's reign; and againſt the *act of uniformity* in queen *Elizabeth*'s. It was now obſerved that they were the *creatures of the court*, and a *dead weight* againſt all reformation in church or ſtate; twenty-ſix votes being ſufficient at any time to turn the ſcale in that houſe, whoſe full number was not above an hundred; it was therefore moved, that a bill might be brought in to take away their ſeats in parliament, which was readily agreed to. The bill (ſays lord *Clarendon*†) was drawn up with great deliberation, and was entitled, *An act for reſtraining biſhops, and others of the clergy in holy orders, from intermeddling in ſecular affairs.* It conſiſted of ſeveral branches, as, that *no biſhop ſhould have a vote in parliament, nor any judicial power in the ſtar-chamber, nor be a privy-counſellor, nor a judge in any temporal courts; nor ſhould any clergyman be in the commiſſion of peace.* To make way for the paſſing of this bill, it was alledged, that if this were granted the *commons* would be ſatisfied, and little or nothing further attempted to the prejudice of the church. It therefore paſſed the houſe of commons without oppoſition, and was ſent up to the houſe of peers *May* 1, 1641. Mr. *Fuller* ſays,§ that lord *Kimbolton* would have perſuaded the biſhops to reſign their votes in parliament, adding, that then the temporal lords would be obliged in honour to preſerve their juriſdiction and revenues. The earl of *Eſſex* alſo employed ſome body to treat privately with the biſhops on the ſame head; but they rejected all overtures of accommodation, reſolving to make their utmoſt efforts, and to keep poſſeſſion of their *ſeats* till a ſuperior ſtrength ſhould diſpoſſeſs them; accordingly the bill met with a vigorous oppoſition in the upper houſe, and after a ſecond reading was

* Nalſon's Collect. vol. ii. p. 414. † Vol. I. p. 234.

§ Book IX. p. 185.

thrown

thrown out, without ſo much as being committed; (a countenance frequently given to bills they never intend to paſs) but the whole bench of biſhops voting for themſelves, it is no wonder it was loſt by a conſiderable majority. Mr. *Fuller* ſays, it would have been thrown out if the biſhops had not voted at all; for though the temporal lords were content to exclude them from all ſecular offices and employments in the ſtate, they were in no diſpoſition to take away their ſuffrages in the houſe of peers.

Many learned ſpeeches were made in both houſes upon this occaſion; the reaſons of the commons for paſſing the bill were theſe, (1.) Becauſe their attendance on ſecular affairs, not relating to the church, is a great hindrance to their ſpiritual function.* *No man that warreth* (ſaith St. *Paul* to *Timothy*) *entangleth himſelf with the affairs of this life.* (2.) Becauſe it is contrary to their ordination vow; for when they enter into holy orders they promiſe to give themſelves WHOLLY to that vocation. (3.) Becauſe councils and canons in ſeveral ages have forbid their meddling in ſecular affairs. (4.) Becauſe the twenty-four biſhops depend on the two archbiſhops, and take an oath of canonical obedience to them. (5.) Becauſe their peerage is not of the ſame nature with the temporal lords, being but for life. (6.) Becauſe they depend on the crown for tranſlation to greater biſhopricks. (7.) Becauſe it is not fit that twenty-ſix of them ſhould ſit as judges upon complaints brought againſt themſelves and their order.§

Biſhop *Williams* publiſhed an anſwer to theſe reaſons, intitled the *abſtract*, to which there preſently came out a reply.

* Ruſhworth, p. 281. Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 260.

§ On theſe reaſons, Dr. *Harris* obſerves, "that, whatever might have "been thought of them at that time, we are to ſuppoſe that they have long "been of no force. The zeal for the conſtitution in church and ſtate, the "abhorrence of all miniſterial meaſures inconſiſtent therewith, the oppoſi-"tion to every thing contrary to liberty and the publick good; and above "all, the ſelf-denial, and contempt of the world, humility, and con-"ſtant diſcharge of epiſcopal duties, required in the New Teſtament: I "ſay all theſe things ſhew how much the biſhops ſince the reformation are "altered, and how much thoſe are miſtaken who repreſent them as a dead "weight in the houſe of lords, and an uſeleſs expence to the publick."

Life of Charles I. p. 330, 331. ED.

The chief ſpeakers on behalf of the biſhops, in the houſe of peers, were the lord viſcount *Newark*, afterwards earl of *Kingſton*, Dr. *Williams* lord biſhop of *Lincoln*, afterwards archbiſhop of *York*, the marquis of *Hereford*, the earls of *Southampton*, *Bath*, and *Briſtol*. But inſtead of tranſcribing their ſpeeches, I will give the reader a ſummary of their arguments, and of their adverſaries reply.

Firſt, It was argued, that *biſhops had voted in parliament almoſt ever ſince the conqueſt, according to* Matthew Paris, *ſir* Henry Spelman, *and others*. To which it was replied, that time and uſage ought to be of no weight with lawmakers, on the behalf of things which are allowed to be inconvenient: *Abbots* had voted as antiently in parliament as biſhops, and yet their votes were taken away.

Secondly, It was ſaid, that *the biſhops voting was no conſiderable hindrance to their ſpiritual function; for parliaments were to ſit but once in three years, and then but for a month or two together; that though no clergyman ſhould entangle himſelf with the affairs of this life, the apoſtle does not exclude him from intermeddling*. To which it was anſwered, that the epiſcopal function, if well diſcharged, was enough for all their time and thoughts; and that their dioceſes were large enough to employ all their labours, in viſitation, confirmation, preaching, &c. The deſign of the apoſtle *Paul* was certainly to exhort *Timothy* to withdraw himſelf as much as poſſible from the affairs of this life, that his thoughts might be more entire for his evangelical work; and therefore, in another place, he exhorts him *to give himſelf* WHOLLY *to theſe things*.

Thirdly, It was ſaid, that *clergymen had always been in the commiſſion of the peace, from the firſt planting of chriſtianity, and that they were beſt qualified for it*. To which it was anſwered, that they were moſt unfit for this employment, becauſe it had a direct tendency to hinder their uſefulneſs in their pulpits; and to the fact it was replied, that the firſt clergymen that were made juſtices of the peace, or had power in temporal juriſdiction, were the biſhops of Durham and York, 34 *Edw.* III. That before the act of confor-

* Nalſon's Collection, vol. ii. p. 251, &c.

mity,

mity, 1 *Edw.* VI. the clergy were not put in commiſſion for the peace; and that the reaſon of their being then admitted was, that they might perſuade the people to conformity; but if in conſcience they held it not conſiſtent with their ſpiritual calling, they might *refuſe*.

It was further ſaid, that *the taking away one whole bench out of the houſe of peers was an ill precedent, and might encourage the commons one time or other to cut off the barons, or ſome other degree of the nobility.* To which it was replied, that the peerage of the biſhops did not ſtand upon the ſame foot with the reſt of the nobility, becauſe their *honour* does not deſcend to their poſterity, and becauſe they have no right to vote in caſes of blood; if they had the ſame right of peerage with the temporal lords, no *canon* of the church could deprive them of it; for it was never known, that the canons of the church pretended to deprive the barons of England of any part of their inherent juriſdiction.

It was argued further, that *if the bench of biſhops were deprived of their votes, they would be left under very great diſadvantages; for whereas the meaneſt commoner is repreſented in the lower houſe, the biſhops will be thrown out of this common benefit; and if they have no ſhare in conſenting to the laws, neither in their perſons nor repreſentatives, what juſtice can oblige them to keep thoſe laws?* To which it was replied, that they have the ſame ſhare in the legiſlature with the reſt of the freeholders of England; nor is there any more reaſon that the biſhops, as biſhops, ſhould be a part of the legiſlature, than the judges or the lawyers, as ſuch, or any other incorporated profeſſion of learned men.

But the principal argument that was urged in favour of biſhops was, that *they were one of the three ſtates in parliament; that as ſuch they were the repreſentatives of the whole body of the clergy, and therefore to turn them out would be to alter the conſtitution, and to take away one whole branch of the legiſlature: The parliament would not then be the complete repreſentative body of the nation, nor would the laws which were enacted in their abſence be valid.* To ſupport this aſſertion it was ſaid, (1.) That the clergy in all other chriſtian kingdoms of theſe northern parts, make up a third *eſtate*, as in Germany, France, Spain, Poland, Denmark, Scotland; and

and therefore why not in England? (2.) When king *Henry* V. was buried, it is ſaid, the three eſtates aſſembled, and declared his ſon *Henry* VI. his ſucceſſor. The petition to *Richard* duke of Gloceſter, to accept the crown, runs in the name of the three eſtates; and in his parliament it is ſaid expreſsly, that at the requeſt of the three eſtates, (i. e. the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament aſſembled) he was declared undoubted king of theſe realms; to which may be added, the ſtatute of 1 *Eliz. cap.* 3, where the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, are ſaid to repreſent the three eſtates of this realm.

It was replied to this, that the biſhops did not ſit in the houſe as a *third ſtate*, nor as *biſhops*, but only in the right of their baronies annexed to their biſhopricks, 5 *Will.* I. All the biſhops have baronies except the biſhop of Man, who is as much a biſhop, to all intents and purpoſes of juriſdiction and ordination, as the others, but has no place in parliament, becauſe he does not hold *per integram baroniam.* It muſt be admitted, that in ancient times the lords ſpiritual are ſometimes mentioned as a *third ſtate* of the realm, but it could not be intended by this, that the clergy, much leſs the biſhops, were an eſſential part of the legiſlature; for if ſo, it would then follow, that no act of parliament could be valid without their conſent; whereas divers acts are now in force, from which the whole bench of biſhops have diſſented, as the *act of conformity*, 1 *Edw.* VI. and the *act of ſupremacy*, 1 *Eliz.** If the major part of the barons agree, and the houſe of commons concur, any bill may paſs into an act with the conſent of the king, though all the biſhops diſſent, becauſe their votes are over-ruled by the major part of the peers. In the parliament of Northampton under *Henry* II. when the biſhops challenged their peerage,† they ſaid, *Non ſedemus hic epiſcopi ſed barones*, We ſit not here as biſhops, but as barons; *We are barons, and you are barons here, therefore we are peers.* Nor did king *Charles* himſelf apprehend the biſhops to be one of the three ſtates, for in his declaration of June 16, 1642, he calls himſelf one, and the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, the other two. In ancient times the prelates were ſometimes excluded the parliament,

* Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 502, &c. † Fuller's Appeal.

as

as in 25 king *Edw.* I. when they would not agree to grant an aid to his majeſty in the parliament at Carliſle; and before that time ſeveral acts had paſſed againſt the oppreſſions of the clergy, in which the entry in the records ſtands thus, the king having conſulted with the *earls, barons, and the other nobles*; or by the aſſent of the *earls, barons, and other lay people*; which ſhews the biſhops did not conſent, for if they had, they would have been firſt named, the order of the nobility in all ancient records being *prelates, earls*, and *barons*.* When the convocation had cited Dr. *Standiſh* before them, for ſpeaking words againſt their power and privilege, in the 7th *Henry* VIII. it was determined by all the judges of the land, in preſence of the king, that his majeſty might hold his parliament without calling the biſhops at all. It appears therefore from hence, that the biſhops never were accounted a *third ſtate* of the realm, in ſuch a ſenſe as to make them an eſſential branch of the legiſlature; nor are they the repreſentatives of the clergy, becauſe then the clergy would be twice repreſented, for as many of them as are freeholders are repreſented with their fellow-ſubjects in the houſe of commons; and as clergymen they are repreſented in convocation, the writ of election to convocation being to ſend two clerks *ad conſentiendum, &c.* Beſides, none can properly be called repreſentatives of others, but ſuch as are choſen by them; the biſhops therefore, not being choſen for this purpoſe, cannot properly be the repreſentatives of the clergy in parliament; they ſit there not in their ſpiritual character, but by virtue of the baronies annexed to their biſhopricks; and if the king, with conſent of parliament, ſhould annex baronies to the courts of juſtice in Weſtminſter-hall, or to the ſupreme magiſtracy of the city of London, the judges and the lord-mayor for the time being would have the ſame right of peerage. But none of theſe arguments were deemed of ſufficient weight with the lords to deprive them of their ſeats in parliament.

The loſs of this bill with the reſolute behaviour of the biſhops, who were determined to part with nothing they were in poſſeſſion of, inflamed the commons, and made them conclude, that there was no hopes of reformation while they were a *branch of the legiſlature*. It was obſerved that the

* Ruſhworth, part 3, vol. i. p. 396.

biſhops

biſhops were unuſually diligent in giving their attendance upon the houſe at this time, and always voted with the court. Some of the leading members therefore, in the warmth of their reſentments, brought in a bill in purſuance of the *root and branch* petition, which had been laid aſide for ſome time, for *the utter extirpation of all biſhops, deans, and chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, chaunters, with all chancellors, officials, and officers belonging to them; and for the diſpoſing of their lands, manors, &c. as the parliament ſhall appoint.** A raſh and inconſiderate attempt! For could they expect that the biſhips ſhould aboliſh themſelves? Or that the temporal lords ſhould conſent to the utter extirpating an *order of churchmen*, when they would not ſo much as give up one branch of their privilege? The bill being drawn up by Mr. *St. John*, was delivered to the ſpeaker by Sir *Edw. Deering*, with a ſhort ſpeech, in which he took notice of the moderation of the houſe in the late bill, hoping that, by pruning and taking off a few unneceſſary branches from the biſhops, the tree might proſper the better; but that this ſoft method having proved ineffectual, by reaſon of their incorrigible obſtinacy, it was now neceſſary to put the *axe to the root of the tree.*† "I never was for ruin (ſays he) as long "as there was any hopes of reforming; and I now profeſs, "that if thoſe hopes revive and proſper, I will divide my "ſenſe upon this bill, and yield my ſhoulders to underprop "the primitive lawful and juſt epiſcopacy." He concluded with a ſentence in *Ovid.*

Cuncta prius tentanda, ſed immedicabile vulnus
Enſe recidendum eſt, ne pars ſincera trahatur.§

The reading this bill was very much oppoſed, becauſe it was brought in contrary to the uſage of parliament, without

* Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 248, 295, 300.

† Clarendon, vol. i. p. 237. Nalſon, ut ante, p. 248.

* Lord *Clarendon* repreſents Sir *Edward Deering* as a man of levity and vanity, eaſily flattered by being commended; and ſays, "that the applica-"tion of the above lines was his greateſt motive to deliver the ſpeech which "they cloſe. Dr. *Harris* (Life of *Charles* I. p. 327) ſays, he could not be "actuated by ſo mean a motive; and that he was a man of ſenſe, virtue and "learning, perhaps not inferior to his lordſhip, and of a family vaſtly "ſuperior." Ed.

firſt

firſt aſking leave; however, it was once read, and then adjourned for almoſt two months; a little before the king went to Scotland it was carried by a majority of thirty-one voices to read it a ſecond time, and commit it to a committee of the whole houſe, of which Mr. *Hyde* [lord *Clarendon*] was chairman, who made uſe of ſo much art and induſtry to embarraſs the affair, that after twenty days the bill was dropt.

Sir *Edward Deering*'s ſpeech in the committee will give light into the ſentiments of the puritans of theſe times;* "The ambition of ſome prelates (ſays he) will not let them "ſee how inconſiſtent two contrary functions are in one and "the ſame perſon, and therefore there is left neither *root* nor "*branch* of that ſo good and neceſſary a bill which we lately "ſent up, and conſequently no hope of ſuch a reformation "as we all aim at; what hopes then can we have, that this "bill, which ſtrikes at *root* and *branch*, both of their ſeats "of juſtice, and of their epiſcopal chairs in the church, will "paſs as it is, and without a tender of ſome other government "in lieu of this, ſince the voices are ſtill the ſame which "threw out your former bill*——" Sir *Edward* therefore propoſed another form of government, if the houſe ſhould think fit to aboliſh the preſent, which was in a manner the ſame with archbiſhop *Uſher*'s hereafter mentioned, as, "*firſt*, That every ſhire ſhould be a diſtinct dioceſe or church. "*Secondly*, That in every ſhire or church twelve or more "able divines ſhould be appointed, in the nature of an old "primitive conſtant preſbytery. *Thirdly*, That over every "preſbytery there ſhould be a preſident, let him be called "*biſhop*, or *overſeer*, or *moderator*, or *ſuperintendant*, or by "what other name you pleaſe, provided there be one in "every ſhire, for the government and direction of the preſbytery, in the nature of the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, or chairman of a committee." Accordingly it was reſolved, July 10, "*That eccleſiaſtical power for the government, of the church be exerciſed by commiſſioners.*" July 31, reſolved, "*That the members for every county bring in the "names of nine perſons to be eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, on "whom the power of church government ſhall be devolved; "but that no clergyman be of the commiſſion.*" This was de-

* Nalſon's Collection, vol. ii. p. 295, &c.

ſigned

ſigned as a temporary proviſion, and ſhews that the *puritans* of theſe times did not intend the preſbyterian government, but only a reduction of epiſcopacy to what they apprehended a more primitive ſtandard; and if the biſhops would have relinquiſhed ſome part of their juriſdiction, the miſchiefs that befel them afterwards might have been prevented; however, for the preſent, the proſecution of it was laid aſide.

But the houſe went more readily into the debate *for aboliſhing deans and chapters*, and applying their revenues to better purpoſes.* This alarmed the cathedral men, and put them upon conſulting how to ward off the danger that threatened them; for this purpoſe one divine was deputed from every cathedral in England to ſolicit their friends in the houſes on behalf of their ſeveral foundations; and it muſt be owned, they did all that men could do, leaving no ſtone unturned that might be for their advantage. Addreſſes were preſented from both univerſities in their favour:† The addreſs from Oxford prays "for the continuance of the "preſent form of church government, as the moſt ancient "and apoſtolical; and for the continuance of cathedral "churches, with their lands and revenues, as dedicated to "the ſervice of God, ſoon after the firſt plantation of chriſ-"tianity here; as foundations thought fit to be preſerved, "when the nurſeries of ſuperſtition were demoliſhed at the "reformation; as confirmed by the laws of the land; as "nurſeries of ſtudents and learned men in divinity; as the "upholders of divers ſchools, hoſpitals, highways, bridges, "and other pious works; as beneficial to thoſe cities where "they are ſituate, by hoſpitality, by relief of the poor, and "by occaſioning the reſort of many ſtrangers, to the benefit "of the tradeſmen and inhabitants of the places where they "are built; as the chief ſupport of many thouſand families "of the laity, who enjoy eſtates from them in a free way; "and as yielding an ample revenue to the crown, and a "maintenance to many learned profeſſors in the univerſity." The addreſs from the univerſity of Cambridge was to the ſame purpoſe, and therefore prays, "That the religious "bounty of their anceſtors, for the advancement of learning,

* Fuller's Church Hiſtory, b. xi. p. 176.

† Nalſon's Coll. vol. ii. p. 305-6.

"and

"and of learned men, may be preſerved from ruin and alie-
"nation; but withal, to take order, that they may be
"reduced to the due obſervation of their ſtatutes, and that
"all innovations and abuſes may be reformed." The deputies from the ſeveral cathedrals drew up a petition to the lords and commons to be heard by their *council*; but being informed that the houſe would not allow them that benefit, and that if they had any thing to offer they muſt appear and plead their own cauſe; they made choice of Dr. *John Hackett*, prebendary of St. Paul's, and archdeacon of Bedford, as their advocate, who being admitted to the bar of the houſe, May 12, after the petitions from the two univerſities had been read, made a laboured ſpeech in their behalf, inſiſting chiefly on the topicks of the Oxford addreſs.

He recommended cathedrals, *as fit to ſupply the defects of private prayer*; the publick performance whereof ſhould be in ſome place of diſtinction.* And whereas the exquiſiteneſs of the muſick gave offence to ſome ears, as hindering their devotion, he requeſted, in the name of his brethren, that it might be moderated to edification, and reduced to the form that *Athanaſius* recommends, *Ut legentibus ſint quam cantantibus ſimiliores.*

He alledged, that *at the reformation preaching began in cathedrals*; and whereas ſome have ſaid, that lecture preachers were an upſtart corporation; the doctor obſerved, that the local ſtatutes of all the cathedrals required lectures on the week days; and he requeſted, in the name of his brethren, that the godly and profitable performance of preaching might be more exacted.

He urged, that *cathedrals were ſerviceable for the advancement of learning, and training up perſons for the defence of the church*; and that the taking them away would diſſerve the cauſe of religion, and be a pleaſure to their adverſaries.

He added, that *the ancient and genuine uſe of deans and chapters was a* SENATUS EPISCOPI, to aſſiſt the biſhop in his juriſdiction; and whereas ſome of his reverend brethren had complained, that biſhops had for many years uſurped the ſole government to themſelves and their conſiſtories; the continuing of *chapters* rightly uſed would bring it to a plurality of aſſiſtants.

* Fuller, b. xi. p. 177.

He

He then put them in mind of *the antiquity of the ſtructures, and the number of perſons maintained by them*, amounting to many thouſands; he inſtanced in their *tenants*, who by their leaſes enjoyed ſix parts in ſeven pure gain, and had therefore petitioned for their landlords; and ſhewed, that the cities in which *cathedrals* were built, were inriched by the hoſpitality of the clergy, and the reſort of ſtrangers.

He enlarged further, *upon their endowments, as encouragements to induſtry and virtue*; that ſeveral famous proteſtants of foreign parts had been maintained by being inſtalled perbendaries, as *Caſaubon*, *Saravia*, Dr. *Peter Du Moulin*, *Voſſius*, and others; that the crown had great benefit from theſe foundations, paying greater ſums into the Exchequer for firſt-fruits and tenths, according to proportion, than other corporations.

And laſtly, he put them in mind, that *theſe ſtructures and eſtates were conſecrated to divine ſervice, and barred all alienation with the moſt dreadful imprecations.*

In the afternoon Dr. *Cornelius Burges* appeared on the other ſide of the queſtion, and made a long ſpeech concerning the unprofitableneſs of thoſe corporations; he complained of the *debauchery of ſinging men*, and of their vicious converſation; he ſpoke againſt *muſick in churches* as uſeleſs and hurtful. He made a diſtinct anſwer to the particulars of Dr. *Hacket*'s ſpeech; and in concluſion ſaid, "Though he "apprehended it neceſſary to apply theſe foundations to "better purpoſes, it was by no means lawful to alienate "them from publick and pious uſes, or to convert them to "any private perſons' profit."

The further debate of this bill was adjourned for a week, and then committed to a committee of the whole houſe, when the two following remarkable ſpeeches were made againſt theſe foundadions."*

The firſt by Mr. ſerjeant *Thomas*, who admits, "That "there were *deans* in St. *Auſtin*'s time, but that they were "not officers of the church 'till ſome centuries after. St. "*Auſtin* gives this account of their original; that the monks, "for their more convenient retirement and contemplation, "appointed officers, whom they called DEANS, *Eo quod*

* Ruſhworth, part. 3, vol i. p. 285. Nalſon's Coll. vol. ii. p. 282.

"*denis*

" *denis ſunt præpoſiti*; becauſe every dean had the care of " ten monks, and was to provide them with all neceſſaries " of life, that their devotions might not be interrupted with " worldly cares. In the following ages of darkneſs and " ſuperſtition, princes and others beſtowed large revenues " upon theſe monks, from the opinion they had of the " auſterity and ſanctity of their lives; and as the monks grew " rich, the office of the dean, who was the *præpoſitus* or " *ſteward*, grew more conſiderable, till in St. *Bernard*'s time " it was ordained, that none but a preſbyter ſhould be a " dean: *Ne ſit decanus niſi preſbyter.* At the reformation " of religion, when many other religious foundations were " broke up, theſe were preſerved, and in the conſtitutions " of king *Henry* VIII. and *Edward* VI. it is ordained, that " all deans ſhould be preſbyters, men of gravity, learning and " prudence, that they ſhould govern the cathedral churches " according to their ſeveral ſtatutes; that they ſhould pre- " ſerve diſcipline, and ſee that the holy rites be performed in " a grave and decent manner; that they be aſſiſtants to the " biſhops within their ſeveral cathedrals, as the archdeacons " are abroad, for which reaſon they ſhould not be abſent " from their cathedrals without the moſt urgent neceſſity, " to be allowed by the biſhop, but one or other of them is " to preach in their cathedrals every Lord's day." The *ſerjeant* then obſerved, how unlike our preſent deans were to their predeceſſors; how little they obſerved the ſtatutes of their inſtitution, and gave it as his opinion, that it was not reaſonable that ſuch vaſt revenues ſhould be allowed to perſons who were of ſo little uſe to the church or commonwealth.

Mr. *Pury*, alderman of Gloceſter, purſued the ſame argument; he produced a copy of the ſtatutes of the dean and chapter of Gloceſter, with their original grant about the time of the reformation, " We have erected (ſays the king) " cathedrals and colleges in the place of monaſteries, that " where ignorance and ſuperſtition reigned, the ſincere wor- " ſhip of God might flouriſh, and the goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus be " purely preached; and further, that the increaſe of the chriſ- " tian faith and piety, the inſtruction of youth in good learn- " ing, and the ſuſtentation of the poor, may be for ever kept,

" maintained,

"maintained, and continued."* He then produced the ſtatutes, which ordained, "That the ſaid deans, prebends, "and canons, ſhall always reſide and dwell in the houſes of "the ſaid cathedrals, and there keep a family, with good "hoſpitality to feed the poor, and to diſtribute alms. That "they ſhould preach the word in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, "eſpecially in the cathedral church, and have youth profit- "ably taught there. To this end they are to have a com- "mon table in the common hall of the cathedral, where the "canons, ſcholars, choriſters, and under officers, are to eat "together. The ſaid dean and chapter are to give yearly "20l. to the poor, beſides what is given to their own poor "*alms-men*, and 20l. more to the repairing bridges and high- "ways thereabouts. For the performance of the ſaid ſtatutes "and premiſes, the *deans*, *prebendaries*, *canons*, *and other* "*miniſters of the cathedral*, are obliged to take an oath, and "every one of them doth ſwear, that to the utmoſt of his "power, he will obſerve them inviolably."

The *alderman* obſerves from hence, "That not one of "the abovementioned ſtatutes are, or have been kept, or "the matters in any of them contained, performed by any "of the *deans or prebendaries* of the ſaid cathedral in his "memory. That they come once a year to receive the rents "and profits of the lands, but do not diſtribute to the poor "their proportion; nor do they mend the highways and "bridges; nor do they keep any common table; and inſtead "of preaching *in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon*, they neither prac- "tiſe it themſelves, nor encourage it in others. Infinite are "the preſſures that many cities near unto deans and chapters "have endured by them, and their procurement; ſo far have "they been from a common benefit. Since then the ſaid "deans and chapters are but truſtees, and the profits of the "ſaid lands have been ſo ill employed, contrary to the truſt "in them repoſed, the *alderman* was of opinion, that by a "legiſlative power in parliament it was fit to take them "away, and to put them into the hands of *feoffees*, to be "diſpoſed of to ſuch pious and charitable uſes as they "were firſt intended for; by which means the preaching "of the goſpel might be effectually encouraged, ſmaller

* Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 289.

"livings

" livings augmented, and the neceſſities of the poor better " ſupplied."

Theſe ſpeeches made ſuch an impreſſion upon the houſe, that after a long debate they came to theſe reſolutions, " That all deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, preben- " daries, chaunters, canons, and petty canons, and their " officers, ſhall be utterly aboliſhed and taken away out of " the church; and that all the lands taken by this bill from " deans and chapters ſhall be put into the hands of feoffees, " to be employed for the ſupport of a fit number of preach- " ing miniſters for the ſervice of every church, and for the " reparation of the ſaid churches, proviſion being made, " that his majeſty be no loſer in his rents, firſt-fruits, and " other duties; and that a competent maintenance ſhall be " made to the ſeveral perſons concerned, if they appear not " delinquents to this houſe." But none of theſe votes paſſed into a law; nor was there the leaſt proſpect of their being confirmed by the *lords*, as long as the biſhops were in that houſe, who ſtood together like a wall againſt every attempt of the commons for alterations in the church, till, by an unexpected providence, they were broken in pieces, and made way for their own ruin.

The firmneſs of the biſhops againſt all abatements or relaxations in favour of the *puritans*, exaſperated the people, and put an end to all proſpects of agreement. A COMMITTEE OF ACCOMMODATION had been appointed by the houſe of lords, March 12, to conſider of ſuch innovations in religion as were proper to be taken away, which by the *plot* of the court to bring up the army, and the loſs of the late bills for reformation of the hierarchy, was now broken up.* It conſiſted of ten earls, ten biſhops, and ten barons. " This " committee (ſays archbiſhop *Laud* in his diary) will meddle " with doctrine as well as ceremony, and will call ſome di- " vines to them to conſider of the buſineſs, as appears by " a letter hereunto annexed, ſent by the lord biſhop of " Lincoln to ſome divines to attend this ſervice. Upon the " whole, I believe this committee will prove the national " ſynod of England, to the great diſhonour of the church,

* Laud's Diary, p. 61. Hiſtory of his Troubles, p. 174.

" and what elſe may follow upon it God knows." At their firſt meeting they appointed a ſub-committee of biſhops, and divines of different perſuaſions, to prepare matters for their debate; the biſhop of Lincoln was chairman of both, and was ordered to call together the ſub-committee with all convenient ſpeed; which he did, by a letter directed to each of them in the following words:

" I am commanded by the lords of the *committee for* " *innovations in matters of religion*, to let you know, that " their ſaid lordſhips have aſſigned and appointed you to " attend them, as aſſiſtants in that committee; and to let you " know in general, that their lordſhips intend to examine all " innovations in doctrine and diſcipline introduced into the " church, without law, ſince the reformation; and (if their " lordſhips ſhall find it behoveful for the good of the church " and ſtate) to examine after that, the degrees and perfec- " tion of the reformation itſelf, which I am directed to inti- " mate to you, that you may prepare your thoughts, ſtudies, " and meditations accordingly, expecting their lordſhips " pleaſure for the particular points, as they ſhall ariſe. " Dated March 12, 1640-1."

Their names were theſe:

Dr. *Williams*, bp. of Lincoln,
Dr. *Uſher*, abp. of Armagh,
Dr. *Morton*, bp. of Durham,
Dr. *Hall*, biſhop of Exeter,
Dr. *Samuel Ward*,
Dr. *John Prideaux*,
Dr. *Sanderſon*,
Dr. *Featly*,
Dr. *Brownrigge*,
Dr. *Holdſworth*,
Dr. *Hacket*,
Dr. *Twiſſe*,
Dr. *Burges*,
Mr. *White*,
Mr. *Marſhall*,
Mr. *Calamy*,
Mr. *Hill*.

Some others were named, but theſe were all who appeared; they conſulted together ſix ſeveral days in the *Jeruſalem Chamber* at Weſtminſter, the dean entertaining them all the while at his table. The reſult of their conferences was drawn up for the debate of the COMMITTEE, in certain propoſitions and *queries* under the following heads:

I. *Innovations*

I. *Innovations in* DOCTRINE.

1. "QUÆRE, Whether in the 20th article theſe words "are not inſerted, *the church has authority in controverſies* "*of faith?*

2. "Several falſe doctrines have been preached, even all "the doctrines of the council of Trent, abating only ſuch "points of ſtate popery againſt the *king's ſupremacy*, as "were made treaſon by the ſtatute; for example, ſome have "preached juſtification by works; others, that works of "penance are ſatisfactory before God; that private con-"feſſion is neceſſary to ſalvation, *neceſſitate medii*; that ab-"ſolution of a prieſt is more than declaratory; that the "Lord's ſupper is a true and proper ſacrifice. Some have "defended prayer for the dead, and the lawfulneſs of mo-"naſtic vows; ſome have denied the morality of the ſab-"bath; ſome have preached, that ſubjects are bound to pay "taxes, contrary to the laws of the realm; ſome have de-"fended the whole ſubſtance of *arminianiſm*; and others have "given juſt occaſion of being ſuſpected of *ſocinianiſm*.

3. "Several dangerous and reproveable books have been "printed," which are mentioned in the copy of their proceedings, now before me.

II. *Innovations in* DISCIPLINE.

As, 1. "Turning the holy table into an altar.

2. "Bowing towards it, or to the eaſt many times, with "three congées, at acceſs or receſs in the church.

3. "Placing candleſticks on altars in parochial churches "in the day time, and making canopies over them, with "curtains, in imitation of the vail of the temple; advancing "crucifixes and images upon the *parafront* or altar-cloth, and "compelling all communicants to come up before the rails.

4. "Reading the litany in the body of the church, and "ſome part of the morning prayer at the altar, when there "is no communion; and the miniſter's turning his face to "the eaſt when he pronounces the creed, or reads prayers.

5. "Offering bread and wine by the hands of the church-"wardens, or others, before the conſecration of the ele-

" ments. Having a *credentia* or ſide-table for the Lord's " ſupper. Introducing an *offertory* before the communion, " beſides the giving alms to the poor afterwards.

6. " Prohibiting miniſters to expound the catechiſm; ſup- " preſſing lectures on the week day, and ſermons on Sunday " afternoon. Prohibiting a direct prayer before ſermon; " and *bidding* of prayer.

7. " Singing *te deum* in proſe in pariſh churches. Stand- " ing up at the hymns of the church; and always at *gloria* " *patri*. Carrying children from baptiſm to the altar, to " offer them to God; and prohibiting the building galleries " in churches, where the pariſhes are very populous.

8. " Introducing Latin *ſervice* in the communion at Ox- " ford; and into morning and evening prayer in Cambridge.

9. " Pretending for their innovations the injunctions and " advertiſements of queen *Elizabeth*, which are not in force, " but appertain to the liturgy, printed in the 2d and 3d of " *Edw.* VI. which the parliament hath reformed and laid " aſide."

Memorandum for reformation.

1. " That in all cathedral and collegiate churches two " ſermons be preached every Sunday, and likewiſe every " holiday; and one lecture at leaſt on working days every " week in the year.

2. " That the muſick uſed in cathedral and collegiate " churches be framed with leſs curioſity; and that no hymns " or anthems be uſed where *ditties* are framed by private " men, but ſuch as are contained in the holy ſcriptures, or " in our liturgy or prayers, or have publick allowance.

3. " That the reading deſk be placed in the church, where " divine ſervice may be beſt heard of the people."

III. *Conſiderations upon the book of common prayer.*

1. " Whether the names of ſome *departed ſaints* ſhould " not be ſtruck out of the calendar?

2. " Whether the *rubrick* ſhould not be mended, where " all thoſe veſtments are commanded which were uſed in " the 2d year of *Edward* VI?

3. " Whether

3. " Whether leſſons of canonical ſcripture ſhould not " be inſerted into the calendar inſtead of *apocrypha?*

4. " In the *rubrick* for the Lord's ſupper, whether it " ſhould not be inſerted, that ſuch as intend to communi- " cate ſhall ſignify their names to the curate over night, or " in the morning before prayers?

5. " The next *rubrick* to be explained, how far a miniſter " may repulſe a ſcandalous and notorious ſinner from the " communion?

6. " Whether it be not fit to inſert a *rubrick*, touching " kneeling at the communion, that it is to comply in all hu- " mility with the prayer which the miniſter makes, when " he delivers the elements?

7. " Whether there ſhould not be a rubrick to take away " all offence from the *croſs in baptiſm?* Or, whether it be " more expedient that it be wholly diſuſed? And, whether " this reaſon ſhall be publiſhed, that in ancient liturgies *no* " *croſs* was ſigned upon the party but where *oil* alſo was " uſed, and therefore *oil* being now omitted, ſo may that " which was concomitant with it, the ſign of the croſs?

8. " Whether the *catechiſm* may not receive a little more " enlargement?

9. " Whether the times prohibited for marriage are quite " to be taken away? Whether thoſe words in the office, " *with my body I thee worſhip*, ſhould not be thus altered, " *I give thee power over my body?* And, whether that part " of the *rubrick*, which obliges the new-married perſons to " receive the *communion* the ſame day of their marriage, " might not be changed for the next Sunday, when the com- " munion is celebrated?

10. " Whether in the *abſolution* for the ſick it were not " better to ſay, *I pronounce thee abſolved?* And in the office " for the dead, inſtead of thoſe words, *in ſure and certain* " *hope of the reſerrection to eternal life*, whether it were not " better to ſay, *knowing aſſuredly, that the dead ſhall riſe* " *again.*"

Some other amendments of ſmaller moment were pro- poſed, but theſe were the chief. No mention was made of a reformation of epiſcopacy, becauſe their chairman the

biſhop of *Lincoln* had undertaken that province, and accordingly preſented the houſe of lords with a reconciling ſcheme, which was dropt after the firſt reading. It conſiſted of ten articles.

1. "That every biſhop, being within his dioceſe, and not "diſabled by ill health, ſhall preach once every Lord's day, "or pay five pounds to the poor, to be levied by the next "juſtice of peace.

2. "That no biſhop ſhall be a juſtice of peace, except "the dean of Weſtminſter in Weſtminſter and St. Martin's. [This ſeems to be a proviſo for himſelf.]

3. "That every biſhop ſhall have twelve aſſiſtants beſides "the dean and chapter; four to be choſen by the king, four "by the lords, and four by the commons, for juriſdiction "and ordination.

4. "That in all vacancies, theſe aſſiſtants, with the dean "and chapter, ſhall preſent to the king, three of the ableſt "divines in the dioceſe, who ſhall chooſe one to be biſhop.

5. "That deans and prebendaries ſhall not be non-reſi-"dents at their cathedrals above ſixty days.

6. "That ſermons ſhall be preached in the cathedrals "twice every Lord's day, once every holiday, and a lecture "on *Wedneſdays*, with a ſalary of one hundred marks *per* "*annum*.

7. "That all archbiſhops, biſhops, and collegiate churches, "&c. ſhall be obliged to give a fourth part of their fines, "and improved rents, to buy in impropriations.

8. "That all double beneficed men ſhall pay the value of "half their living to the curate.

9. "No appeal ſhall be made to the court of arches, or "court of audience.

10. "It is propoſed, that canons and eccleſiaſtical conſti-"tutions ſhall be drawn up, and ſuited to the laws of the "realm, by ſixteen learned perſons, ſix to be denominated "by the king, five by the lords, and five by the commons."

Archbiſhop *Uſher* offered another ſcheme, *for the reduction of epiſcopacy into the form of ſynodical government, received in the ancient church;* in which *his grace* ſuppoſes, that of the many elders that ruled the church of Epheſus, there

there was one *ſtated preſident* whom our Saviour calls the ANGEL; and whom *Ignatius*, in one of his epiſtles, calls the BISHOP, to whom, in conjunction with the elders or preſbyters, the whole, government of the church, both as to doctrine and diſcipline, was committed. He therefore propoſes, that theſe be continued; and for a regulation of their juriſdiction, that *Suffragans* ſhould be appointed to hold *monthly ſynods of preſbyters*, from whom there ſhould be an appeal to dioceſan, provincial, and national ones; and more particularly,

1. "That the rector of every pariſh, with the church-"wardens, ſhould admoniſh and reprove ſuch as live ſcanda-"louſly, according to the quality of their offence; and if "by this means they are not reclaimed, to preſent them to "the next *monthly ſynod*, and in the mean time debar them "the Lord's table.

2. "Whereas by a ſtatute of 26 *Henry* VIII. *ſuffragans* "are appointed to be erected in twenty-ſix ſeveral places "of this kingdom, the number of them may be conformed "to the number of the ſeveral rural deanries, into which "every dioceſe is ſubdivided; which being done, the *ſuffra-*"*gan* may *every month* aſſemble a ſynod of the ſeveral rec-"tors or incumbent paſtors within the precinct, and accord-"ing to the major part of their votes conclude all matters "that ſhould be brought into debate before them.

3. "A *dioceſan ſynod* might be held once or twice a "year, wherein all the *ſuffragans*, and the reſt of the rec-"tors and incumbent paſtors, or a certain ſelect number out "of every deanry, within that dioceſe, might meet, with "whoſe conſent all things might be concluded by the biſhop "or ſuperintendant; or in his *abſence* by one of his *ſuffra-*"*gans*, whom he ſhould appoint as moderator in his room; "and here the tranſactions of the monthly ſynods may be "reviſed and reformed.

4. "The *provincial* ſynod may conſiſt of all the biſhops "and ſuffragans, and ſuch of the clergy as ſhould be elected "out of every dioceſe within the province: The primate of "either province might be moderator, or in his room, one "of the biſhops appointed by him. This ſynod might be "held every third year, and if the parliament be ſitting,

"both

" both the primates and provincial ſynods might join toge-
" ther, and make up one national ſynod, wherein all appeals
" from inferior ſynods might be received, all their acts ex-
" amined, and all eccleſiaſtical affairs relating to the ſtate of
" the church in general eſtabliſhed."

Several other propoſals were made to the houſe of commons by thoſe *puritans*, who were for reviſing and altering ſome things in the church, but not for ROOT AND BRANCH;* as, that his majeſty ſhould be moved to call a national ſynod, or a ſelect number of divines of the three nations under his majeſty's government; with an intimation to all reformed churches to ſend their deputies, to ſettle a uniform model of government for the church of England, to be confirmed by parliament, leaving to other nations a chriſtian liberty in thoſe forms of diſcipline which are moſt agreeable to their civil government.

Others propoſed, " That the preſent liturgy might be
" continued, but that the apocryphal leſſons be entirely
" omitted; that all ſentences of holy ſcripture be according
" to the laſt tranſlation; that the word *miniſter* be uſed inſtead
" of *prieſt*; with ſome other amendments —— That, with
" regard to epiſcopal government, biſhops be obliged to
" conſtant preaching in their metropolitan or parochial
" churches;—— that they never ordain without conſent of
" three or four preſbyters at leaſt; —— that they do not
" ſuſpend by their ſole authority, but with conſent of preſ-
" byters, and that for weighty cauſes; —— that none may
" be excommunicated but by the biſhop himſelf, with conſent
" of the paſtor in whoſe pariſh the delinquent dwells; and
" that for heinous and very ſcandalous crimes only. ——
" That the fees of eccleſiaſtical courts be regulated, and that
" biſhops, chancellors, and their officials, may be ſubject to
" the cenſure of provincial ſynods and convocations."

But all theſe attempts for accommodation were blaſted by the ſtiffneſs of the biſhops, and by the diſcovery of the plot to bring the army to London to diſſolve the parliament; this put the nation into a ferment, and widened the diſtance between the king and the two houſes, upon which the com-

* Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 203.

mittee

mittee broke up about the middle of May, without bringing any thing to perfection. Mr. *Fuller* has obſerved very juſtly, "That the moderation and mutual compliance of theſe di-"vines might have ſaved the body of epiſcopacy, and pre-"vented the civil war; but the *court biſhops* expected no "good from them, ſuſpecting the doctrinal puritans, (as they "nick-named thoſe biſhops and epiſcopal divines) joined "with the diſciplinary puritans, would betray the church "between them. Some hot ſpirits would abate nothing of "epiſcopal power or profit, but maintained, that the yielding "any thing was granting the day to the oppoſite party." It is the obſervation of another learned writer, upon the committee's agreeing to have the pſalms in the liturgy printed according to the new tranſlation; to expunge all apocryphal leſſons; to alter certain paſſages in the book of common prayer; and ſome other things, with which divers of the preſbyterians ſaid they were ſatisfied, "That if the "epiſcopal men had made theſe conceſſions when they were "in full power, they had prevented the miſchiefs that were "coming upon them; but as things were at preſent, neither "ſide appeared very well ſatisfied."

There were deep reſentments in the breaſts of both parties; the biſhops were incenſed at the bold attacks of the houſe of commons upon their peerage and ſpiritual juriſdiction; and the puritans had a quick ſenſe of their former ſufferings, which made them reſtleſs till they had abridged their power. It is very remarkable, and looks like an appearance of divine diſpleaſure againſt the *ſpirit of theſe times*, that archbiſhop *Uſher*'s ſcheme, for the *reduction of epiſcopacy*, which at this time would have ſatisfied the chief body of the puritans, could not be obtained from the king and the biſhops; that afterwards, when the king offered this very ſcheme at the treaty of the Iſle of Wight, the parliament and puritan divines would not accept it, for fear of breaking with their Scots brethren. Again, when the preſbyterian miniſters, at the reſtoration of king *Charles* II. preſented it to his majeſty as a model with which they were ſatisfied, and which would comprehend in a manner their whole body, both the king and biſhops rejected it with contempt, and would not ſuffer it to be debated.

It

It may not be improper in this place, to make a few remarks upon this part of Mr. *Rapin's accurate and judicious hiſtory of England*, who, in his account of theſe times, ſeems to repreſent the body of the *puritans* to be *preſbyterians*, and as having formed a conſpiracy againſt the whole fabrick of the church, from the very beginning of this parliament; whereas the ſtate of the controverſy between the church and the puritans was now changed: In the reigns of queen *Eliz.* and king *James* I. the puritans were for the moſt part preſbyterians, though even then there were many epiſcopalians among them; but from the time that arminianiſm prevailed in the church, and the whole body of the calviniſts came to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of *doctrinal puritans*, both parties ſeemed to unite in a moderate epiſcopacy, there being little or no mention of the old book of diſcipline for twenty years before the commencement of the civil war, and all the controverſy turning upon *points of calviniſm*; upon a *reduction of the exorbitant power of the biſhops*; or upon *innovations* (as they were called) and *ceremonies*. There were few either among the clergy or laity, who had a zeal for preſbytery, or deſired any more than to be rid of their oppreſſions. Mr. *Rapin*, however, is of opinion,* that *among the members of parliament there were real preſbyterians, who thought, no doubt, of altering the whole government of the church. Theſe are repreſented as deep politicians, as working under ground, and making uſe of all kinds of artifices to accompliſh their deſigns, which they took care not to diſcover.* He owns, indeed, that *the preſbyterians were not very numerous in the houſe, but that they were ſupported by a pretty great party in the kingdom, and particularly by the Scots.* Which aſſertion ſeems to me to require ſtronger evidence than he has thought fit to produce. I have ſhewn from lord *Clarendon*, that both houſes of parliament at their firſt ſitting down, were almoſt to a man for the conſtitution of the church; that they aimed at no more than a redreſs of grievances; and that there were not above two or three in both houſes that were for *root and branch*. That all the members received the communion according to the uſage of the church of England, at their firſt ſitting down, and brought a certificate of their having ſo done. That the petition of

* Vol. ii p. 359, 447, Folio Edition.

the

the *puritan miniſters* was not for ſetting up *preſbytery*, but only for reforming the grievances of the hierarchy; the controverſy between biſhop *Hall* and the *Smectymnuan* divines, proceeded on the ſame foot, as did the *committee of accommodation*. In ſhort, when the parliament was obliged to fly to the Scots for aſſiſtance in the war, and to receive their *covenant*; and when afterwards they found it neceſſary to pay the utmoſt deference to their advices, leſt they ſhould withdraw their army, and leave them to the mercy of an enraged king; they could never, in the worſt of times, be induced to eſtabliſh their diſcipline in the church of England, without a reſerve of the eccleſiaſtical power to themſelves. And as to the miniſters who compoſed the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter, though in a courſe of time they carried things very high, yet I am of opinion with Mr. *Fuller*,† that at firſt *they rather favoured the preſbyterian diſcipline, or were brought over to embrace it by the Scots*, than that they came thither poſſeſſed with ſentiments of its *divine authority*. However, it is certain, that at the reſtoration theſe very divines offered to give it up for archbiſhop *Uſher*'s model of primitive epiſcopacy.

It muſt be confeſſed, that ſoon after the beginning of the parliament there were many among the common people who were enemies to the whole eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, being ſupported by the *Scots commiſſioners*, who had conceived an implacable antipathy againſt the order of biſhops, which they had voted *contrary to the word of God*. But this was not the caſe of the puritan clergy, who wanted only to get rid of the tyranny of the biſhops, and were willing to leave the parliament to model the government of the church as they pleaſed. And although as the influence of the *Scots* over the two houſes increaſed, preſbytery prevailed; and when the parliament were at their mercy, and forced to ſubmit to what conditions they would impoſe upon them for their aſſiſtance, the *kirk diſcipline* gained the aſcendant, and at length advanced into a *divine right* in the aſſembly of divines; yet the parliament would never come into it, and when the Scots were gone home it dwindled by degrees, till it was almoſt totally eclipſed by the riſing greatneſs of the independants.

† Book xi. p. 198. It

It appears therefore to me, that there was no formed deſign as yet, either in the houſe of commons, or among the puritan clergy, to ſubvert the hierarchy, and erect the preſbyterian government upon its ruins; there were no conſiderable number of preſbyterian miniſters in the nation; and the leading members in both houſes were known to be of another ſtamp. "We are confident (ſays the king, in his letter to the council of Scotland, Aug. 26.) "that the moſt conſiderable perſons in both houſes of parliament, and thoſe "who make the faireſt pretenſions to you of uniformity in "church government, will no ſooner embrace a *preſbyterial* "than you an *epiſcopal*."* And biſhop *Burnet* ſpeaks the ſame language. So that what was done in the houſe of commons afterwards, was the reſult of the ſituation of their affairs, and not of any formed deſign: As that changed, ſo did their councils and meaſures. The contrary to this ought not to be ſuppoſed, but proved by inconteſtable matters of fact, which neither Mr. *Rapin*, or any other hiſtorian whom I have read, has yet done. And I will venture to ſay, that if there were ſuch inviſible preſbyterians behind the curtain, who planned the ſubverſion of the hierarchy, and blew it up as it were without hands, they muſt have been abler ſtateſmen, and maſters of much more worldly politicks, than their poſterity have ever been remarkable for.

To return to the parliament: there were two bills which affected the prerogative now ready for the royal aſſent; one *to aboliſh the court of high commiſſion, and regulate the privy council*; the other *to take away the ſtar chamber*. To induce the king to paſs them more readily, the commons ſent up a money bill with them; but when the king came to the houſe [July 3, 1641] he paſſed the money bill, and told the houſes, he muſt take ſome time to conſider of the others; which diſguſted the commons ſo much, that they returned to their houſe and immediately adjourned. At their next meeting they fell into new heats, which his majeſty being informed of, came to the houſe of peers, and having ſent for the commons, reprimanded them for their jealouſies, and then paſſed the bills; he alſo put them in mind what he had done this ſeſſion; "That he had yielded, that the judges ſhould hold "their places *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*; that he had given

* Hamilton's Memoirs, book iv. p. 197. "away

" away his right to *ſhip money*; granted a law for triennial " parliaments, and for ſecuring the money borrowed for diſ- " banding the armies; in a word, that he had hitherto given " way to every thing, and therefore *they ſhould not wonder*, " *if in ſome things he began now to refuſe.*"* Lord *Clarendon* inſinuates, that the king paſſed theſe bills with reluctance; from whence another ingenious writer concludes, that if ever the miniſtry had regained their power, it was likely they would adviſe his majeſty to declare them void, as being extorted from him by force and violence.

The act for aboliſhing the high commiſſion court repeals that branch of the ſtatute, 1 *Eliz. cap.* 1, upon which this court was founded, and then enacts, " That no archbiſhops, " biſhops, vicars general, chancellor, or official, nor com- " miſſary of any archbiſhop, biſhop, or vicar general, or any " other ſpiritual or eccleſiaſtical officer, ſhall by any grant, " licence, or commiſſion from the king, his heirs or ſucceſſors, " after the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1641, award, impoſe, or inflict " any pain, penalty, fine, amercement, impriſonment, or " other corporeal puniſhment, upon any of the king's ſub- " jects, for any contempt, miſdemeanor, crime, matter or " thing whatſoever, belonging to ſpiritual or eccleſiaſtical " juriſdiction, or ſhall *ex officio* tender or adminiſter to any " perſon, any corporal oath, to make any preſentment of " any crime, or to confeſs or accuſe himſelf of any crime, " offence, delinquency, or miſdemeanor, whereby he or ſhe " may be liable to any puniſhment whatſoever, under penalty " of treble charges, and one hundred pounds to him or them " who ſhall firſt demand or ſue for the ſame. And it is " further enacted, that after the ſaid firſt of Auguſt, 1641, " no new court ſhall be erected, or deemed, or appointed, " that ſhall have the like power, juriſdiction, or authority, " as the *high commiſſion court* had, or pretended to have, but " all ſuch commiſſions, letters patents, &c. from the king, " or his ſucceſſors; and all acts, ſentences, and decrees, made " by virtue thereof, ſhall be utterly void."

By the paſſing this act, all coercive power of church conſiſtories was taken away, and the ſpiritual ſword, that had done ſuch terrible execution in the hands of ſome biſhops,

* Nalſon's Collections, vol. i. p. 327.

was

was put into the ſcabbard. It was very extrordinary that the biſhops, who were then in the houſe of lords, ſhould ſo ſupinely ſuffer themſelves to be ſurprized out of their power. Some were ready to obſerve a hand of juſtice, (ſays Mr. *Fuller**) that ſeeing many ſimple ſouls, by captious interrogatories, had been circumvented by the high commiſſion court into a ſelf-accuſation, an unſuſpected clauſe in this ſtatute ſhould aboliſh all their lawful authority; for there is no proviſo in the act to confine it only to the *high commiſſion*, but it extends to all archbiſhops, biſhops, and all ſpiritual or eccleſiaſtical officers in any of their courts. Lord *Clarendon* ſays,§ that the king was apprehenſive that the body of the bill exceeded the title, and therefore made a pauſe in conſenting to paſs it, but that ſome biſhops prevailed with his majeſty to ſign it, to take off the odium from that *bench*, of their being enemies to all reformation; for it was inſinuated, (ſays the noble hiſtorian) that ſince they oppoſed a due regulation of their power, there would be no way but to cut them off *Root and Branch*.

The act for taking away the *ſtar chamber*, and regulating the privy council, diſſolves the ſaid court from the firſt of Aug. 1641, "and repeals all thoſe acts, or clauſes of acts "of parliament, by which any juriſdiction, power, or au- "thority, is given to the ſaid court, or to any of the officers "or miniſters thereof. And it ordains further, that neither "his majeſty, nor his privy council, have, or ought to have, "any juriſdiction, power, or authority, by Engliſh bill, pe- "tition, articles, libel, or other arbitrary way, to examine "or draw in queſtion, determine, or diſpoſe of the lands, "tenements, hereditaments, goods or chattles, of any of "the ſubjects of this kingdom."

Thus fell the two chief engines of the late arbitrary proceedings in church and ſtate, which had the liberties and eſtates of many worthy and pious families to anſwer for. By the *proviſo* in the act for aboliſhing the high commiſſion, that *no new court ſhall be erected with like powers for the future*, it appears how odious their proceedings were in the eyes of the nation. Lord *Clarendon* admits,† that the taking

* Book xi. p. 181. § Clarendon, vol. i. p. 284. † Vol. i. p. 285.

away

away the ſtar-chamber at this time was very popular; but is of opinion that it would be no leſs politick in the crown to revive it when the preſent diſtempers are expired; however, I rely on the wiſdom of a Britiſh parliament, that they will never conſent to it.

When the king had ſigned the two bills, he deſired the advice of his parliament, concerning a *manifeſto* which he intended to ſend to the diet of Ratiſbon in favour of the *Palatine* family, wherein he declares, that he will not abandon the intereſts of his ſiſter and nephews, but will employ all his force and power in their behalf until they are reſtored. This was highly acceptable to the puritans, who had always the intereſts of that houſe at heart. The manifeſto was read July 7,* when the commons declared their approbation of it, and reſolved to give his majeſty ſuch aſſiſtance therein as ſhall ſtand with the honour of his majeſty, and the intereſt and affections of his kingdom, if the preſent treaty does not ſucceed. The *peers* concurred in the ſame vote, and both houſes deſired the king to recommend it to the parliament of Scotland; which his majeſty promiſed. Many warm ſpeeches were made on this occaſion in favour of the queen of Bohemia, by ſir *Simon D'Ewes*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, and ſir *Benjamin Rudyard*.‖ "The reſtoring the prince to his "electorate (ſays ſir *Benjamin*) will reſtore the proteſtant "religion there; it will ſtrengthen and increaſe it in *Germany*, "which is of great and vaſt conſequence. It will likewiſe "refreſh and comfort the heart of that moſt noble, virtuous, and magnanimouſly ſuffering queen of Bohemia "his majeſty's ſiſter, and his highneſs's mother, who is "ever to be highly and tenderly regarded by this houſe, "and by this kingdom.——" Mr. *Denzil Hollis* ſaid, "The "houſe of commons looks upon thoſe diſtreſſed princes of "ſo glorious an extraction, with an eye of tenderneſs, wiſhing every drop of that princely blood may ever be illuſtrated with honour and happineſs.——To hear that theſe "princes ſhould have their patrimony taken from them, "and ſuffer things ſo unworthy their birth and relation, is "a thing that makes our ears to tingle, and our hearts to

* Ruſhworth, part 3, vol. i. p. 310.

‖ Nalſon's Collections, p. 326, 328, 378. "riſe

" riſe within us.——But there is another motive which has " an irreſiſtible operation with us, which is the advance- " ment of proteſtant religion.——The proteſtant religion " and this kingdom muſt live and die together; and it is " madneſs to ſuppoſe the proteſtant religion can continue " here, if we ſuffer it to be deſtroyed and eradicated out of " the neighbouring countries.—Religion is the heart of Eng- " land, and England is the heart of the proteſtant religion " in all the other parts of Chriſtendom; let us therefore, " like wiſe men, that foreſee the evil afar off, rather meet " it at a diſtance, than ſtay till the Auſtrian ambition and " popiſh power come to our door."* Theſe were the ſentiments of the *puritans* in this parliament, with reſpect to the anceſtors of his preſent majeſty, and the proteſtant religion. The queen of Bohemia was ſo ſenſible of their particular regards for her family, that ſhe returned them her thanks; but the *manifeſto* ended in nothing.‖

The commons not being able to come at their intended alterations in the church, while the bench of biſhops remained united in the houſe of peers, formed ſeveral ſchemes to divide them: it was firſt propoſed to ſet large fines upon both houſes of convocation for compiling the late canons, and a bill was brought in for that purpoſe; but upon better conſideration it was thought more effectual for the preſent, to make examples of thoſe biſhops only, who had been the principal movers in that affair; agreeably to this reſolution a committee was appointed July 31, to draw up an impeachment againſt one half of the bench, viz. Dr. *Laud* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Curle* biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Dr. *Wright* biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, Dr. *Goodman* biſhop of *Gloceſter*, Dr. *Hall* biſhop of *Exeter*, Dr. *Owen* biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, Dr. *Pierſe* biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Dr. *Wren* biſhop of *Ely*, Dr. *Roberts* biſhop of *Bangor*, Dr. *Skinner* biſhop of *Briſtol*, Dr. *Warner* biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Dr. *Towers* biſhop of *Peterborough*, Dr. *Owen* biſhop of *Landaff*.† The impeachment was of high crimes and miſdemeanors, " *For making and publiſhing the late canons, contrary to the*

* Ruſhworth, p. 316. ‖ Ibid. p. 357.

† Ruſhworth, part 3, vol. i. p. 359.

" *king's*

" *king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws of the realm,* " *to the rights of parliament, and to the property and liberty* " *of the ſubject; and containing matters tending to ſedition,* " *and of dangerous conſequence;* and *for granting a benevo-* " *lence or contribution to his majeſty, to be paid by the clergy* " *of that province, contrary to law.*" It was carried up to the lords Auguſt 4, by ſerjeant *Wild*, who demanded in the name of all the commons of England, that the biſhops might be forthwith put to anſwer the crimes and miſdemeanors abovementioned, *in the preſence of the houſe of commons;* and that ſuch further proceedings might be had againſt them as to law and juſtice appertained. The commons were in hopes, that the biſhops would have quitted their votes in parliament to be diſcharged of the *præmunire;* but they reſolved to abide by their right, and therefore only deſired time to prepare their anſwer, and council for their aſſiſtance; accordingly they were allowed three months time to put in their anſwer, and council of their own nomination, viz. ſerjeant *Jermin*, Mr. *Chute*, Mr. *Herne*, and Mr. *Hales*.*

From this time the biſhops fell under a general diſregard; the cry of the populace was againſt them, as the chief impediments of all reformation in church and ſtate; and even the temporal peers treated them with neglect, expreſſing their diſlike at the biſhop of *London*'s being ſtiled *Right Honourable*. Beſides, the *lords ſpiritual* were not diſtinctly mentioned in the bills that paſſed this ſeſſion, according to ancient uſage; the clerk of the parliament in reading the bills to the houſe, turned his back upon the bench of biſhops; and when the houſes went in a body to church on a faſt day, the temporal barons gave themſelves precedence of the biſhops. Theſe were the preludes to their downfall, which happened about ſix months forward, though from this time they were little better than cyphers in the houſe.

Theſe reſolute proceedings againſt the biſhops, put the court upon forming new projects to break up the parliament. It was obſerved that the ſtrength and courage of the houſe of commons roſe from their confederacy with the Scots, whoſe army in the north was entirely in their intereſt;

* Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Book XI. p. 183.

it was therefore reſolved in council to detach that nation (if poſſible) from the parliament, and to bring them over to the king, by yielding every thing they ſhould deſire; for this purpoſe his majeſty declared his reſolution to the two houſes, to viſit his native country in perſon within fourteen days, and deſired them to finiſh the bills which were before them by that time. The *commons* being aware of the deſign, and apprehenſive of danger, if the king ſhould put himſelf at the head of the Engliſh army in the north, ſent away the earl of *Holland* immediately with money to pay them off, which was done without mutiny or diſturbance; but the buſineſs of the houſes being very urgent, and the time ſhort, they voted, that in this caſe of great neceſſity, concerning the peace of the kingdom, they would ſit the next day, being *Sunday*, by ſix o'clock in the morning; which they did, and having heard a ſermon, returned to the houſe about nine, and ſat all day long on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday [Auguſt 8, 1641]. But leſt this might be miſconſtrued as a profanation, or be drawn into example, they publiſhed the following declaration:*

"WHEREAS both houſes of parliament found it fit "to ſit in parliament upon the 8th of Auguſt, being Lord's "day, for many urgent occaſions, being ſtraitened in time, "by his majeſty's reſolution to go within a day or two to "Scotland, they think fit to declare, that they would not "have done this but upon inevitable neceſſity; the peace "and ſafety of both church and ſtate being ſo deeply con-"cerned, which they do hereby declare, to this end, that "neither any other inferior court or council, or any other "perſon, may draw this into example, or make uſe of it for "their encouragement, in neglecting the due obſervation of "the Lord's day."

The ſame vote paſſed the houſe of lords *nemine contradicente*, and was ordered to be printed.

Auguſt 10, his majeſty came to the houſe and gave his aſſent to a bill concerning *knightwood;* againſt the oppreſſions of the *ſtannary* courts; for regulating the *clerks of*

* Ruſhworth, p. 362. Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 436.

markets;

markets; and for confirming and ratifying the *peace* [or pacification] *with the Scots.* This laſt being an affair of great conſequence, I ſhall give the reader an abſtract of the treaty, which had been depending ever ſince Nov. 23, 1640, between the commiſſioners of both nations, who agreed to the following concluſions [Aug. 7.] which the king ratified and confirmed, the very day he ſet out for Scotland.

"That the acts of parliament held at Edinburgh June 2, "be publiſhed by his majeſty's authority, and have in all "time to come the full ſtrength of laws.

"That the caſtle of Edinburgh, and other forts of Scot- "land, ſhould be furniſhed and uſed for the defence of the "kingdom, with the advice of the ſtates of parliament.

"That all thoſe who in England or Ireland have been "impriſoned, or otherwiſe cenſured for *ſubſcribing the cove-* "*nant*, and for refuſing to take the oath contrary to the "ſame, ſhall be releaſed and freed from ſuch cenſures; and "for the time to come, the ſubjects of Scotland living in "Scotland, ſhall not be obliged to any oaths contrary to "the laws or religion of that kingdom; but if they come to "reſide in England or Ireland, they ſhall be ſubject to the "laws as others are.

"That all his majeſty's courts of juſtice ſhall be free and "open againſt all evil counſellors and delinquents; that the "parliament of Scotland ſhall have liberty to proceed againſt "ſuch; and that his majeſty will not employ any perſon, in "any office or place, who ſhall be judged incapable by ſen- "tence of parliament; nor make uſe of their ſervice, nor "grant them acceſs to his royal perſon, without conſent of "parliament.

"That all ſhips and goods on both ſides be reſtored, and "that three hundred thouſand pounds be given to the Scots "by the Engliſh, for their friendly aſſiſtance and relief.

"That all declarations, proclamations, &c. that have "been publiſhed againſt the loyalty and dutifulneſs of his "majeſty's ſubjects of Scotland be recalled and ſuppreſſed; "and that at the cloſe of the treaty of peace, the loyalty "of his majeſty's ſaid ſubjects ſhall be made known at the "time of publick thankſgiving in all places, and particularly "in all pariſh churches of his majeſty's dominions.

"That the garriſons of Berwick and Carliſle be removed, "and all things be reduced to the ſtate they were in before "the late troubles.

"Whereas unity in religion, and uniformity in church "government has been deſired by the Scots, as a ſpecial "means for preſerving the peace between both kingdoms, "*his majeſty, with the advice of both houſes of parliament, "doth approve of the affection of his ſubjects of Scotland, in "their deſire of having a conformity of church government "between the two nations.* And as the parliament hath al- "ready taken into conſideration the reformation of church "government, ſo they will proceed therein in due time, as "ſhall beſt conduce to the glory of God, the peace of the "church, and both kingdoms.

"That the *prince of Wales* ſhall be permitted to repair "into Scotland, and reſide there, as there ſhall be occaſion.

"That his majeſty will give ear to the informations of "parliament, and when that is not ſitting, to the council "and college of juſtice, ſo far as to make choice of *ſome "one* of ſuch, as they, by common conſent, ſhall recommend "to places of truſt in the council, the ſeſſion, and other ju- "dicatures. Or if his majeſty ſhall think any other perſon "fit, he ſhall acquaint his parliament, to the intent, that if "by their information any juſt exception ſhall be made to "the ſaid perſon, his majeſty may nominate another.

"That ſome noblemen, &c. of the Scots nation, ſhall be "placed about the king; and that his majeſty will endeavour "to give juſt ſatisfaction to his people, with regard to his "placing none but perſons of the reformed religion about "his own and the prince's perſon."

Then follows an act of oblivion, with exception to the Scots prelates, and four others; and in the cloſe the ratifi- cation of the whole in theſe words:

"Be it enacted by his majeſty, with the aſſent of the "lords and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, "that the ſaid treaty, and all the articles thereof, be and "ſtand for ever ratified and eſtabliſhed, and have the force, "vigor, ſtrength and authority of a law, ſtatute, and act "of parliament.——And his majeſty for himſelf and his "ſucceſſors promiſes, in *verbo principis*, never to come in the

"contrair

" contrair of this ſtatute and ſanction, nor any thing therein " contained, but to hold the ſame in all points firm and " ſtable, and cauſe it to be truly obſerved, according to the " tenor and intent thereof, now and for ever.——And the " parliaments of both kingdoms reſpectively give full aſ- " ſurance, and make publick faith, for the true and faithful " obſervation of this treaty, &c. *hinc inde*, in all times to " come."

Biſhop *Burnet* very juſtly obſerves a colluſion in the king's approving the deſire of his Scots ſubjects for *uniformity of church government*; his majeſty wiſhed it as much as they, but with a very different view; the king was for bringing them to the Engliſh ſtandard, whereas the Scots intended to bring the Engliſh to theirs; however his majeſty was reſolved to contradict them in nothing, that he might break the confederacy between the two nations; for lord *Saville* had now informed him of the correſpondence of ſome of the Engliſh nobility with the Scots, which encouraged them to raiſe an army and march to the borders; he had ſhown him a copy of the letter, with the forged names of *Eſſex*, *Bedford*, *Mandeville*, and others, exciting them to aſſert the liberties of their church and nation, and promiſing all the aſſiſtance they could give with ſafety to themſelves. His majeſty therefore reſolved to gain over the Scots, that he might be at liberty to proſecute the *inviters*, and recover his prerogative in England, which he knew he could accompliſh by the aſſiſtance of the Iriſh, if the Engliſh puritans were left to themſelves. The parliament were aware of the deſign, and therefore appointed one lord and two commoners to follow his majeſty to Scotland, in order to keep up a good correſpondence with the parliament of that nation, and to exhort them, ſince they had gained their own liberties by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh parliament, not to deſert them till the Engliſh alſo had recovered theirs.

The king ſet out poſt Auguſt 11, 1641, and arrived at Edinburgh in three or four days; the parliament met Auguſt 19, when his majeſty acquainted them in a moſt gracious ſpeech, that the end of his coming into his native country, was to quiet the diſtractions of the kingdom, " and this I mind " (ſays his majeſty) fully and chearfully to perform, for I

"aſſure you, I can do nothing with more chearfulneſs than "to give my people a general ſatisfaction; wherefore not "offering to endear myſelf to you in words, which is not "my way, I deſire in the firſt place to ſettle that which con-"cerns religion, and the juſt liberties of this my native "country, before I proceed to any other act."* Accordingly his majeſty allowed of their late proceedings in oppoſing the Engliſh liturgy, and erecting tables in defence of their liberties; he confirmed the acts of their aſſembly at Glaſgow, which declared, that *the government of the church by archbiſhops and biſhops was contrary to the word of God, and was therefore aboliſhed.* The reverend Mr. *Henderſon* waited on the king as his chaplain, and was appointed to provide preachers for him while he was in that country, his majeſty having declared, that he would conform to their manner of worſhip while he was among them. Mr. *Henderſon* had the rent of the royal chapel; Mr. *Gilleſpie* had a penſion, and the profeſſors of the ſeveral univerſities had their proviſions augmented, by the revenues formerly belonging to the biſhops. His majeſty conferred titles of honour upon many of their gentry; and all parties were ſo well pleaſed, that it was ſaid, when his majeſty left the kingdom, that he departed a contented king from a contented people.

No ſooner was the king returned but the Engliſh biſhops reproached his majeſty with his conceſſions, eſpecially for admitting *the Engliſh hierarchy to be contrary to the word of God.* They told him, he had unravelled the web which his father and himſelf had been weaving in that country for above forty years, and inſtead of making the Scots his friends, he had only created a new thirſt in the Engliſh parliament to follow their example. Theſe remonſtrances had ſuch an influence upon the unhappy king, that he repented heartily of what he had done, and told Dr. *Saunderſon* afterwards biſhop of *Lincoln*, when he was in the iſle of Wight, that two errors did much afflict him, *his conſenting to the earl of* Strafford's *death, and his aboliſhing epiſcopacy in Scotland;* and that if God ſhould ever reſtore him to the peaceable poſſeſſion of his crown, he would demonſtrate his repentance

* Ruſhworth, Part. 3, vol. i. p. 382.

by

by a publick confeſſion and a voluntary penance (I think, ſays the Doctor) by going bare-foot from the Tower of London, or Whitehall, to St. Paul's, and deſiring the people to intercede with God for him. This ſhews how much ſuperſtition ſtill remained in his majeſty's make and conſtitution, when he could imagine, the going bare-foot through the ſtreets could atone for his miſtakes; and how little dependance was to be had upon his promiſes and declarations; that even in the year 1648, when the neceſſity of his affairs obliged him to conſent to an uniformity of *preſbyterian government* in both nations, he could declare in private to his chaplain, that *if he was ever reſtored to his throne, he would do publick penance for aboliſhing epiſcopacy in Scotland.* Upon the whole, the king's journey into his native country did him no ſervice; for though the Scots were pleaſed with his majeſty's conceſſions, they durſt not depend upon them as long as he was under the direction of the *queen* and the Engliſh *biſhops*, and they continued to think themſelves obliged from gratitude, affection, and intereſt, to cultivate a good underſtanding with the Engliſh parliament, and to aſſiſt them in recovering their religion and liberties.

Upon the day of thankſgiving for the *pacification* between the two nations, [September 7] Biſhop *Williams* dean of *Weſtminſter*, without any direction from his ſuperiors, compoſed a *form of prayer* for the ſervice of the day, with which the houſe of commons were offended, and came to this reſolution, "That the biſhop of *Lincoln* had no power "to ſet forth any prayer to be read on the publick thankſ- "giving; and that no miniſter is obliged to read the ſaid "prayer; and the houſe is of opinion and doth order, that "the ſaid prayer be not read in the liberties of Weſtmin- "ſter, or elſewhere."* Dr. *Burges* and Mr. *Marſhall* preached before the commons, and read the following order, appointed by both houſes to be publiſhed in all the churches throughout England, with his majeſty's conſent.

"WHEREAS according to the act of this preſent par- "liament, for confirmation of the treaty of pacification, it

* Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 476-7.

was

" was deſired by the commiſſioners of Scotland, that the " loyalty and faithfulneſs of his majeſty's ſubjects [of Scot- " land] might be made known at the time of thankſgiving, " in all places, and particularly in all pariſh churches of his " majeſty's dominions; *which requeſt was graciouſly conde-* " *ſcended to by his majeſty, and confirmed by the ſaid act:* " It is now ordered and commanded by both houſes of par- " liament, that the ſame be effectually done in all pariſh " churches throughout this kingdom, on *Tueſday* Sept. 7, " at the time of the publick thankſgiving, by the reſpective " miniſters of each pariſh, or their curates, who are hereby " required to read this preſent order in the church."

The order being read, the miniſters declared, that notwithſtanding all which had paſſed in the late commotions, the Scots nation were ſtill his majeſty's faithful and loyal ſubjects. Thus as the calling and continuance of an Engliſh parliament, after twelve years interval, was owing to the marching of the Scots army into the north of England, it was by the powerful ſupport and aſſiſtance of that parliament, and the expence of a million of money, that the Scots obtained the preſent *pacification*, with the full recovery of their kirk diſcipline and civil liberties.

In the midſt of this ferment of the ſpirits of men, the workings of oppoſite councils, and the taking the ſword out of the hands of the ſpiritual courts, it is not to be wondered that the ſtate of religion was unſettled, and that men began to practiſe with ſome latitude in points of ceremony and forms of worſhip. It has been obſerved, that in the beginning of the year, the houſe of commons had ordered commiſſioners to be ſent into all the counties of England, for removing the late innovations. June 28, it was further ordered, " That neither univerſity ſhould do reverence to " the communion-table." And Aug. 31, " That the church- " wardens of the ſeveral pariſhes ſhall forthwith remove " the communion-table from the eaſt end of the churches " where they ſtand altarwiſe, and take away the rails and " level the chancels, as before the late innovations." Upon complaint of the want of ſermons, and that the incumbents in many places would not admit preachers into their pulpits, though

though the pariſh maintained them, it was ordered, June 14, "That the deans and chapters of all cathedrals be required, "and enjoined, to ſuffer the inhabitants to have free liberty "to have a ſermon preached in their cathedrals every Sunday in "the afternoon." July 12, ordered, "That in all *parochial* "*churches* where there is no preaching in the afternoon, if "the pariſhioners will not maintain a conformable lecturer "at their own charge, the parſon or vicar ſhall give way to "it, unleſs he will preach himſelf." September 6, ordered, "That it be lawful for the pariſhioners of any pariſh to ſet "up a lecture, and to maintain an orthodox miniſter, at their "own charge, to preach every Lord's day where there is no "preaching, and to preach one day every week where there "is no weekly lecture."§ But notwithſtanding theſe votes, ſome biſhops inhibited preaching on Sundays in the afternoon; and in particular Dr. *Montague*, biſhop of Norwich, upon which the commons voted, "That his lordſhip's inhi-"bition of the reverend Mr. *Carter* to preach in his own "pariſh church, was void; and that *every miniſter may preach* "*in his own pariſh church as often as he pleaſes.*"

Many petitions being ſent from divers counties for preaching miniſters, a committee of forty members of the houſe, called the COMMITTEE FOR PREACHING MINISTERS, was appointed to ſend miniſters where there were vacancies, and to provide for their maintenance.* Theſe gentlemen recommended many of the late ſilenced miniſters, as the reverend Mr. *Caſe*, Mr. *Marſhal*, *Sedgwick*, *Burroughs*, whom ſome of the vicars refuſed to admit into their pulpits, or at leaſt diſſuaded their pariſhioners from hearing them, upon which ſome of them were required to attend the committee; and becauſe great complaints were made to the houſe, of the idleneſs and viciouſneſs of the country clergy, another committee was appointed to examine into ſuch complaints, and was called the COMMITTEE FOR SCANDALOUS MINISTERS.†

The

§ Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 288, 383, 475.

* Clarendon, vol. i. p. 295.

† "By *ſcandalous miniſters* (ſays Dr. *Grey*) *no more* was meant than the "being truly orthodox, truly conformable to the rules and orders of the "church, and faithful and obedient ſubjects to his majeſty." It is ſufficient to

The day before the receſs of the parliament, [Sept. 8, 1641] it was reſolved by the commons, "That the Lord's "day ſhould be duly obſerved and ſanctified; that all dancing, "or other ſports either before or after divine ſervice, be "forborn and reſtrained; and that the preaching God's word "be promoted in the afternoon, in the ſeveral churches and "chapels of this kingdom; and that miniſters and preachers "be encouraged thereunto. The chancellors of the two "univerſities, the heads of colleges, all patrons, vicars, and "church-wardens, are to make certificate of the performance "of theſe orders; and all defaulters to be returned to par-"liament before the 30th of October next.——Ordered fur-"ther, That all crucifixes, ſcandalous pictures of any one "or more perſons of the trinity, and all images of the *Virgin* "*Mary* ſhall be taken away and aboliſhed; and that all "tapers, candleſticks, and baſins, be removed from the com-"munion-table.—That all corporal reverences at the name "of JESUS, or towards the eaſt end of the church, chapel, "or chancel, or towards the communion-table, be forborn."‖ Theſe orders to be obſerved in all cathedral and collegiate

to oppoſe to this round aſſertion of Dr. *Grey*, an authority not to be controverted, that of *Fuller* (Church Hiſtory, b. xi. p. 207). He informs us, that *ſome* of the clergy were outed for their affection to the king's cauſe merely, and many were charged with delivering falſe doctrine, whoſe poſitions were found at the leaſt diſputable: and urges, that many of the complainers were factious people, and the witneſſes againſt the clergy ſeldom depoſed on oath; yet, after theſe deductions, he allows that *many* were outed for their *miſdemeanours*; and adds, "Some of their offences *were ſo* "*foul*, it is ſhame to report them, crying to juſtice for puniſhment." He appears indeed, to have his doubts, whether their crimes were ſufficiently proved; for if the proof were perfect, the perſons ought to have loſt their lives, and not their livings only. This is, however, a proof againſt Dr. *Grey*'s unlimited aſſertion, that in *many* inſtances the imputation of *ſcandalous crimes*, ſupported by conſiderable evidence at leaſt, was the ground of proceeding. Mr. *Baxter* tells us, that it was no ſooner underſtood, that the committee was formed, than multitudes in all counties came up with petitions againſt their miniſters. Two centuries of the names of ſcandalous miniſters, their places, and articles proved againſt them, were publiſhed by Mr. *White*, the chairman of the committee: and moderate men were grieved to ſee ſo much ignorance, and ſuch groſs immoralities expoſed to the deriſion of the world. And yet Dr. *Grey* could ſay, that ſcandalous miniſters meant *no more* than the loyal and orthodox. *Baxter*'s Life, part 1, p. 19. Folio. ED.

‖ Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 482.

churches

churches and chapels, in the two univerſities, by the reſpective officers and miniſters of theſe places, and by the readers and benchers of the inns of court.§

The houſe of lords conſented to ſome of theſe reſolutions, but not to all; they agreed in their committee, "That no "rails ſhould be placed about the communion-table, where "there were none already, but not to the pulling down of "all that were ſet up; that all chancels raiſed within fifteen "years paſt ſhould be levelled; that images of the trinity "ſhould be aboliſhed, without limitation of time; and all "images of the *Virgin Mary* erected within twenty years "paſt."‡ But as for bowing at the name of JESUS, they inſiſted that it ſhould be left indifferent. So that when the queſtion was put, to agree or not agree with the reſolutions of the commons, it paſſed in the negative, eleven againſt nine. The commons therefore publiſhed their *reſolutions* apart, and deſired the people to wait patiently for the intended reformation, without any diſturbance of the worſhip of God, and of the peace of the kingdom. Upon which the lords in a heat appointed their order of Jan. 19, 1640-1 already mentioned, to be reprinted,* "That divine ſervice ſhould be "performed as it is appointed by act of parliament; and that "all who diſturb that wholeſome order ſhall be ſeverely "puniſhed according to law. That all parſons, vicars, and "curates, in their ſeveral pariſhes, do forbear to introduce "any rites or ceremonies that may give offence, otherwiſe "than thoſe that are eſtabliſhed by the laws of the land." This was voted by twelve of the lords preſent, the other ſix entering their proteſt;† after which both houſes adjourned for ſix weeks. Mr. *Rapin* obſerves,‖ That there ſeems no neceſſity for the lords to renew this order; and that it was done out of ſpleen and revenge, becauſe the commons had made a declaration againſt *innovations*, and it was not doubted but the biſhops were the chief authors of it.

Lord *Clarendon* repreſents the putting theſe orders of the houſe of commons in execution, as a tranſcendant pre-

§ Ruſhworth, part 3, vol. i. p. 386.

‡ Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 482, 483.

* Ruſhworth, part 3, vol. i. p. 387. Clarendon, vol. i. p. 293.

† Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 485. ‖ Vol. ii. p. 382. Folio.

preſumption

ſumption, and a breach of the privilege of the houſe of lords; and though in one place his lordſhip acknowledges, that little or nothing of moment was done in purſuance of the orders of the two houſes, yet upon this occaſion he ſays,† "That ſeditious and factious perſons cauſed the "windows to be broken down in churches, tore away the "rails, removed the communion-tables, and committed many "inſolent and ſcandalous diſorders, and that if any oppoſed "them they were ſent for before the committee." But the faireſt account of this matter may be gathered from Mr. *Pym*'s report to the houſe at their firſt meeting after the receſs. "The committee of religion (ſays he) have ſent "down divers of your declarations into the country, and "have found, that in ſome places where there were good "miniſters they were retained, and in other places neglected. "We cannot ſay there have been any great tumults, though "the execution of the orders of the houſe has occaſioned "ſomething tending that way. In ſome pariſhes they came to "blows, and in others they would have done the like, if care "had not been taken to prevent it. At St. *Giles*'s Cripple-"gate, the pariſhioners were almoſt at daggers drawing about "the rails of the communion-table, which they would not "ſuffer to be removed. The like oppoſition was made to the "orders of the houſe at St. *George* Southwark, St. *Mary* "Woolnoth, St. *Botolph* Alderſgate, and a few other places; "but in moſt places they were quiet."

If the innovations complained of were *according to law*, neither lords nor commons had authority to remove them, for in a time of publick peace and tranquillity a vote of parliament cannot ſuſpend or ſet aſide the laws, but if they were apparently *contrary to law*, I do not ſee why either houſe of parliament, or even the pariſhioners themſelves, by a vote of their veſtry, might not order them to be taken away. Remarkable are the words of Sir *Edward Deering* to this purpoſe; "The orders of the houſe (ſays he) are, "doubtleſs, powerful, *if grounded upon the laws of the land*; "upon this warrant we may, by an order, enforce any "thing that is undoubtedly ſo grounded; and by the ſame "rule we may abrogate whatſoever is introduced *contrary to*

† Clarendon, vol. i. p. 295. "*the*

" *the undoubted foundation of your laws*; but we may not " rule and govern by arbitrary and diſputable orders, eſpe- " cially in matters of religion."*

The lords diſapproved of the tumultuous attempts of private perſons, and puniſhed them ſeverely. Complaint being made by the inhabitants of St. *Saviour*'s Sonthwark, of certain perſons who had pulled down the rails of the communion-table in an inſolent and riotous manner, they were ſent for into cuſtody, and having been heard by their counſel at the bar of the houſe, the churchwardens of the pariſh were ordered to ſet up new rails, at the coſts and charges of the offenders, in the manner they had ſtood for fifty years before, but not according the model of the four or five laſt years.† The rioters alſo were enjoined to make a publick confeſſion of their fault in the body of the church on a ſabbath day, when the congregation ſhould be preſent, and to ſtand committed to the Fleet, during the pleaſure of the houſe.‡ Upon another complaint of the pariſhioners of St. *Olave*'s Southwark, againſt others that had made a tumult in their church, and uſed irreverend ſpeeches during the adminiſtration of the ſacrament; the delinquents were ſent for into cuſtody, and after hearing they were committed to the King's-bench for ſix months, without bail or mainprize; and ordered to ſtand upon an high ſtool in Cheapſide and in Southwark, for two hours on a market day, and to acknowledge their fault publickly: They were alſo fined twenty pounds, and to find ſureties for their good behaviour; but when they had been impriſoned about a month, upon their humble petition, and acknowledgment of their miſdemeanors, they were releaſed.‖

If we may give credit to the petition from Canterbury, things were every where in great confuſion; for it ſays, " That the religion and government by law eſtabliſhed, has " been of late moſt miſerably diſtracted by ill-affected per- " ſons, by whoſe means the houſes of God are profaned, " and in part defaced; the miniſters of Chriſt are contemned " and deſpiſed; the ornaments, and many utenſils of the " church are abuſed; the liturgy book of common-prayer

* Ruſhworth, vol. i. part 3, p. 391. † Nalſon's Coll. vol. ii. p. 271, 322.
‡ Nalſon's Coll. vol. ii. p. 291, 292. ‖ Ib. p. 395.

" depraved

" depraved and neglected; that abſolute model of prayer, the " *Lord's prayer*, vilified; the ſacraments of the goſpel, in " ſome places, rudely adminiſtered, in other places omitted; " ſolemn days of faſting obſerved, and appointed by pri- " vate perſons; marriages illegally ſolemnized; burials un- " charitably performed; and the very fundamentals of religion " ſubverted by the publication of a new creed, and teaching " the abrogation of the moral law; many offenſive ſermons " are preached, and many impious pamphlets printed." Lord *Clarendon* ſays,* " That the pulpits were ſupplied with " ſeditious and ſchiſmatical preachers. That in order to " poiſon the hearts of the king's ſubjects, care was taken " to place ſuch miniſters and lecturers in the moſt popular " towns and pariſhes, as abhorred the preſent government " and temperature of the church and ſtate; and then adds, " *I am confident there was not from the beginning of this par-* " *liament, one orthodox or learned man recommended by them* " *to any church in England.*" Strange! when ſcarce one was recommended who had not been educated in our own univerſities, and ſubſcribed all the doctrinal articles of the church of England! But his majeſty's language is more ſevere in his declaration of Auguſt 12, 1642. " Under " pretence of encouraging preaching (ſays he) they have " erected *lectures* in ſeveral pariſhes, and commended ſuch " *lecturers* as were men of no learning nor conſcience, but " furious promoters of the moſt dangerous innovations; " many having taken no orders, yet were recommended by " members of either houſe to pariſhes; and when mechanick " perſons have been brought before them for preaching in " churches, and have confeſſed the ſame, they have been " diſmiſſed without puniſhment, and hardly with reprehen- " ſion. All perſons of learning, and eminency, in preaching, " and of ſober and virtuous converſation; of great examples " in their lives, and even ſuch as among theſe men had been " of greateſt eſtimation, and ſuffered ſomewhat for them, " were diſcountenanced, and ſuch men cheriſhed, who boldly " preached againſt the government of the church, againſt " the book of common-prayer, againſt our kingly, lawful " power, and againſt our perſon. Further, a licenſe even

* Vol. i. p. 295.

to

" to *treaſon* is admitted in pulpits, and perſons ignorant in " learning and underſtanding, turbulent and ſeditious in diſ- " poſition, ſcandalous in life, and unconformable in opinion " to the laws of the land, are impoſed upon pariſhes, to in " fect and poiſon the minds of our people."——

What character the parliament divines had for learning, for orthodoxy of doctrine, and ſobriety of manners, will appear hereafter. The commons in their reply to his majeſty's declaration, denied the whole of this charge, and averred, " that they were careful in their inquiries into the " learning and morality of thoſe whom they recommended; " that they were not for encouraging faction and ſchiſm, " but for preferring thoſe who were for a parliamentary re- " formation in church and ſtate. That they had ſhown their " reſentments againſt mobs and tumults, and againſt the " preaching of laymen;"* for when they were informed that Mr. *Robinſon*, *Spencer*, *Banks*, *Durant*, and *Green*, being meer laymen, had preſumed to preach publickly, they ſent for them, [June 7] and reprimanded them by their ſpeaker in theſe words: *The houſe has a great diſtaſte of your proceedings; and if you offend at any time in the like kind again, this houſe will take care you ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed.*

Far be it from me to apologize for the furious preachers of theſe times; though it will appear hereafter, that the complaints of the *royaliſts* are very much exaggerated. It was certainly a great diſadvantage to the parliament's cauſe, that they could not get a good ſupply of learned and able preachers, the keys of admiſſion into *holy orders* being at this time in the hands of the biſhops, who were very ſtrict in their examination into the political principles of thoſe they ordained; this reduced the committee to the neceſſity of admitting ſome few who came well recommended from New-England or Scotland, and had been only ordained by *preſbyters*; and ſuch young ſtudents, who, producing their teſtimonials from the univerſities, were allowed to preach for ſome time as *candidates*. They were under the like diſadvantage as to *preſentations* or inductions, moſt of them being in the hands of the king and the biſhops.

* Naſſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 265, 270.

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The archbiſhop of *Canterbury* continued to ordain clergymen of his own principles in the Tower; whereupon the houſe of lords ordered, [October 28] that his juriſdiction ſhould be ſequeſtered, and adminiſtered by his inferior officers, till he ſhould be acquitted of the charge of high treaſon that was againſt him. His *grace* often admitted ſuch clergymen to livings as were obnoxious to the two houſes, inſomuch that the lords found it neceſſary to enjoin him to acquaint their houſe with the names of ſuch perſons as he nominated to any eccleſiaſtical benefice, promotion, or dignity, within his diſpoſal, to be approved of firſt by the houſe, before they were collated or inſtituted. On the other hand, when a miniſter was choſen by the pariſhioners, and recommended to his *grace* for admiſſion, if he did not like his principles and character, he would either except againſt him, or ſuffer the living to lapſe to the crown. This created him new enemies, and kept alive the reſentments of the commons. At length the archbiſhop acquainted the king with his caſe, who ſent him a peremptory letter, requiring him "that as "often as any benefice, or other ſpiritual promotion, ſhould "become void within his gift, to diſpoſe of it only to ſuch "perſons as his majeſty ſhould nominate; and that if either "or both houſes ſhould command him otherwiſe, he ſhould "then let it fall in lapſe to the crown." As ſoon as the houſes were acquainted with this, they publiſhed an order of their own, requiring the archbiſhop to diſpoſe of no benefice or ſpiritual promotion that ſhould become void at any time before his trial, without the leave and order of the two houſes at Weſtminſter. Such was the ſtruggle between the king and parliament for the pulpits! It being thought of great conſequence on both ſides, to fill them with men of their own principles, who would be zealous in the cauſe in which they were ſeverally engaged.

All the biſhops were under a cloud, and in no degree of favour either with the parliament or people, except the biſhop of *Lincoln*, who, having ſome years been in priſon, had no ſhare in the late innovations. This prelate, in the receſs of parliament, viſited his dioceſe; and exhorted the people in his ſermons to keep to their lawful miniſter, and not go after *tub preachers in conventicles*. He acquainted them with the

the laws, and told them that no power could protect them from the penalty of ſtatutes unrepealed. "Look back (ſays "his lordſhip) from the beginning of queen *Elizabeth*. Can "the goſpel ſtand better againſt the church of Rome than "it has done under the biſhops, liturgy, and canons? There-"fore don't abandon the good old way, for another which "you do not know how much evil may be in it." But his rhetorick had very little effect; nor did the parliament approve of his conduct, at a time when his majeſty was out of the kingdom, and when it was reſolved to attempt ſome conſiderable alterations in the hierarchy.

The diſtractions in the *ſtate* were no leſs threatening than thoſe of the *church*. The plague was in the city of London, which diſperſed the members, ſo that they could hardly make a houſe. The diſbanding the army infeſted the roads with highway-men, inſomuch that it was hardly ſafe to travel from one town to another. The officers (many of whom were papiſts) crouded to London, and took lodgings about Covent-Garden and Whitehall, under pretence of receiving the remainder of their pay; theſe behaved with unuſual inſolence, and ſtruck terror into the minds of the people. The mob was frequently up in one part of the town or another; one while they threatened the pope's nuncio, and another while the queen mother, upon which they retired out of the kingdom; but the *queen* herſelf ſtood by her friends; ſhe had a convent of *capuchins* in her court, and protected great numbers of the king's ſubjects and others, from the ſentence of the laws. The lord mayor was commanded to bring in a liſt of popiſt recuſants about London; and all the papiſts in the ſeveral counties were ordered to be diſarmed; "which though it had little or no effect (ſays "lord *Clarendon*)‖ ſerved to keep up fears and apprehenſions "in the people of dangers and deſigns;" which will appear preſently not to have been groundleſs. This was the melancholy ſtate of the nation, when on a ſudden it was thunder-ſtruck with the ſurpriſing news of one of the moſt barbarous maſſacres of the proteſtants in Ireland, that the records of any age or nation can produce.

‖ Vol. I. p. 290.

Lord *Clarendon* is of opinion, that the parliament, inſtead of adjourning, ſhould now have broken up and returned home, ſince the principal grievance of church and ſtate had been redreſſed, and the conſtitution ſecured by the act for *triennial parliaments*. But not to trouble the reader with affairs of ſtate; what religious grievances were actually redreſſed? except the ſhortening the power of the *ſpiritual courts*, by the acts for aboliſhing the court of *high commiſſion* and *ſtar chamber?* not one of the late innovations were aboliſhed by law; nor was there any alteration in the liturgy, or form of church government. The ſole power of the biſhops in *ordination* and *juriſdiction* remained to be regulated; nor was there any reformation of deans and chapters; all which the puritans hoped for and expected. In ſhort, the whole government of the church remained entire, notwithſtanding the fierce attacks of the commons againſt it. The act for *triennial parliaments* will appear not to have been a ſufficient ſecurity to the *conſtitution*, if we conſider how many acts of parliament the king and his arbitrary miniſters had broke through the laſt fifteen years; that his majeſty had ſtill the ſame principles, and was like to be in the ſame hands upon the diſſolution of this parliament. Beſides, it was ſaid that theſe laws had been extorted from him by force, and therefore were not binding; and if a parliament ſhould be called after three years, that it was diſſolvable at pleaſure; ſo that in all probability things would have returned to the old channel if the parliament had now diſſolved themſelves. Suppoſing therefore, but not admitting, that the principal grievances of church and ſtate had been redreſſed, I leave it with the reader, whether in the preſent ſituation of affairs, a meer redreſs of paſt grievances was ſufficient without ſome ſecurity againſt the return of the like in time to come.

Among the remarkable divines who died about this time was Dr. *John Davenant* biſhop of *Saliſbury*, born in London, and educated a fellow-commoner in Queen's-College, Cambridge, of which he was afterwards maſter, and lady *Margaret* profeſſor in the ſame univerſity. He was a celebrated calviniſt, and one of thoſe divines appointed by king *James* to repreſent the church of England at the ſynod of Dort, where

where he behaved with great prudence and moderation; and upon his return to England was preferred to the biſhoprick of Saliſbury; but in the beginning of the reign of king *Charles* he became obnoxious to the court, for venturing to preach on the doctrine of *predeſtination*, contrary to his majeſty's declaration, and was forced to make his ſubmiſſion before the privy council. He was a quiet and peaceable prelate, humble and charitable, a ſtrict obſerver of the ſabbath, an enemy to the pomp and luxury of the clergy, and one who lamented the high proceedings of the court. He had a great reputation in foreign parts for profound learning, and an unblemiſhed life; and after he had enjoyed his biſhoprick about twenty years, ended his days in peace and honour, April 20, 1641, a little before the beginning of the troubles that afterwards came upon the church and kingdom.‖ He died of a conſumption, and a few hours before his death prayed pathetically for a quarter of an hour; *bleſſing God for his fatherly correction, foraſmuch as his whole life having been full of mercy, he had been ready to doubt, whether he was a true child of God till this laſt ſickneſs.*§

Dr. *Richard Montague* biſhop of *Norwich*, was a divine of a different character; he was born in Weſtminſter, educated in Eaton-College, and afterwards fellow of King's-College. Mr. *Fuller* ſays he was a celebrated Grecian, and church antiquary, well read in the fathers, but a ſuperſtitious admirer of church ceremonies.* He was a thorough *arminian*, a creature of archbiſhop *Laud*'s, and an ill inſtrument between the king and parliament in the late times, and therefore voted unfit for any church preferment; but when the

‖ Fuller's Worthies, b. ii. p. 207, and Church Hiſtory, b. xi. p. 176.

§ This eminent and worthy prelate was a benefactor to Queen's-college in Cambridge; giving to it the perpetual advowſons of the rectories of Cheverel-Magna and Newton-Tony in Wiltſhire, and a rent-charge of 31l. 10s. per annum for the founding of two bible-clerks, and buying books for the library in the ſame college. Biogr. Britan, vol. iv. 2d edi. p. 631. Ed.

* *Fuller*'s words, as Dr. *Grey* obſerves, are, "But all his dioceſe being "not ſo well ſkilled in antiquity as himſelf, ſome charged him with ſuper-"ſtitious urging of ceremonies." He is allowed to have urged ceremonies; but according to *Fuller* and Dr. *Grey*, that is not ſuperſtition, though they be unauthoriſed by ſcripture, if they be ſanctioned by antiquity. Ed.

king reſolved to govern without parliaments, his majeſty preferred him firſt to the biſhoprick of Chicheſter, and then to Norwich, where he ſhewed his zeal for the church, by a vigorous and illegal proſecution of the *puritans*. He was accuſed by the preſent parliament, for ſuperſtitious innovations; and would no doubt have felt their reſentments, if he had not gone (as Mr. *Fuller* expreſſes it†) a more compendious way, to anſwer for all his proceedings in the high court of heaven. He died April 12, 1641.

The Rev. Mr. *John Eaton*, M. A. and vicar of Wickham-Market, was born in Kent 1575, and of a peculiar mould, (ſays Mr. *Eachard*‡) very paradoxical in his opinions, and reckoned a great *antinomian*, and one of the founders of that ſect, for which he more than once ſuffered impriſonment. His chief performance was a book entitled, *The Honeycomb of free juſtification by Chriſt alone;* for which he was impriſoned in the Gate-houſe at Weſtminſter. Mr. *Eachard* admits, that by means of his zeal, his exemplary patience, and piety, he was exceedingly admired in the neighbourhood where he lived, and ſtrangely valued for many years after his death. In truth, though he committed ſome miſtakes in his aſſertions about the doctrines of grace, he was nevertheleſs (ſays Mr. Archdeacon) a pattern of faith, holineſs, and chearfulneſs in his ſufferings, to ſucceeding generations. He died in the 67th year of his age.

† Book xi. p. 194. ‡ Ath. Ox. vol. ii. p. 1-6.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

From the re-aſſembling of the Parliament, to the KING*'s leaving his Palace of* WHITEHALL, *Jan.* 10, 1641-2.

BEFORE his majeſty left Scotland, advice came to London [Nov. 1] of a general inſurrection of the papiſts in Ireland, and of a moſt cruel and bloody maſſacre of the proteſtants of that kingdom.* The project of an inſurrection was formed in the months of March and April 1641, not without the privity of the Engliſh court, and executed Oct. 23 following; no information of it having been given to the proteſtants till the very night before it was to take place, when it was too late to prevent the effects of it in the country, and almoſt to ſave the city of Dublin itſelf. When the expreſs that brought the news was read in the houſe, it produced a general ſilence for a time, all men being ſtruck with horror. When it was told without doors it flew like flaſhes of lightning, and ſpread univerſal terror over the whole kingdom. Every day, and almoſt every hour, pro-

* A fair judgement of this horrid affair, it may be obſerved, cannot be formed without conſidering it in connection with the cauſes that led to it. It ſhould be viewed as the reſult of various circumſtances, which for a courſe of years had irritated the minds of the Iriſh, and at laſt raiſed them to a pitch of phrenzy and cruelty, of which we cannot read without being ſhocked at the recital. The Iriſh had been purſued with a conſtant, rigorous, and unremitting perſecution. They had ſuffered extortions, impriſonments, and excommunications. Their eſtates had been ſeized under the pretext of a judicial enquiry into defective titles, in which enquiry verdicts againſt them were extorted from jurors. They had been heavily taxed for their ſuperſtitions, and totally precluded the exerciſe of their religion. Their application to *Charles* I. for a toleration had been ſcornfully rejected, in conſequence of a proteſtation againſt it, drawn up by the primate *Uſher*, and twelve biſhops. The detail of their ſufferings may be ſeen in "JONES's "letter to the united Societies of Belfaſt." By which it will appear, that from the reformation they had been the victims of *religious perſecution* and civil *devaſtation*; as (to uſe the author's words) ALMOST to juſtify, but certainly to extenuate the dreadful enſuing period of 1641. ED.

duced new meſſengers of miſery, who brought further intelligence of the mercileſs cruelty of the papiſts towards the poor proteſtants, whoſe very name they threatened to extirpate out the kingdom.

On the day appointed, between twenty and thirty thouſand of the *native* Iriſh appeared in arms in the northern counties, and having ſecured the principal gentlemen, and ſeized their effects, they murdered the common people in cold blood, forcing many thouſands to fly from their houſes and ſettlements, naked into the bogs and woods, where they periſhed with hunger and cold. No ties of friendſhip, neighbourhood, or conſanguinity, were capable of ſoftening their obdurate hearts, in a cauſe which they called *the cauſe of loyalty and religion.* Some they whipped to death; others they ſtript naked and expoſed to ſhame, and then drove them, like herds of ſwine, to periſh in the mountains; many hundreds were drowned in rivers; ſome had their throats cut; others were diſmembered. With ſome the *execrable villains* made themſelves ſport, trying who could hack deepeſt into an Engliſhman's fleſh. Huſbands were cut to pieces in the preſence of their wives; wives and young virgins abuſed in the ſight of their neareſt relations; nay they taught their children to ſtrip and kill the children of the Engliſh, and daſh out their brains againſt the ſtones. Forty or fifty thouſand were maſſacred after this manner in a few days, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or quality, before they ſuſpected their danger, or had time to provide for their defence. In a few weeks the inſurrection was ſo general, that they took poſſeſſion of whole counties, murdering the inhabitants, plundering their houſes, and killing or driving away their cattle. Multitudes of poor diſtreſſed creatures and families fled naked and half ſtarved firſt to Dublin, and from thence to England, with death and deſpair in their countenances. At length the Iriſh army having ravaged all the northern counties, blocked up the city of Dublin itſelf, with all the poor diſtreſſed proteſtants who had taken ſanctuary in it; but not being maſters of the ſea, the city was relieved, and part of the country ſecured, till the parliament was at leiſure to pour out all their vengeance upon the heads of the murderers, by the hands of the victorious and terrible OLIVER CROMWELL.

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The frequent expreſſes which preſſed one after another to England, with the multitudes of diſtreſſed creatures that got paſſage into ſeveral parts of the kingdom, filled the hearts of all true proteſtants with infinite conjectures, and prodigious imaginations of treaſonable deſigns againſt this as well as the neighbouring kingdom. They were afraid, and not without reaſon, that a ſecond part of this tragedy might be acted on themſelves; the parliament therefore ordered themſelves a guard of train-bands, and entered immediately into meaſures to ſecure the nation from the impending ſtorm.

But before we diſmiſs the Iriſh inſurrection and maſſacre, it will not be improper to trace it from it's original, and enquire into the authors, and the ſeveral parties concerned in it. The earl of *Antrim* and ſir *Phelim O'Neal*, who were at the head of the Iriſh catholicks, having acquainted the pope's nuncio, and ſome of the prieſts about the queen, how eaſily they could aſſume the government of Ireland, and aſſiſt the king againſt the Engliſh *puritans*, letters were wrote in the queen's name, and perhaps in the king's,* authorizing them to take up arms and ſeize the government.‡ The Iriſh received the orders with pleaſure; and concluded further among themſelves, that it was neceſſary at the ſame time to extirpate the proteſtants out of that kingdom before they could with ſafety tranſport their army into England. That this was their deſign, appears from their remonſtrance, publiſhed upon the very day of the inſurrection, in which they ſay, "That having ſome liberty of religion granted them

* Dr. *Grey* is ſevere in his animadverſions on Mr. *Neal*'s inſinuation, that the Engliſh court and even the king were privy to the Iriſh inſurrection. Biſhop *Warburton*, on the ſame ground, has impeached our author's candor and impartiality: our reply to whom, in the two following notes, will ſerve as an anſwer to Dr. *Grey*. I will add here, that Mr. *Baxter* ſays, "that the ſoberer part could not believe that the Iriſh rebels had the king's "commiſſion." (His Life, p. 29, folio.) A deed was paſſed on the credulous with that name, by affixing to it the great ſeal taken off from ſome grant or patent. The diſtinction which Mr. *Neal* afterwards makes between the inſurrection and the maſſacre, is juſtified by what biſhop *Burnet* aſſerts in a paſſage quoted in the beginning of the paragraph, where this diſtinction occurs. Ruſhworth's Collection, part. iii. vol. i. p. 402. ED.

‡ Prynne's Introduction, p. 220, to 252. Burnet's Hiſtory, Life and Times, vol. i. p. 55. Edinburgh edit. Ruſhworth, vol. iv. p. 398, &c.

"by

" by the king, they perceived the parliament was wreſting " his majeſty's prerogative from him, in order to extinguiſh " their religion; therefore to ſupport his majeſty's prero- " gative, and to confirm his royal and ever happy love to " them, they had taken up arms; and accordingly bound " themſelves to one another by the following oath:

" *THAT they would maintain the Roman Catholick re-* " *ligion; that they would bear true faith and allegiance to the* " *king and his heirs, and defend him and them with their* " *lives and eſtates, againſt all perſons that ſhould endeavour* " *to ſuppreſs the prerogative, or do any acts contrary to regal* " *government, to the power and privilege of parliaments, and* " *to the rights and privileges of the ſubject.*"

They called themſelves the QUEEN'S ARMY, and publiſhed a proclamation from their camp at Newry, declaring that they acted by the king's commiſſion, under the great ſeal of Scotland, dated at Edinburgh Oct. 1, 1641, and by letters under his ſign manual, of the ſame date with the commiſſion; which I believe, with lord *Clarendon*, was a forgery; though it is a little unaccountable, that his majeſty ſhould never by any publick act or declaration of his own clear himſelf of ſo vile a calumny. However, though the king gave out no *commiſſion*,§ there is too much reaſon to believe, that the QUEEN and her popiſh council, and even the *king* himſelf, were not unacquainted with the deſign of an inſurrection before it took place; and that her majeſty gave it all the countenance ſhe could with ſafety: but when theſe bloody butchers over-acted their parts to ſuch a degree, as to maſſacre near two hundred thouſand proteſtants in cold

§ Biſhop *Warburton* taxes the following inſinuations againſt the king as being " certainly very unjuſt and groundleſs." The reader will obſerve, that Mr. *Neal*'s inſinuations go no further than that the king was acquainted with, if he did not encourage, the deſign of the Iriſh to appear in arms. He by no means charges him with conſenting or being privy to the maſſacre. As to the hand he had in the rebellion, two modern hiſtorians have, with great candour, fully ſtated the evidence *pro* and *con*. Dr. *Harris* in his life of *Charles* I. p. 336—351. And Mrs. *Macauley*, vol. iii. p. 84—93, the note. From the arguments ſtated by theſe writers it will appear, that there were certainly *grounds* for Mr. *Neal*'s inſinuations, and if ſo, they cannot be *very unjuſt*.

blood

blood, to make way for their tyranny, it was time for all parties to diſown them.

Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, "That in the firſt deſign of an "inſurrection there was no thought of a *maſſacre*; this came "into their heads as they were contriving methods of exe- "cuting it; and as the people were governed by the prieſts, "theſe were the men that ſet on the Iriſh to all the blood "and cruelty that followed." There was a conſultation at the abbey of Multifernan in the county of Weſt-Meath, where it was debated, what courſe ſhould be taken with the proteſtants; ſome were for expelling them, as the king of Spain did the Moors; others preſſed to have them univerſally cut off; but not coming to a concluſion, they left the army to act at diſcretion.* How far the pope's nuncio and the queen's council might be conſulted about the maſſacre, is a ſecret; if we diſtinguiſh between the *inſurrection*, in order to aſſume the government into the hands of the Iriſh papiſts, and the *maſſacre* which attended it, we may conclude without any breach of charity, that the Engliſh court‡ admitted of the former, though they might waſh their hands of the latter.

The parliament, in their declaration of March 9, 1641, ſay, that the rebellion in Ireland was framed and contrived in England, and that they had taken ſeveral depoſitions, proving, that the Engliſh *papiſts* were to raiſe about the ſame time;† that the rebels ſaid they acted by the king's authority; that they called themſelves the *queen's army*, and declared, that *their purpoſe was to come to England after they had done in Ireland, to recover the royal prerogative, wreſted from him by the puritan faction in the houſe of commons*. Mr. *Pym* declared in parliament, that ſeveral diſbanded officers and ſoldiers of the king's army went over to Ireland, and liſted among the rebels by the king's expreſs warrant, which

* Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 633.

‡ If by the court here be meant the king, Biſhop *Warburton* condemns Mr. *Neal*, as "ſcandalouſly uncharitable." It is moſt reaſonable to explain Mr. *Neal* by himſelf; and the parties whom he particularized, in this very ſentence, are the queen and the pope's nuncio. Ed.

† Rapin, vol. ii. p. 419, 420, folio edition.

his

his Majeſty denied; but when the matter was examined, it appeared that his authority had been abuſed by ſome who were very near his perſon.

The concern of the court in this dark affair is further evident, from the relation of the earl of *Eſſex*, who told biſhop *Burnet*, "That he had taken all the pains he could "to enquire into the original of the Iriſh MASSACRE, but "could not ſee reaſon to believe the king was acceſſary to "it; but he did believe that the *queen* did hearken to the "propoſitions made by the Iriſh, who undertook to take the "government of Ireland into their hands, which they "thought they could eaſily perform, and then they promiſed "to aſſiſt the king againſt the hot ſpirits at Weſtminſter. "With this the inſurrection began, and all the Iriſh believed "the queen encouraged it.

There was a farther diſcovery of this fact at the reſtoration of king *Charles* II. when the marquis of *Antrim*, who had been at the head of the rebellion, and whoſe eſtate had been confiſcated, finding himſelf like to be excluded the act of indemnity, came to London to petition his majeſty to examine the warrants he had acted upon. Accordingly a committee of council was appointed, and the marquis produced ſome letters from the king, which did not amount to a full proof; but in one of them the king ſays, that he was not then at leiſure, but *referred himſelf to the queen's letter, and ſaid, that was all one as if he writ himſelf.*† Upon this foundation the marquis produced a ſeries of his own letters to the queen, in which *he gave her an account of every one of thoſe particulars that were laid to his charge, and ſhewed the grounds he went upon, and deſired her majeſty's direction to every one of theſe*; and he had anſwers ordering

† To invalidate the argument drawn from the defence which the marquis of *Antrim* ſet up, Dr. *Grey* urges, that the marquis had not the leaſt concern in the maſſacre or firſt inſurrection, and refers to the evidence of this produced by the Rev. *Thomas Cart*, in a piece entitled, "The Iriſh "Maſſacre ſet in a true light," 1715. Dr. *Harris* notices the ſame argument, as advanced by Mr. *Hume*; but he denies the matter, and ſays, that "nothing is more certain than that *Antrim* had a hand in the firſt rebellion "in Ireland." Of this he brings various proofs.

Life of *Charles* I. p. 350. ED.

him

him to do as he did. This affair (ſays the biſhop§) the queen herſelf, who was then at court, eſpouſed with great zeal, and ſaid, ſhe was bound to ſave him. So a report was drawn up by the committee, declaring, That he had fully juſtified himſelf in every thing; but the earl of *Northumberland*, who was chairman, refuſed to ſet his hand to it, ſaying, *He was ſorry the marquis had produced ſuch warrants; but he did not think that they outght to ſerve his turn, for he did not believe that any warrant from the king or queen could juſtify ſo much bloodſhed, in ſo many black inſtances as were laid againſt him.* Upon the earl's refuſing to ſign the report the reſt of the committee declined it, and there it dropt; whereupon the king himſelf writ over to the duke of *Ormond*, that he had ſo vindicated himſelf, that he muſt get him included in the act of indemnity; but the lord *Mazarine* and others not being ſatisfied to give their vote in favour of ſuch a criminal, notwithſtanding the inſtructions they had received from England, the marquis was obliged in his own defence to produce in the houſe of commons *a letter from king Charles* I. *writ with his own hand, giving him expreſs orders to take up arms*;‡ upon which he was pardoned, and his eſtate reſtored.

In

§ Burnet's Hiſt. Life and Times, vol. i. 54, 55. Edin. Ed.

‡ Here Dr. *Grey* aſks, "And what is all this to the Iriſh maſſacre? The "letter (it is plain) related to his joining *Montroſe* in Scotland." To prove this the doctor appeals to the letter of king *Charles* II. quoted in the next paragraph; in which his majeſty expreſsly allows, that the marquis was inſtructed to draw ſome forces from Ireland for the ſervice of Scotland. And, on the authority of Mr. *Cart*, he refers to an act of parliament, anno 17, 18, Car. II. in which, the king, ſpeaking of his letter to the duke of *Ormond*, ſays, "It was *only to declare*, that the marquis of *Antrim* was employed in "Ireland to procure what forces he could from thence, to be tranſported "into Scotland for his late majeſty's ſervice, under the late marquis of "*Montroſe*." Whoever reads king *Charles* II. letter which is given at full length in *Ludlow*'s "Truth brought to Light," a pamphlet printed in 1693, in anſwer to Dr. *Hollingworth*, will not think the limitation of his majeſty's meaning, here offered, conſiſtent with the ſtrain and tenor of that letter, which refers to the *Iriſh rebellion* in the moſt *general terms* as well as ſpeaks of "drawing ſome forces from the Iriſh for the ſervice of Scot-"land;" and alludes to various other *actings* of the marquis with the Iriſh confederates. It was proved, on the trial of the marquis's claim to be included in the act of indemnity, that he was to have had a hand in ſurpriſing the caſtle of Dublin, in 1641; and ſeven other charges were ſubſtantiated againſt him. After a trial of ſeven hours, the king's letter being opened and read

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In the letter of king *Charles* II. to the duke of *Ormond* abovementioned, under his majeſty's own hand, and entered in the ſignet office, July 13, 1663,* there is this remarkable paſſage, "That the referees who had examined the marquis [of *Antrim*'s] caſe, had declared to him, that they had ſeen *ſeveral letters all of them of the hand-writing of our royal father to the ſaid marquis*, and ſeveral inſtructions concerning his treating with the Iriſh in order to the king's ſervice, by reducing them to their obedience, and by drawing ſome forces from them for the ſervice of Scotland. That beſides letters and orders under his majeſty's own hand, there was ſufficient evidence and teſtimony of ſeveral meſſages and directions ſent from our royal father and our royal mother, with the privity and direction of the king our father, by which it appears, that *whatever correſpondence, or actings the ſaid marquis had with the confederate Iriſh catholicks, was directed and allowed by the ſaid letters and inſtructions*; and that the king himſelf was well pleaſed with what the marquis did after he had done it, and approved of the ſame."

I have been more particular in accounting for this inſurrection, becauſe whoever were the authors of it, are, in the judgment of lord *Clarendon*, anſwerable for all the calamities of the civil war. "It was Ireland (ſays his lordſhip†) that drew the firſt blood. If they had not at that time rebelled, and in that manner, it is very probable all the miſeries which afterwards befel the king and his dominions, had been prevented." At whoſe door then the guilt of all this blood muſt be laid, I freely leave with the reader."

in court, *Rainford*, one of the commiſſioners ſaid, *that the king's letter on his behalf was evidence without exception*; and thereupon he was declared an *innocent papiſt*: "Truth brought to Light, p. 15." The plea of this letter was the inſtructions given to the marquis by *Charles* I. and, as Mr. *Neal*'s quotation ſtates, it applied to every tranſaction with the Iriſh catholicks. *Ludlow* avers it as a well known fact that the marquis had his *head and hands deeply* and *early* engaged in the *bloody work* of the rebellion, and was amongſt the *firſt* in it. Memoirs, 4to. p. 423, edition of 1771. As to the act of parliament, to which Mr. *Cart* refers, it is not to be found in the ſtatutes at large, 4to. nor in *Pickering*'s ſtatutes. ED.

* Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 353. † Vol. i. p. 299.

Upon

Upon the firſt news of the Iriſh maſſacre the commons turned themſelves into a committee of the whole houſe, and came to the following reſolutions, "That all roman catholicks of "quality in the ſeveral counties of England be ſecured, and "that all papiſts depart from London to their reſpective places "of abode in the country; that the houſe of lords be deſired "to join with the commons in a petition for diſſolving the "convent of *Capuchins*, and ſending them out of the king-"dom; that the foreign ambaſſadors be deſired to deliver up "ſuch prieſts of the kings ſubjects as are in their houſes; "that a liſt be brought in of the queen's ſervants; and that "a proclamation be iſſued out for all ſtrangers that are not "proteſtants, to give an account of their names and places "of abode, or depart the kingdom." They alſo diſpatched a meſſenger to the king, beſeeching him to concur with them in ſecuring the nation againſt any further attempts of the papiſts; and not to employ any in his councils who were favourers of popery, ſuperſtition, or innovation in religion. They voted two hundred thouſand pounds to be borrowed immediately for the ſervice of Ireland, and appointed the train-bands of Weſtminſter to guard them from the inſolence and affronts of vagrant ſoldiers about the court, and to ſecure them from other deſigns which they had reaſon to ſuſpect. The lords ordered all romiſh *recuſants* to remove out of the inns of court and *Chancery*. The commons ordered the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy to be tendered to all Iriſh *gentlemen* within thoſe courts; "for it now appears (ſays Mr. "*Pym*) that the religion of the papiſts is incompatible with "any other religion, it is deſtructive to all others, and will "endure nothing that oppoſes it. There are other religions "that are not right, but not ſo deſtructive as popery, for "the principles of popery are ſubverſive of all ſtates and "perſons that oppoſe it."*

When the king returned from Scotland the latter end of November, and had been received with the acclamations of the citizens of London,‖ he was prevailed with by the queen and her faction to check the proceedings of the two houſes,

* Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 620.

‖ Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 675, &c.

ſince

ſince the Scots were eaſy, and the hearts of the Engliſh nation ſeemed to be with him; his majeſty had recommended the ſuppreſſing the Iriſh rebellion to the Scots repreſentatives, and by letter had committed the care of it alſo to the Engliſh parliament; whereupon the houſe of commons, in the king's abſence, authoriſed the earl of *Leiceſter*, by an ordinance of their own, to raiſe forces, and the lord high admiral to provide ſhipping for their tranſportation from Cheſter, and other ports; but when the king came to Whitehall he ſeemed ſo unwilling to act againſt the papiſts, that the parliament were afraid of ſending proteſtant ſoldiers out of the kingdom, leſt his majeſty ſhould take advantage of their abſence, and break up the conſtitution;§ for he had already commanded away the parliament's guard, telling them they had nothing to fear from the papiſts, and that their jealouſies of plots and maſſacres were imaginary.* He pardoned ſeven popiſh prieſts who were under ſentence of condemnation, contrary to the petition of the houſe of commons. He turned out the earl of *Leiceſter* lord lieutenant of Ireland, and Sir *William Parſons*, one of the moſt active proteſtant juſtices in that kingdom. He intercepted the parliamentary ſupplies in their way to Cheſter, and received a deputation from the Iriſh *catholicks* with greater ceremony and reſpect, than from his *proteſtant ſubjects*. Nor could his majeſty be prevailed with to iſſue out a proclamation declaring the Iriſh, REBELS, till the beginning of January, and even then only forty copies were printed, and not one to be diſperſed till further order.† Indeed the king proclaimed a monthly faſt, and offered to raiſe an army of Engliſh for the relief of Ireland, which the commons declined; and inſtead thereof appointed a committee to treat for *ten thouſand* Scots, which the houſe of lords, by direction from the king, put a ſtop to;‡ ſo that between both, the relief of Ireland was neglected

§ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 386-7, folio.

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 388, folio. Nalſon, vol. ii. p. 684, 400.

† Rapin, vol. ii. p. 401, folio edition.

‡ "The king (ſays Dr. *Grey*) was not concerned in it, as appears from "Rapin, the author he, i. e. Mr. *Neal*, "refers to." The doctor then relates, in *Rapin*'s words, the three queſtions on this point, debated by the lords. In which ſtatement there is, it is true, an entire ſilence about the king's

neglected. The king would have perſuaded the parliament to ſend over ten thouſand Engliſh, that they might find it more difficult to raiſe forces in caſe of a breach with him; but the commons prevailed with the Scots to offer ten thouſand of their nation, that they might not be obliged to leave themſelves naked and defenceleſs in ſo critical a juncture.

Upon the whole it ſeems to me, that this barbarous inſurrection and maſſacre was formed either here or in Ireland, to diſtreſs the parliament, after the failure of the deſign of doing it by the Engliſh army. The king ſeems to have been willingly ignorant§ of the progreſs of the affair, having intruſted the correſpondence with his *queen* and her council; but when he heard how the Iriſh had over-acted their part he was ſurprized, and thought it neceſſary to declare againſt them; yet when he came to his *queen* he appeared too favourable to their perſons and conduct, and inſtead of going briſkly into the meaſures that were propoſed to ſubdue them, his majeſty played the politician, and would have made uſe of the Iriſh rebellion to put himſelf at the head of an army to break up his Engliſh parliament.

While the king was in Scotland, it was given out by ſome ill-deſigning people, that ſince his majeſty had yielded ſo much to the Scots, he might be perſuaded to introduce *preſbytery* into England at his return; upon which his majeſty ſent the following letter to Mr. *Nichols* clerk of the council:

" *I hear it is reported, that at my return I intend to alter the government of the church of England, and to bring it to that form it is in here; therefore I command you to aſſure all my ſervants, that I will be conſtant to the diſcipline and doctrine of the church of England eſtabliſhed by queen* Elizabeth *and*

king's interference. But, the Doctor had overlooked the preceding paragraph, which eſtabliſhes Mr. *Neal*'s aſſertion; in which *Rapin* ſays, " the " king had found means to *gain the peers*." ED.

§ " This (ſays Biſhop *Warburton*,) is a villainous accuſation, deſtitute " of all proof and likelihood."—His lordſhip might have ſpared ſome of his warmth and bitterneſs. For if it be an accuſation, it comes forward as a concluſion ariſing from the facts and authorities ſtated in the preceding pages. It is properly the *opinion* of the author, and the reader will judge how far it juſtly flows from the evidence laid before him. ED.

my

my father; and that I resolve, by the grace of God, to die in the maintenance of it. Edinburgh, October 18, 1641."‖

Accordingly his majesty resolved to fill up the vacant sees, and ordered five *congé d'élires* to be drawn for five clergymen therein named; but the two houses joining in a petition to his majesty to suspend his commands till he came home, the matter was delayed; however soon after his return, he made the following removes and promotions.

Dr. *Williams* bishop of *Lincoln*, was translated to the province of *York*, in the room of Dr. *Neile* deceased, and Dr. *Winniffe* dean of St. *Paul*'s, a grave and moderate divine, was made bishop of *Lincoln*; Dr. *Duppa* bishop of *Chichester* was translated to Salisbury, vacant by the death of Dr. *Davenant*; and Dr. *King* dean of *Rochester* was promoted to Chichester. Dr. *Hall* was translated from Exeter to Norwich, in the room of bishop *Montague;* and Dr. *Brownrigge* master of Katherine-Hall, Cambridge, an eminent and learned divine, was advanced to Exeter. Dr. *Skinner* was translated from Bristol to Oxford, vacant by the death of Dr. *Bancroft;* and Dr. *Westfield* archdeacon of St. *Alban*'s, a very popular preacher, was promoted to Bristol; Dr. *Prideaux* king's professor of divinity in Oxford was made bishop of *Worcester*, in the room of bishop *Thornborough* deceased. The bishoprick of Carlisle being vacant by the death of Dr. *Barnabus Potter* a puritan bishop, commonly called the *penitential preacher*, was given in *commendam* to the most reverend Dr. *Usher* archbishop and and primate of *Ireland*, during the commotion in that kingdom. Most of these divines stood well in the opinion of the people, but their accepting bishopricks in this crisis did neither the king nor themselves any service. After this his majesty nominated but two bishops throughout the course of his reign; one was Dr. *Frewen* dean of *Gloucester*, and president of Magdalen-College, Oxon, to the bishoprick of Coventry and Litchfield, 1644, and Dr. *Howel* prebendary of Windsor to Bristol, about ten months after.

A committee had been appointed above a twelvemonth ago, at the motion of lord *Digby*, *to draw out of all the*

‖ Nalson's Collections, vol. ii. p. 683.

grievances

*grievances of the nation ſuch a remonſtrance as might be a faithful and lively repreſentation to his majeſty, of the deplorable ſtate of the kingdom;** but it was laid aſide till this time, when the proſpect of an agreement between him and his parliament being almoſt at an end, after the breaking out of the Iriſh *inſurrection and maſſacre*, it was perfected and read in the houſe of commons November 22, when it met with ſo ſtrong an oppoſition, that it was carried only by nine voices,§ after a long debate from three in the afternoon till three in the morning, which made *one*† ſay, "It looked like "the verdict of a ſtarved jury." Many were of opinion, that thoſe grievances which had been redreſſed by the late acts of parliament ought to have been covered, leſt the reviving them ſhould make the breach wider between the king and parliament; while others thought the mentioning them could do no harm if it was done with reſpect, and that it was in a manner neceſſary in order to introduce the intended limitation of the *royal power*. However, this was the *criſis* that diſcovered the ſtrength of the two parties, and was managed with ſuch warmth, that *Oliver Cromwell* is ſaid to tell lord *Falkland*, that *if the remonſtrance had been rejected he*

* Biſhop *Warburton* aſks here, "why are we told this but to miſlead us? "A year ago, before the king had made full ſatisfaction for his miſgovern- "ment, ſuch a remonſtrance was ſeaſonable: now he had made full ſatisfac- "tion, it was factious and ſeditious."—To this queſtion of his lordſhip it may be retorted; why ſhould a deſign to *miſlead* be inſinuated againſt Mr. *Neal?* Has he not in the ſame paragraph informed his readers, that "many "were of opinion, that thoſe grievances which had been redreſſed ought "to have been covered?" Doth he not fairly ſtate the whole buſineſs? And, doth he not, with candour and impartiality, avoid biaſſing his reader, while he waves giving a decided opinion on the conduct of the parliament in this affair? All this appears, in the hurry of his remarks, at *breakfaſt-time*, to have eſcaped his lordſhip's notice. Had he read on before he wrote in the margin of his book, it would have precluded his cenſure. ED.

§ This is a miſtake copied from lord *Clarendon*. The numbers for paſſing the remonſtrance were 159, againſt it 148, ſo it was carried by eleven voices. Harris' Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 74. ED.

† Dr. *Harris* ſuppoſes this was Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, who, according to *Willis*, was in three parliaments, the repreſentative of Portſmouth, and was afterwards returned for Old Sarum once, for Downton once, and for Wilton twice. ED.

would have ſold all he had next morning, and never have ſeen England more.

It is difficult to ſay which ſide of the queſtion was right.‖ Mr. *Rapin*‡ will not take upon him to determine, whether it was neceſſary for the welfare of the kingdom, *to put it out of the king's power to govern for the future in the ſame arbitrary manner as he had done for fifteen years;* but he thinks the reaſon for it very plauſible, and does not well ſee what ſecurity they could have who were for leaving the king in poſſeſſion of the ſame power he had before enjoyed; eſpecially if it be conſidered, that his majeſty had ſtill the ſame arbitrary principles, and the ſame inviolable attachment to his queen and the popiſh faction, beſides the current report that the court had fomented the Iriſh *inſurrection*, which had filled the minds of the people with diſtracting terrors. It is certain the king had conceived an implacable averſion to the leading members of the puritanical party in both houſes, and having quieted the Scots, was determined to make them examples; of which they were not ignorant. After all, whether theſe and the like reaſons were ſufficient to juſtify the whole of the parliament's conduct in this affair, I will not preſume to determine.

The remonſtrance was preſented to the king at Hampton-Court [Dec. 1, 1641] about a week after his majeſty's return from Scotland, with a petition for redreſs of the grievances therein contained. It is eaſy to ſuppoſe it was not very acceptable, but the king gave the committee his hand to kiſs, and took time to return an anſwer.* The *remonſtrance* enumerates the ſeveral grievances, oppreſſions, and unbounded acts of the prerogative, ſince his majeſty's acceſſion, to the number of almoſt two hundred, and charges their riſe and progreſs, (1.) On the jeſuited papiſts. (2.) On the court, biſhops, and the corrupt part of the clergy. (3.) On ſuch corrupt counſellors and courtiers as for private ends had engaged themſelves in the intereſt of ſome foreign princes, to the prejudice of the king and ſtate. Theſe *miniſters* are ſaid to carry on their deſigns, (1.) By ſuppreſſing

‖ Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 312. ‡ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 388, fol. edit.

* Ruſhworth, part 3, vol. i. p. 438. Nalſon's Collections, p. 694.

the

the power and purity of religion, and of ſuch perſons as were beſt affected to it. (2.) By cheriſhing the *arminian party* in thoſe points wherein they agree with the papiſts, in order to widen the difference between the common proteſtants and thoſe called *puritans;* and by introducing ſuch opinions and ceremonies as tend to an accommodation with popery. (2.) By fomenting differences and diſcontents between the king and his parliament, and by putting him upon arbitrary and illegal methods of raiſing ſupplies.

I omit the grievances of the *ſtate;* thoſe which related to the *church* were ſuch as follow:

1. The ſuſpenſions, excommunications, deprivations, and degradations of divers painful, learned, and pious miniſters of the goſpel, by the *biſhops;* and the grievous oppreſſion of great numbers of his majeſty's faithful ſubjects.

2. The ſharpneſs and ſeverity of the *high commiſſion*, aſſiſted by the *council table*, not much leſs grievous than the Romiſh inquiſition.

3. The rigour of the *biſhops courts* in the country, whereby great numbers of the meaner tradeſmen have been impoveriſhed, and driven out of the kingdom to Holland and New-England. The advancing thoſe to eccleſiaſtical preferments who were moſt officious in promoting ſuperſtition, and moſt virulent in railing againſt godlineſs and honeſty.

4. The deſign of *reconciling the church of England with Rome*, and impoſing upon the church of Scotland ſuch popiſh ſuperſtitions and innovations, as might diſpoſe them to join with England in the intended reconciliation.

5. The late *canons* and *oath* impoſed upon the clergy under the ſevereſt penalties; and the *continuance of the convocation* by a new commiſſion, after the diſſolution of the parliament, wherein they raiſed taxes upon the ſubject for the maintenance of what was called *bellum epiſcopale.* The rooting out of the kingdom by force, or driving away by fear, the PURITANS; under which name they include all that deſire to preſerve the laws and liberties of the kingdom, and to maintain religion in the power of it.

6. The exempting papiſts from *penal laws*, ſo far as amounted to a toleration, beſides conferring upon them many other

other privileges and court favours; theſe (ſay they) have had a ſecretary of ſtate of their own religion, and a *nuncio* from the pope, by whoſe authority the popiſh nobility, clergy, and gentry, have been convocated after the manner of a parliament; new juriſdictions have been erected of popiſh archbiſhops; taxes have been levied; another ſtate moulded within this ſtate, independent in government, and ſecretly corrupting the ignorant profeſſors of our religion, &c. The papiſts have been furniſhed with arms and ammunition, liſted in the king's ſervice, and encouraged by the weekly prayers of their prieſts for the proſperity of their deſigns, to promote the catholick cauſe. They complain further of a party of *biſhops* and *popiſh* lords in the houſe of peers who have cauſed much oppoſition and delay in the proſecution of *delinquents*, and hindered the paſſing ſome *good bills* for the reforming abuſes and corruptions in church and ſtate; and of a malignant party that has countenanced the rebellion in Ireland.

After the recital of theſe grievances, they acknowledge with thankfulneſs, the many acts that his majeſty has paſſed this ſeſſion for the publick good, and put his majeſty in mind of the large ſums of money they had raiſed for his ſervice, amounting to no leſs than a million and half. They declare, "that it is far from their purpoſe or deſire to let looſe the "golden reigns of diſcipline and government in the church, "to leave private perſons or particular congregations to "take up what form of divine ſervice they pleaſe; for we "hold it requiſite (ſay they) that there ſhould be throughout "the whole realm a conformity to that order which the "laws enjoin, according to the word of God; and we de"ſire to unburden the conſciences of men from needleſs and "ſuperſtitious ceremonies, to ſuppreſs innovations, and to "take away the monuments of idolatry. To effect this in"tended reformation, we deſire there may be a general ſynod "of the moſt grave, pious, learned, and judicious divines of "this iſland, aſſiſted with ſome from foreign parts profeſſing "the ſame religion with us, who may conſider of all things "neceſſary for the peace and good government of the "church, and repreſent the reſult of their conſultations to "the parliament, to be allowed and confirmed, and to re-

"ceive

" ceive the ſtamp of authority.——It is our chief care to " advance and promote learning, and to provide a competent " maintenance for conſcionable and preaching miniſters " throughout the kingdom.——We intend likewiſe to re- " form and purge the fountains of learning, the *two uni-* " *verſities*; that the ſtreams flowing thence may be clear and " pure, and an honour and comfort to the whole land. And " ſeeing that the religion of papiſts has ſuch principles as " certainly tend to the deſtruction and extirpation of all pro- " teſtants, when they have opportunity to effect it, it is ne- " ceſſary to keep them in ſuch a condition, that they may " not be able to do us any hurt."

In the petition that attended this remonſtrance, after having aſſured his majeſty, that they had not the leaſt intention to lay any blemiſh upon his royal perſon by the foregoing *declaration*, but only to repreſent how his royal authority and truſt had been abuſed, they humbly beſeech his majeſty to concur with his people in a parliamentary way, (1.) " For " the depriving the biſhops of their votes in parliament, and " abridging their immoderate power, uſurped over the cler- " gy, and other your good ſubjects, to the hazard of reli- " gion, and prejudice of the juſt liberties of your people. " (2.) For the taking away ſuch oppreſſions in religion, " church government and diſcipline, as have been brought " in and fomented by them. (3.) For uniting all ſuch your " loyal ſubjects, as agree in fundamentals, againſt papiſts, by " removing ſome oppreſſions and unneceſſary ceremonies, " by which divers weak conſciences have been offended, and " ſeem to be divided from the reſt." (4.) *They conclude*, " with beſeeching his majeſty to remove from his counſels, " all favourers of popery and arbitrary power, and promo- " ters of the above-mentioned preſſures and corruptions, " and to employ ſuch as his parliament might confide in; " and that in his princely goodneſs he would reject all ſoli- " citations to the contrary, HOW POWERFUL AND NEAR " SOEVER."§

His majeſty in his anſwer to this petition, about a week after, complains very juſtly of the diſreſpect of the commons in printing their remonſtrance before he had time to return

§ Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 692.

an anſwer. To the preamble and concluſion of the petition, he ſays, that *he knows of no wicked, arbitrary, and malignant party prevalent in the government, or near himſelf and his children;* and aſſures them, that the mediation of the NEAREST TO HIM has always concurred in ſuch perſons, againſt whom there can be no juſt cauſe of exception. To the ſeveral articles his majeſty replies; firſt, concerning religion, "That he is willing to concur with all the juſt deſires of his "people in a parliamentary way, for preſerving the peace "of the kingdom from the deſigns of the popiſh party.

"That for *depriving the biſhops of their votes in parlia-"ment*, he thought their right was grounded on the funda-"mental laws of the kingdom, and conſtitution of parlia-"ment, but ſince you deſire our concurrence in a parliamen-"tary way (ſays the king) we will give no further anſwer at "preſent.

"As for *abridging the extraordinary power of the clergy*, "if there remain any exceſſes or uſurpations in their juriſ-"dictions, we neither have nor will protect them.

"Concerning *church corruptions* (as you ſtile them) and "*removing unneceſſary ceremonies*; we are willing to con-"cur in the removal of any illegal innovations which may "have crept in; and if our parliament adviſe us to call a "national ſynod for that purpoſe, we ſhall take it into con-"ſideration.

"But we are very ſorry to hear in ſuch general terms, "*corruption in religion* objected, ſince we are perſuaded in "our own conſcience, that no church can be found upon "earth that profeſſeth the true religion with more purity of "doctrine than the church of England doth; nor where "the government and diſcipline are jointly more beautified, "and free from ſuperſtition, than as they are here eſtabliſh-"ed by law, which by the grace of God, we will with con-"ſtancy maintain (while we live) in their purity and glory, "not only againſt all invaſions of popery, but alſo from "the irreverence of thoſe many ſchiſmaticks and ſeparatiſts "wherewith of late this kingdom, and this city abounds, "to the great diſhonour and hazard both of church and "ſtate; for the ſuppreſſion of whom we require your timely "aid and active aſſiſtance."

Some

Some time after [Dec. 15, 1641] his majeſty publiſhed his anſwer to the REMONSTRANCE,* with a declaration to all his loving ſubjects, in which he profeſſes himſelf fully ſatisfied, "That the religion of the church of England is "moſt agreeable to the word of God, and that he ſhould "be ready to ſeal with his blood, if God ſhould call him to "it. That as for ceremonies in religion, which are in their "own nature indifferent, he is willing in tenderneſs to any "number of his ſubjects, that a law ſhould be made for the "exemption of tender conſciences from puniſhment, or pro-"ſecution for ſuch ceremonies, as by the judgment of moſt "men are held to be indifferent, and of ſome to be abſo-"lutely unlawful, provided the peace of the kingdom be "not diſturbed, nor the preſent decency and comlineſs of "God's ſervice eſtabliſhed in the church diſcountenanced; "nor the pious, ſober, and devout actions of thoſe reverend "perſons, who were the firſt labourers in the bleſſed refor-"mation, be ſcandalized and defamed. His majeſty then "adds, that he cannot without grief of heart, and ſome tax "upon himſelf and his miniſters for not executing the laws, "look upon the bold licence of ſome men, in printing pam-"phlets and ſermons ſo full of bitterneſs and malice againſt "the preſent government, and the law eſtabliſhed, ſo full of "ſedition againſt himſelf and the peace of the kingdom, "that he is many times amazed to conſider by what eyes "theſe things are ſeen, and by what ears they are heard; he "therefore commands again all his officers and miniſters of "juſtice to proceed againſt them with all ſpeed, and put the "laws in execution."§ Agreeably to this declaration his majeſty iſſued out his royal proclamation December 10, requiring obedience to the laws and ſtatutes ordained for the eſtabliſhing true religion in this kingdom, and commanding that *divine ſervice* be performed as heretofore; and that all officers and miniſters, eccleſiaſtical and temporal, do put the ſaid laws in due execution againſt all wilful contemners and diſturbers of divine worſhip, contrary to the ſaid laws and ſtatutes.

* Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 746, &c.

§ Ruſhworth, part 3, vol. i. p. 456.

Thus

Thus matters ſtood betwen the king and parliament, when all men expected the *court intereſt in the houſe of peers* would be broken, by the iſſue of the impeachment of the thirteen biſhops, for compiling the late canons, which was now approaching. The lords had reſolved that ſuch biſhops as were impeached, ſhould not ſit in the houſe when the merits of their cauſe was in debate, but that when the manner of proceeding was to be ſettled, they might be preſent but not vote. To enable them the better to make their defence, it was reſolved further that the biſhop of *Rocheſter* with one other biſhop, might have acceſs twice to the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in the Tower, to conſult with him about their anſwer to the impeachment; and that all the lords biſhops may have acceſs to and have copies of any acts and records in any of his majeſty's courts of juſtice, that may ſerve for their defence. On the 10th of November the biſhops put in their anſwer, conſiſting of a *plea* and *demurrer*, in which they neither confeſs nor deny the fact, but endeavour to ſhew that the offence of making canons could not amount to a premunire; which was certainly true, provided they had been made in a legal convocation, and that the canons themſelves had not been contrary to the king's prerogative and the fundamental laws of the land. The *anſwer* was ſigned with all their hands except the biſhop of *Gloceſter*'s, who pleaded not guilty *modo & forma*.* The commons were diſſatisfied with the biſhops, for not pleading directly to their charge; and with the lords, for receiving a *demurrer* when they were not preſent, contrary to the requeſt which they ſent up with the impeachment, eſpecially when the nature of the caſe, being a meer matter of fact, could not require it; they therefore prayed the lords by ſerjeant *Glyn* to ſet aſide the *demurrer*, and to admit them to make proof of their charge without any further delay; or if they were ſatisfied with the charge, and the biſhops would not plead to it, to proceed immediately to judgment; but the lords, inſtead of complying with the *commons*, gave the biſhops their option, and ordered them to declare by Saturday, whether they would *plead to the impeachment*, or abide by their *de-*

* Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 715, 731.

murrer,

murrer, when they declared they would abide by their *demurrer*; upon which the lords appointed Monday following [December 11] to hear them by their counſel in preſence of the commons; but the houſe reſenting this dilatory method of proceeding in a caſe which they alledge was ſo apparent and manifeſt to the whole world, would not appear; the moſt active members declaring among their friends with a ſort of deſpair, that they would be concerned no further againſt the biſhops, for they now ſaw it was in vain to attack a number of men whom the court and the houſe of lords were reſolved to protect.

When this was rumoured in the city it alarmed the people, whoſe fears were already ſufficiently awakened with the apprehenſions of a popiſh maſſacre and inſurrection within their own walls. The aldermen and common council immediately aſſembled, and drew up a petition to ſupport the courage of the commons, and went with it to Weſtminſter in ſixty coaches, attended by a great number of the lower people.* The petition prays, "That the houſe of commons would ſtill be a means to the king and houſe of peers, to concur with them [the commons] in redreſſing the grievances of church and ſtate, and for the better effecting hereof, that the popiſh lords and biſhops may be removed out of the houſe of peers." The ſpeaker returned them thanks in the name of the houſe, and promiſed to take their addreſs into conſideration in due time. A few days after great numbers of the people aſſembled at Blackheath, to ſign a petition to the ſame purpoſe; and within a fortnight the apprentices of London went up with a petition, ſigned with a multitude of names, complaining of the decay of trade, occaſioned by papiſts and prelates, and by a malignant party that adhered to them; and praying, that the *popiſh lords*, and other eminent perſons of that religion, might be ſecured, and that prelacy might be *rooted out*, according to their former petition, commonly called the ROOT AND BRANCH. The commons received their petition favourably; but the king, inſtead of calming the citizens, encreaſed their jealouſies and ſuſpicions, by removing at this very time, Sir

* Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 733.

William

William Belfour from the lieutenancy of the tower, and putting colonel *Lunsford* into his place, a ſuſpected papiſt, of no fortune, who had been once out-lawed, and was fit for any deſperate attempt; this unſeaſonable promotion occaſioned petitions to his majeſty for his removal, which with much difficulty, after ſome time, was obtained, but the jealouſies of the people ſtill remained.

The petitions above-mentioned againſt the biſhops were confronted with others out of the country, in their favour. Nov. 18, the humble petition of the knights, eſquires, gentlemen, parſons,† vicars, curates, &c. of Rutlandſhire, was preſented to the houſe, ſigned by about eight hundred and forty hands, praying for the continuance of *epiſcopacy*, as the only government of apoſtolical inſtitution ſealed with the blood of martyrs, admirably ſuited to the civil government of this kingdom, and affirming, that no preſbyter ever laid on hands without a biſhop. Dec. 8, a petition of the like nature was preſented from Huntingdonſhire, and two days after another from Somerſetſhire, ſigned with above fourteen thouſand names.‡ ||

On the other hand, the miniſters appointed to ſolicit their *remonſtrance* formerly mentioned, addreſſed the houſe, Dec. 20, 1641, acknowledging "Their piety and zeal for the "true religion, againſt popery and ſuperſtition; in counte-"nancing the ſacred ordinance of preaching; in encouraging "painful and godly miniſters, formerly ſet aſide, but now "profitably employed in many congregations; in diſcounte-"nancing of bold intruders, who, without a ſufficient call, "have thruſt themſelves into the ſacred office; as alſo, of all "unworthy and ſcandalous miniſters; in freeing divers godly

† "And houſholders in the county of Rutland, in behalf of themſelves "and families:" omitted. Dr. *Grey*.

‡ There were alſo petitions from the counties of Cheſhire, Nottingham, Devonſhire, Stafford, Kent, the ſix ſhires of North-Wales, the counties of Lancaſter, Cornwall and Hereford. Of theſe petitions, that from Devon had 8000 ſignatures; that from Stafford 3000; and thoſe from the ſix ſhires of North-Wales 30,000. Amongſt the petitioners were computed, where the different ranks of the petitioners were claſſed, to be 5 peers, 225 knights, 399 divines, 1588 gentlemen, and 28,336 freeholders.

Dr. *Grey*'s Examination, vol. i. p. 312, 314, Ed.

|| Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 726-7.

"miniſters

" miniſters from priſon and exile, and others from heavy " cenſures; in preventing the utter ruin of the petitioners, " by ſetting aſide the late *oath* and *canons*, the high com- " miſſion, and other illegal preſſures of eccleſiaſtical courts; " in making an order to take away all ſuperſtitious rites and " ceremonies, images, pictures, and other innovations, out " of churches; in conducting the late peace with Scotland " to an happy concluſion, and in their vigorous endeavours " for the relief of Ireland, &c. But whereas there ſtill re- " main a great many *grievances* to be removed, they are " neceſſitated to renew their former ſuit for redreſs of the " aforeſaid evils, and for taking away whatever ſhall appear " to be the root and cauſe of them. And whereas the pe- " tioners, and many others, are deſirous in all things to " ſubmit to the laws, ſo far as poſſibly they may, yet merely " out of tenderneſs and ſcruple of conſcience, they dare not " continue, as formerly they did, the exerciſe of ſome " things enjoined; not only becauſe they have more ſeriouſly " weighed the nature and ſcandal of them, and becauſe ſun- " dry biſhops, and other grave divines, called to their aſſiſt- " ance by order of the houſe of peers, have (as they are " informed) diſcovered divers particulars which need altera- " tion in the liturgy; and becauſe there is not (as they " humbly conceive) at this day, commonly extant, any book " of common prayer without ſo many alterations and addi- " tions, as render it in many parts another thing from that " which is by law eſtabliſhed; but chiefly, becauſe the houſe, " from a ſenſe of its defects, has taken the reformation thereof " under conſideration, which they hoped would be ſome " ſhelter againſt the ſtrict preſſing the uſe of it, till their " pleaſure was declared in a parliamentary way. But though " the petitioners have been comfortably aſſured of ſome eaſe " herein, yet now to their great ſorrow they apprehend " that the ſame things are anew enforced, which may occa- " ſion much trouble and vexation to ſundry peaceable and " and worthy miniſters, ſome of whom have been indicted " upon the ſtatute of 1 *Eliz.* cap. 2, ſince the beginning of " this preſent parliament, and others threatened for omiſſions " of ſome things complained of to this high court, and ſtill " depending before you. The petitioners therefore pray

" the

" the houſe to reſume the conſideration of their former peti-
" tion, and to commit the ſame to the debate of a *free ſynod*,
" and in the mean time to be mediators to his majeſty for
" ſome relaxation in matters of ceremony, and of reading
" the whole liturgy. They further pray, that a monthly
" faſt may be appointed and religiouſly obſerved, during the
" preſent ſeſſions of parliament, and they will be ready at
" any time to offer reaſons why there ſhould be a ſynod of
" a different conſtitution from the convocation now in being,
" when they ſhall be required.*

The carrying up theſe petitions to Weſtminſter, and eſpecially that of the London apprentices, occaſioned great tumults about the parliament houſe. The king was at his palace at Whitehall, attended by a great number of diſbanded officers, whom his majeſty received with great ceremony, and employed as a guard to his royal perſon. Theſe officers inſulted the common people, and gave them ill language as they paſſed by the court to the parliament houſe, crying out, *no biſhops, no popiſh lords*. If the people ventured to reply, the officers followed their reproaches with cuts and laſhes, which (ſays lord *Clarendon*†) produced ſome wounds, and drew blood. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, they came out of Whitehall, and catched ſome of them, and cut off their ears. From theſe ſkirmiſhes, and from the ſhortneſs of the apprentices hair, which was cut cloſe about their ears, the two parties began firſt to be diſtinguiſhed by the names of ROUNDHEAD and CAVALIER. *David Hyde*, one of the reformades, firſt drew his ſword in Palace-yard, and ſwore, he would cut the throats of thoſe *round-headed dogs* that bauled againſt the biſhops. Dr. *Williams*, biſhop of *Lincoln*, lately promoted to the ſee of York, going by land to the houſe of peers in company with the earl of *Dover*, and hearing a youth cry out louder than the reſt, *no biſhops, no popiſh lords*, ſtept from the earl and laid hands on him, but his companions reſcued him, and about an hundred of them ſurrounding the biſhop hemmed him in, and with an univerſal ſhout cired out, *no biſhops*; after which they opened a paſſage and let his grace go forward to the houſe.‡ The ſame day colonel *Lunsford* coming

* Nalſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 764. † Vol. i. p. 339.
‡ Ruſhworth, part 3, vol. i. p. 463. through

through Weſtminſter-hall in company with thirty or forty officers, drew his ſword and wounded about twenty apprentices and citizens: others walking in the Abbey while their friends were waiting for an anſwer to their petition, were ordered by the vergers to clear the church, leſt the ornaments of the cathedral ſhould ſuffer damage; upon which moſt of them went out, and the doors were ſhut, but ſome few remaining behind, were apprehended and carried before the biſhop, which occaſioned another ſkirmiſh, in which Sir *Richard Wiſeman* was killed by a ſtone from the battlements; after which the officers and ſoldiers ſallied out upon the mob with ſword in hand, and obliged them to retire. The news of this being reported in the city, the whole populace was in arms, and reſolved to go next morning to Weſtminſter with ſwords and ſtaves. The lord mayor and ſheriffs raiſed the train bands, and having ordered the city gates to be kept ſhut, they rode about all night to keep the peace; but it was impoſſible to hinder the people's going out in the day. On the other hand, the king commanded the militia of Weſtminſter and Middleſex to be raiſed by turns, as a guard to his royal perſon and family; upon which ſeveral gentlemen of the inns of court offered their ſervice, in caſe his majeſty apprehended any danger.‖ The houſe of commons being no leſs afraid of themſelves, petitioned for a guard out of the city of London, under the command of the earl of *Eſſex*, which his majeſty refuſed, but told them, he would take as much care of them as of his own children; and if this would not ſuffice, he would command ſuch a guard to wait upon them as he would be anſwerable to God for; but the houſe not being willing to truſt to the king's guard, declined his majeſty's offer, and not prevailing for one of their own chooſing, they ordered halberds to be brought into the houſe, and reſolved, in caſe of an aſſault, to defend themſelves.

The lords exerted themſelves to diſperſe the tumults, by ſending their gentleman uſher of the black rod to command the people to depart to their homes; and by appointing a committee to enquire into the cauſes of them. His majeſty alſo publiſhed a proclamation [Dec. 28, 1641] forbidding all

‖ Ruſhworth, part 3, vol. i. p. 456, 471.

tumultuous

tumultuous aſſemblies of the people. But the commons being unwilling to affront the citizens, were not ſo vigorous in ſuppreſſing them, as it is thought the circumſtances of things required; for as the king relied upon his guard of officers, the commons had their dependance upon the good-will of the citizens. Not that the houſe can be charged with encouraging tumults,* for the very next day after the king's proclamation they ſent a meſſage to the lords, declaring their readineſs to concur in all lawful methods to appeaſe them; but being ſenſible their chief ſtrength was among the inhabitants of London, without whoſe countenance and ſupport every thing muſt have been given back into the hands of the court, they were tender of entering upon vigorous meaſures.

While theſe tumults continued, the biſhops were adviſed to forbear their attendance upon the houſe, at leaſt till after the receſs at *Chriſtmas;* but this looking too much like cowardice, *their lordſhips* determined to do their duty; and becauſe the ſtreets were crouded with unruly people, they agreed to go by water in their barges; but as ſoon as they came near the ſhore, the mob ſaluted them with a volley of ſtones, ſo that being afraid to land, they rowed back and

* Biſhop *Warburton* is very warm on this aſſertion, and calls it "a notorious falſehood." The houſe, he ſays, "has been charged by all mankind with encouraging the tumults, though not with *publickly avowing* that they did encourage them." The truth or falſehood of Mr. *Neal*'s aſſertion will depend on the explanation of the word, *encourage*; if it means *connivance* at, and *giving countenance* to the tumults, its veracity may be impeached. For when the lords deſired, on December 27, the houſe to join in publiſhing a declaration againſt the tumults, and in petitioning the king for a guard, they waved taking the requeſt into conſideration, on the plea, that the hour was too late for it. When the next day came, they adjourned the matter to the ſucceeding. The mob being again aſſembled on the 29th, they ſent their meſſage to the lords. Mr. *Neal* does not immediately ſtate theſe circumſtances, but he repreſents the commons as not acting with vigour in ſuppreſſing the riots, and as placing ſome dependence on the ſpirit which the people ſhewed. Mr. *Neal* therefore by *encouraging* the tumults, muſt be underſtood to mean, as *Rapin* expreſſes it, "taking any reſolution to encourage theſe tumults," or avowing an approbation of them: then his aſſertion is, in the judgment of even biſhop *Warburton*, juſt and true. The reader cannot but obſerve, that Mr. *Neal* thought that the tumults were not, at firſt at leaſt, diſagreeable to the commons. Yet it ſhould be obſerved, that *Whitelocke*, ſpeaking of them, ſays, "it was a diſmal thing to all ſober men, eſpecially members of parliament, to ſee and hear them." Memorials, p. 51. Ed.

returned

returned to their own houſes. Upon this repulſe, twelve of them met privately at the archbiſhop of *York*'s lodgings in Weſtminſter, to conſult what meaſures were to be taken. The archbiſhop adviſed to go no more to the houſe, and immediately in a heat drew up the following *proteſtation*, againſt whatſoever the two houſes ſhould do in their abſence, which all preſent ſigned with their hands, except the biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

To the king's moſt excellent majeſty, and the lords and peers now aſſembled in parliament.

The humble petition *and* proteſtation *of all the biſhops and prelates now called by his majeſty's writs to attend the parliament, and preſent about London and Weſtminſter for that ſervice.*

" WHEREAS the petitioners are called up by ſeveral " and reſpective writs, and under great penalties to attend " the parliament, and have a clear and undubitable right " to vote in bills, and other matters whatſoever debata- " ble in parliament, by the ancient cuſtoms, laws and " ſtatutes of this realm, and ought to be protected by your " majeſty quietly to attend and proſecute that great ſervice: " They humbly remonſtrate and proteſt before God, your " majeſty, and the noble lords and peers now aſſembled in " parliament, that as they have an indubitate right to ſit " and vote in the houſe of lords, ſo are they, if they may be " protected from force and violence, moſt ready and willing " to perform their duties accordingly. And that they do " abominate all actions or opinions tending to popery and " the maintenance thereof; as alſo, all propenſion and in- " clination to any malignant party, or any other ſide or " party whatſoever, to the which their own reaſons and con- " ſcience ſhall not move them to adhere. But whereas they " have been at ſeveral times violently menaced, affronted, " and aſſaulted, by multitudes of people in their coming to " perform their ſervices in that honourable houſe, and lately " chaced away and put in danger of their lives, and can find " no redreſs or protection, upon ſundry complaints made to " both houſes in theſe particulars: They humbly proteſt

" before

" before your majeſty, and the noble houſe of peers, that " ſaving unto themſelves all their rights and intereſt of ſitting " and voting in that houſe at other times, they dare not " ſit or vote in the houſe of peers, until your majeſty ſhall " further ſecure them from all affronts, indignities, and dan- " gers, in the premiſes. Laſtly, whereas their fears are not " built upon fantaſies and conceits, but upon ſuch grounds " and objections as may well terrify men of reſolution and " much conſtancy, they do in all humility and duty, proteſt " before your majeſty, and the peers of that moſt honour- " able houſe of parliament, againſt all laws, orders, votes, " reſolutions, and determinations, as in themſelves null, and " of none effect, which in their abſence, ſince the 27th of " this month of December, 1641, have already paſſed; as " likewiſe, againſt all ſuch as ſhall hereafter paſs in that moſt " honourable houſe, during the time of this their forced " and violent abſence from the ſaid moſt honourable houſe; " not denying, but if their abſenting of themſelves were " wilful and voluntary, that moſt honourable houſe might " proceed in all the premiſes, their abſence, or this proteſta- " tion, notwithſtanding. And humbly beſeeching your moſt " excellent majeſty to command the clerk of that houſe of " peers, to enter this their petition and proteſtation among " their records,

And they will ever pray God to bleſs, &c.

John Eborac.	*George Hereford,*
Tho. Dureſme,	*Rob. Oxon,*
Ro. Cov. Lichf.	*Mat. Ely,*
Joſ. Norwich,	*Godfrey Glouceſter,*
Jo. Aſaph,	*Jo. Peterborough,*
Gul. Bath and *Wells,*	*Morice Landaff.*

This proteſtation was preſented to the king by archbiſhop *Williams*,* who undertook to juſtify the lawfulneſs of it; but his majeſty declining to appear in ſo nice an affair, delivered it into the hands of the lord keeper *Littleton*, who by his majeſty's command, read it in the houſe of lords the next

* Clarendon, vol. i. p. 351.

morning.

morning. After ſome debate the lords deſired a conference with the commons, when the *keeper* in the name of the houſe of peers declared, that *the proteſtation of the biſhops contained matters of high and dangerous conſequence, extending to the intrenching upon the fundamental privileges and being of parliaments, and therefore the lords thought fit to communicate it to the commons.** The proteſtation being communicated to the houſe of commons, they reſolved within half an hour, to accuſe the twelve biſhops of high treaſon, *for endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental laws and being of parliaments*, and ſent up their impeachment by Mr. *Glyn*, who having delivered it at the bar of the houſe of lords, the uſher of the black rod was ordered to go immediately in ſearch of the biſhops, and bring them to the houſe; the biſhops appearing the ſame evening [December 30] were ſequeſtered from parliament, ten of them being ſent to the Tower, the biſhops of *Durham* and *Norwich*,† by reaſon of their great age, and the ſervice they had done the church of God, by their writing and preaching, being committed to the cuſtody of the black rod, with an allowance of five pounds a day for their expences.§

The adverſaries of the biſhops in both houſes were extremely pleaſed with their unadviſed conduct; one ſaid, it was the *finger of God*, to bring that to paſs which otherwiſe could not have been compaſſed. There was but one gentleman in the whole debate that ſpoke in their behalf, and ſaid, *he did not believe they were guilty of high treaſon, but that they were ſtark mad, and therefore deſired they may be ſent to Bedlam.* Lord *Clarendon*‖ cenſures this proteſtation, as proceeding from the pride and paſſion of archbiſhop *Williams*; he admits that the eleven biſhops were ill adviſed, in going into his meaſures, and ſuffering themſelves to be precipitated into ſo haſty a reſolution, though he is certain there could be nothing of high treaſon in it. However, their behaviour gave ſuch ſcandal and offence, even to thoſe who paſſionately deſired to preſerve their function, that they had no compaſſion or regard for their perſons.

* Ruſhworth, part. 3. vol. i. p. 467. † *Morton* and *Hall.*

§ Fuller, b. xi. p. 188. ‖ Clarendon, vol. i. p. 355.

The objections that I have met with againſt the proteſtation, are theſe; *Firſt*, that it tended to deſtroy the very being of parliaments, becauſe it put a ſtop to all laws, orders, votes and reſolutions made in the abſence of the the biſhops. *Secondly*, the preſence of the biſhops is hereby made ſo eſſential that no act can paſs without them, which is claiming a *negative voice*, like the kings. *Thirdly*, the biſhops deſiring the king to command the clerk of the houſe of peers to enter their *proteſtation* on record, was derogatory to the rights of parliament, as though the king by his command could make a record of parliament. *Fourthly*, the annulling all laws that might be made at this time, when Ireland was in ſo much danger from the breaking out of the Iriſh maſſacre, was a ſort of conſpiring with the rebels to deſtroy that kingdom. *Fifthly*, it was ſaid, that beſides the unwarrantable expreſſions in the proteſtatation, the form of preſenting and tranſmitting it was unjuſtifiable.

On the other hand it was ſaid on behalf of the biſhops, that here was a manifeſt force put upon them; and a violence offered to the freedom of *one member* of parliament, is a violence offered to the whole; that therefore they had a right to proteſt, and guard their privileges, without being accountable for the ill conſequences that might follow. Yet ſurely this manner of aſſerting their privilege was irregular; ſhould they not have petitioned the lords to ſecure their paſſage to parliament, rather than have put a negative upon all their proceedings? I have met with only one learned writer who commends the biſhops upon this occaſion, and he advances them, in romantick language, to the rank of heroes; his words are theſe, "Had the biſhops done leſs they had fallen "ſhort of that fortitude which might juſtly be expected "from them. They had reaſon to conclude the *root and* "*branch* work would certainly go forward, and therefore to "be ſilent under ſuch an outrage would look like cowardice. "When the proſpect is thus menacing, and a man is almoſt "certain to be undone, the moſt creditable expedient is to "ſpend himſelf in a blaze, and flaſh to the laſt grain of "powder. To go out in a ſmoak and ſmother is but a mean "way of coming to nothing. To creep and crawl to a miſ"fortune is to ſuffer like an inſect. A man ought to fall

"with

"with dignity and honour, and to keep his mind erect "though his fortune happens to be cruſhed. This was the "biſhops meaning, and for making ſo handſome a retreat "they ought to ſtand commended upon record."* But with due regard to this reverend divine, was there no medium between being ſilent, and taking upon them in ſuch a criſis to ſtop all the buſineſs of parliament? For if the proceedings of the houſe of peers are null without the *biſhops*, it is no leſs certain, that thoſe of the houſe of commons are null without the *peers*; from whence it muſt follow, that the whole parliament was incapable of acting. Mr. *Rapin*† is of opinion, that the king hoped *that this affair might occaſion the diſſolution of the parliament*. But if he did, his majeſty was much miſtaken, for the biſhops and popiſh lords being now abſent, the majority of the whole houſe of peers was againſt the court; which vexed the queen and her faction, and put them upon ſuch an extravagant piece of revenge as effectually broke the peace of the kingdom, and rendered the king's affairs irretrievable.

His majeſty having been aſſured that the lord *Kimbolton*, and five of the moſt active members in the houſe of commons, (viz.) *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, *John Pym*, *John Hambden*, and *William Stroud*, eſqs; had invited the Scots into England, and were now the chief encouragers of thoſe tumults that had kept the biſhops and popiſh lords from the houſe; that they had aſperſed his government, and were endeavouring to deprive him of his royal power; in a word, that they were conſpiring to levy war againſt him, reſolved to impeach them of high treaſon; accordingly his majeſty ſent his attorney-general to the houſe with the articles [Jan. 3, 1641] and at the ſame time diſpatched officers to their houſes to ſeal up their trunks, papers, and doors; but the members not being ordered into cuſtody, as his majeſty expected, the king went himſelf to the houſe next day in the afternoon [Jan. 4] to ſeize them, attended with about two hundred officers and ſoldiers, armed with ſwords and piſtols; the gentlemen of the inns of court, who had offered their ſervice to defend the king's perſon, having had

* Collyer's Eccl. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 819. † Vol. i. p. 405, folio.

notice to be ready at an hour's warning.* The king having entered the houſe went directly to the ſpeaker's chair, and looking about him, ſaid with a frown, *I perceive the birds are fled, but I will have them whereſoever I can find them, for as long as theſe perſons are here, this houſe will never be in the right way that I heartily wiſh it; I expect therefore, that as ſoon as they come to the houſe that you ſend them to me.* Having then aſſured the members, that he deſigned no force upon them, nor breach of privilege, after a little time he withdrew; but as his majeſty was going out, many members cried aloud, ſo as he might hear them, *privilege! privilege!*† the houſe was in a terrible panick while the king was in the chair, the door of the houſe, with all the avenues, being crowded with officers and ſoldiers: As ſoon therefore as his majeſty was gone they adjourned till the next day, and then for a week. It was happy that the five members had notice of the king's coming, juſt time enough to withdraw into the city, otherwiſe it might have occaſioned the effuſion of blood, for without doubt the armed ſoldiers at the door waited only for the word to carry them away by force. Next day his majeſty went into the city [Jan. 5] and demanded them of the lord mayor and court of aldermen, then aſſembled by his order at Guildhall, profeſſing at the ſame time his reſolution to proſecute all who oppoſed the laws, whether *papiſts* or *ſeparatiſts*, and to defend the true proteſtant religion which his father profeſſed, and in which he would continue to the end of his life.‖ But though his majeſty was nobly entertained by the ſheriffs, he now perceived, that *this raſh and unadviſed action*, had loſt him the hearts of the citizens, there being no acclamations or huzzas, as uſual, only here and there a voice, as he went along in his coach, crying out, *privilege of parliament! privilege of parliament?* However he perſiſted in his reſolution, and Jan. 8 publiſhed a proclamation, commanding all magiſtrates, and officers of juſtice, to apprehend the accuſed members and carry them to the tower.

It is hard to ſay with any certainty, who put the king upon this unparalelled act of violence, a ſpecies of tyranny

* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 50. † Ibid. p. 51.

‖ Ruſhworth, part 3, vol. i. p. 479. which

which the moſt anbitrary of his predeceſſors had never attempted. If his majeſty deliberated at all upon what he was going about, we muſt conclude, that he intended *to diſſolve the parliament, and to return to his former methods of arbitrary government*; becauſe by the ſame rule that the king might take five members out of the houſe he might take out five hundred; beſides, ſeveral of the articles laid againſt them were equally chargeable on the majority of the houſe. It now appeared (ſays *Rapin*)* that the king was reſolved to be revenged on thoſe that had offended him; and that there was no further room to confide in his royal word. Some ſay that this was lord *Digby*'s mad project, who, when he found his majeſty, after his return out of the city, vexed at his diſappointment, offered to go with a ſelect company and bring them dead or alive; but the king was afraid of the conſequences of ſuch an enterprize; and *Digby* being ordered to attend in his place in the houſe, thought fit to withdraw out of the kingdom. Mr. *Eachard*,† with greater probability, lays it upon the queen and her cabal of papiſts; and adds, that when the king expreſſed his diſtruſt of the affair, her majeſty broke out into a violent paſſion, and ſaid, *Allez, poltron, &c. Go, coward, and pull thoſe rogues out by the ears, or never ſee my face any more*; which it ſeems (ſays the archdeacon) determined the whole matter.

* Vol. ii. p. 408, 409, folio edition.

† Biſhop *Warburton* is much diſpleaſed with Mr. *Neal* for quoting the authority, and giving into the opinion of *Eachard*. For he ſays, "It was a "known and uncontroverted fact, that the advice was *Digby*'s." To invalidate the ſuppoſition, that the meaſure proceeded from the queen's counſels, his lordſhip urges, that the queen was not capable of any vigorous ſteps, being intimidated with the fear of an impeachment, and actually projecting her eſcape: as if danger and alarm were incompatible with concerting and adopting the means of avoiding the threatening evil; as if *Digby* might not be the oſtenſible adviſer of meaſures, which others ſuggeſted and inſtigated. That he was the ſole author of this meaſure is not ſo uncontroverted a fact, as the biſhop conceived it to be: and it may be alledged in favour of Mr. *Neal* and *Eachard*, that amongſt the divers excuſes made for this action, ſome imputed it to the irritation and counſel of the women; telling the king, "That if he were king of England he would not ſuffer himſelf to "be baffled about ſuch perſons." And notice of this intended ſtep was given to theſe five gentlemen by a great court lady, their friend; who overheard ſome diſcourſe about it. *Whitelocke*'s Memorial, p. 50, 51. ED.

The citizens of London were ſo far from delivering up the five members, that they petitioned the king that they might be at liberty, and proceeded againſt according to the methods of parliament. At the ſame time they acquainted his majeſty with their apprehenſions of the ruin of trade, and of the danger of the proteſtant religion, by reaſon of the progreſs of the rebellion in Ireland, and the number of papiſts and other diſbanded officers about the court. His majeſty, finding he had loſt the city, fortified Whitehall with men and ammunition, and ſent canoneers into the Tower to defend it, if there ſhould be occaſion.* When the citizens complained of this, his majeſty replied, "That it was "done with an eye to their ſafety and advantage; that his "fortifying Whitehall was not before it was neceſſary, and "that if any citizens had been wounded it was undoubtedly "for their evil and corrupt demeanor." But they had no confidence in the king's protection. A thouſand mariners and ſailors offered to guard the five members to Weſtminſter by water upon the day of their adjournment, [Jan. 11] and the train bands offered the committee at Guildhall to do the ſame by land, which was accepted; and the offer of the apprentices refuſed. Things being come to this extremity, his majeſty, to avoid the hazard of an affront from the populace, took a fatal reſolution to leave Whitehall, and accordingly, Jan. 10, the day before the parliament was to meet, he removed with his queen and the whole royal family to Hampton Court, and two days after to Windſor, from whence he travelled by eaſy ſtages to York; never returning to London till he was brought thither as a criminal to execution.

By the king's deſerting his capital in this manner, and not returning when the ferment was over, he left the ſtrength and riches of the kingdom in the hands of his parliament; for next day the five members were conducted by water in triumph to Weſtminſter, the train bands of the city marching at the ſame time by land, who, after they had received the thanks of the houſe were diſmiſſed; and Serjeant *Skippon*, with a company of the city militia, was appointed to guard

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 408, folio edition.

the

the parliament houſe; *from this day* (ſays lord *Clarendon*‡) *we may reaſonably date the levying war in England, whatſoever has been ſince done being but the ſuperſtructures upon theſe foundations.* It muſt be confeſſed that two days after [Jan. 12] the king ſent a meſſage to the houſe, waving his proceedings with reſpect to the five members, and promiſing to be as careful of their privileges as of his life or crown; and a little after offered a general pardon; but the commons had too much reaſon at this time not to depend upon his royal promiſe; they inſiſted that the accuſed members ſhould be brought to their trial in a legal and parliamentary way; in order to which they deſired his majeſty to inform them, what proof there was againſt them; it being the undoubted right and privilege of parliament, *that no member can be proceeded againſt without the conſent of the houſe;* which his majeſty refuſing to comply with, removed further off to Windſor, and entered upon meaſures very inconſiſtent with the peace of the kingdom.†

To return to the biſhops; about a fortnight after their commitment [Jan. 17, 1742] they pleaded to the impeachment of the houſe of commons, *not guilty in manner and form*, and petitioned the lords for a ſpeedy trial, which was appointed for the 25th inſtant, but was put off from time to time, till the whole bench of biſhops was voted out of the houſe, and then entirely dropt; for the very next day after their commitment, the commons deſired the lords to reſume the conſideration of the bill that had been ſent up ſome months ago, *for taking away all temporal juriſdiction from thoſe in holy orders*, which the lords promiſed: it had paſſed the commons without any difficulty, about the time of the Iriſh inſurrection, and was laid aſide in the houſe of lords, as being thought impoſſible to paſs while the biſhops votes were entire: when it was revived at this juncture, the earl of *Bedford* and the biſhop of *Rocheſter* made a vigorous ſtand againſt it.* His lordſhip urged, that it was contrary to the uſage of parliament when a bill had been once rejected to bring it in a ſecond time the ſame ſeſſion. To which it was replied, that it was not the ſame bill [having a new title]

‡ Vol. i. p. 383. † Ruſhworth, part. 3, vol. i. p. 492.

* Clarendon, vol. i. p. 302, 416. though

though it was to accompliſh the ſame end. Beſides, the diſtreſs of the times required ſome extraordinary meaſures for their redreſs; and further, ſince the king had been graciouſly pleaſed to paſs an act for *the continuance of this parliament as long as they thought fit to ſit*, and thereby parted with his right of proroguing or diſſolving them, the nature of things was altered, and therefore they were not to be tied down to the ordinary forms in other caſes. The queſtion being put, whether the bill ſhould be read, it paſſed in the affirmative; upon which the conſideration of it was reſumed, and after ſome few debates the bill was paſſed by a very great majority, Feb. 6, 1641-2; the citizens of London expreſſing their ſatisfaction by ringing of bells and bonfires. But it was ſtill apprehended that the king would refuſe his aſſent, becauſe when he had been preſſed to it his majeſty had ſaid, it was a matter of great concernment, and therefore he would take time to conſider; however the commons not content with this delay ſent again to Windſor, to preſs his compliance upon the following reaſons: "becauſe the "ſubjects ſuffered by the biſhops exerciſing temporal juriſ-"diction, and making a party in the houſe of lords; becauſe "it was apprehended that there would be a happy conjunc-"tion of both houſes upon the excluſion of the biſhops; "and the ſigning this bill would be a comfortable pledge of "his majeſty's gracious aſſent to the future remedies of "thoſe evils which were to be preſented to him."§

This meſſage from the houſe of commons was ſeconded by thoſe of greateſt truſt about the king, who argued, "that "the combination againſt the biſhops was irreſiſtible; that "the paſſing this bill was the only way to preſerve the "the church; and that if the parliament was gratified in "this, ſo many perſons in both houſes would be fully ſa-"tisfied that they would join in no further alterations; "but if they were croſſed in this, they would endeavour "an extirpation of the biſhops and a demoliſhing of "the whole fabrick of the church." They argued further, "that force or indirect means having been made uſe of to "obtain the bill, *the king might by his power* bring the *biſhops*

§ Clarendon, vol. i. p. 427.

"in

"in again when the preſent diſtempers were compoſed." An argument by which his majeſty might have ſet aſide all his conceſſions, or *acts of grace*, (as he pleaſed to call them) to his parliament at once. But none of theſe reaſons would have prevailed, had not the queen made uſe of her ſovereign influence over the king. Her majeſty was made to believe by Sir *J. Culpeper*, that her own preſervation depended upon the king's conſent to the bill; that if his majeſty refuſed it, her journey into Holland would be ſtopt, and her perſon poſſibly endangered by ſome mutiny or inſurrection; whereas the uſing her intereſt with the king, would lay a popular obligation upon the kingdom, and make her acceptable to the parliament. Theſe arguments carrying a face of probability, her majeſty wreſted the king's reſolution from him, ſo that the bill was ſigned by commiſſion, February 14, together with another againſt preſſing ſoldiers, his majeſty being then at Canterbury, accompanying the queen in her paſſage to Holland. But his majeſty's ſigning them with ſo much reluctance did him a diſſervice.§ All men took notice of his diſcontent; and lord *Clarendon* ſays,* he has cauſe to believe that the king was prevailed with to ſign them, *becauſe he was told, that there being violence and force uſed to obtain them, they were therefore in themſelves null, and in quieter times might eaſily be revoked and diſannulled.* A dangerous doctrine, as it may tend to overthrow the moſt eſtabliſhed laws of a country! To give the reader the act itſelf:

"WHEREAS biſhops and other perſons in holy or-
"ders, ought not to be entangled with ſecular juriſdiction
"(the office of the miniſtry being of ſuch great importance
"that it will take up the whole man.) And for that it is
"found by long experience, that their intermedling with ſe-
"cular juriſdictions hath occaſioned great miſchiefs and ſcan-
"dals both to church and ſtate, his majeſty out of his reli-
"gious care of the church, and ſouls of his people, is gra-
"ciouſly pleaſed that it be enacted, and by authority of this
"preſent parliament be it enacted, that no archbiſhop or
"biſhop, or other perſon that now is or hereafter ſhall be

§ Ruſhworth, part 3. vol. i. p. 552.

* Vol. i. p. 429, 430.

"in

"in holy orders, ſhall at any time after the 15th day of Fe-
"bruary, in the year of our Lord 1641, have any ſeat or
"place, ſuffrage or vote, or uſe or execute any power or
"authority in the parliaments of this realm, nor ſhall be
"of the privy council of his majeſty, his heirs or ſucceſſors,
"or juſtices of the peace of oyer and terminer or gaol de-
"livery, or execute any temporal authority, by virtue of
"any commiſſion; but ſhall be wholly diſabled, and be un-
"capable to have, receive, uſe, or execute any of the ſaid
"offices, places, powers, authorities, and things aforeſaid.

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid,
"that all acts from and after the ſaid 15th of February,
"which ſhall be done or executed by any archbiſhop or
"biſhop, or other perſon whatſoever in holy orders; and
"all and every ſuffrage or voice given or delivered by
"them or any of them, or other thing done by them or
"any of them, contrary to the purport and true meaning
"of this act, ſhall be utterly void to all intents, conſtruc-
"tions, and purpoſes."

Thus the peerage of the biſhops and the whole ſecular power of the clergy, ceaſed for about twenty years; how far they contributed to it by their pride and ambition, their ſovereign contempt of the laity, and indiſcreet behaviour towards their proteſtant brethren, has been already obſerved. Their enemies ſaid the hand of God was againſt them, becauſe they had given too much countenance to the ridiculing of true devotion and piety, under the name of *godly puritaniſm*;§ becauſe they had ſilenced great numbers of miniſters eminent for learning and religion, for not complying with certain indifferent rites and ceremonies, while others who were vicious, and inſufficient for their office, were encouraged; becauſe they made a ſtricter enquiry after thoſe who faſted and prayed, and joined together in religious exerciſes, than after thoſe who were guilty of ſwearing, drunkenneſs, and other kinds of debauchery; becauſe they diſcouraged afternoon ſermons and lectures, and encouraged ſports and paſtimes on the Lord's day; becauſe they had

§ Baxter's Hiſtory, Life and Times, p. 33.

driven

driven many hundred families out of the land; and were, upon the whole, enemies to the civil intereſts of their country. Others obſerved, that moſt of them verged too much towards the ſee of Rome, and gave ground to ſuſpect that they were deſigning an union between the two churches, which at a time when the Roman catholicks in Ireland had embrued their hands in the blood of almoſt two hundred thouſand proteſtants, and were ſo numerous at home as to make large and publick collections of money to ſupport the king in his war againſt the Scots, was ſufficient to make every ſincere proteſtant jealous of their power. Beſides, the biſhop themſelves had been guilty of many oppreſſions; they had in a manner laid aſide the practice of preaching, that they might be the more at leiſure for the governing part of their function; though even here they devolved the whole of their juriſdiction upon their chancellors and under officers.§ They did not ſit in their conſiſtories to hear complaints, or do juſtice either to clergy or laity, but turned over the people to regiſters, proctors, and apparitors, who drew their money from them againſt equity and law, and uſed them at diſcretion. Few or none of them made their viſitations in perſon, or lived in their epiſcopal cities; by which means there was no kind of hoſpitality or liberality to the poor. Divine ſervice in the cathedrals was neglected or ill performed, for want of their preſence and inſpection. Inſtead of conferring *orders* at the mother church, they made uſe of the chapels of their private houſes, without requiring the aſſiſtance of their deans and chapters upon ſuch ſolemn occaſions; they pronounced the cenſures of deprivation and degradation in a monarchical and abſolute manner, not calling in the *deans and chapters to any ſhare of the adminiſtration*. And upon the whole, they did little elſe but receive their rents, indulge their eaſe, conſult their grandeur, and lord it over their brethren. Theſe were the popular complaints againſt them, which made the citizens rejoice at their downfall, and attend the paſſing the bill with bonfires and illuminations. However, if all theſe things had not concurred in a nice and critical juncture of affairs, the

§ Collyer's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 820.

attempts

attempts of the houſe of commons would have been in vain; neither the king nor peers being heartily willing to deprive them of their ſeats in parliament. This was one of the laſt bills the king paſſed; and the only law which he enacted in prejudice of the eſtabliſhed church.* Here his majeſty made a ſtand, and by a meſſage ſent to both houſes, deſired not to be preſt to any one ſingle act further, till the whole affair of church government and the liturgy was ſo digeſted and ſettled, that he might ſee clearly what was fit to remain, as well as what was fit to be taken away.

* Ruſhworth, part. 3, vol. i. p. 554.

CHAP. XI.

From the KING's *leaving* Whitehall *to the commencement of the* Civil War.

ALL things now tended to a rupture between the king and parliament; the legiſlature being divided and the conſtitution broken. While the royal family was at Hampton Court, the officers and ſoldiers who were quartered about Kingſton, to the number of two hundred, made ſuch diſturbances, that the militia of the county was raiſed to diſperſe them. After a few days the king removed to Windſor, where a cabinet council was held in preſence of the queen, in which, beſides the reſolution of paſſing no more bills, already mentioned, it was further agreed, that her majeſty being to accompany the princeſs her daughter to Holland, in order to her marriage with the prince of Orange, ſhould take with her the crown jewels, and pledge them for ready money; with which ſhe ſhould purchaſe arms and ammunition, &c. for the king's ſervice. She was alſo to treat with the kings of France and Spain for four thouſand ſoldiers, by the mediation of the pope's nuncio. It was further reſolved, that his majeſty ſhould come to no agreement with the parliament, till he underſtood the ſucceſs of her negociations, but ſhould endeavour to get poſſeſſion of the important fortreſſes of Portſmouth and Hull, where the arms and artillery of the late army in the north were depoſited. Mr. *Eachard* ſays it was reſolved, that the queen ſhould remove to Portſmouth, and the king to Hull; that being poſſeſſed of thoſe places of ſtrength, where his friends might reſort to him with ſafety, he ſhould ſit ſtill till the hot ſpirits at Weſtminſter could be brought to reaſon;* but this important ſecret being diſcovered, the parliament entered upon more effectual meaſures for their ſafety: they ſent to Col. *Goring*, governor of Portſmouth, not to receive any forces into the

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 433, folio edition.

town

town but by authority of the king, ſignified by both houſes of parliament. Sir *John Hotham* was ſent to ſecure the magazine at Hull; and a guard was placed about the tower of London, to prevent the carrying out any ordnance or ammunition without conſent of parliament. Lord *Clarendon*, and after him Mr. *Eachard*, cenſure the two houſes for exerciſing theſe *firſt acts of ſovereignty*; how far they were neceſſary for their own and the publick ſafety, after what had paſt, and the reſolutions of the councils at Windſor, I leave with the reader.

The command of the militia had been uſually in the crown; though *the law had not poſitively determined in whom that great power was lodged*, as Mr. *Whitlocke* undertook to prove before the commiſſioners at Uxbridge:* the king claimed the ſole diſpoſal of it, whereas the parliament inſiſted that it was not in the king alone, but in the king and parliament jointly; and that when the kingdom is in imminent danger, if the royal power be not exerted in its defence, the *military force* may be raiſed without it. But waving the queſtion *right*, the parliament deſired the command of the militia might be put into ſuch hands as they could confide in only for two years, till the preſent diſorders were quieted, this the king refuſed, unleſs the houſe would firſt give up the queſtion of *right*, and veſt the ſole command of the militia in

* "In the treaty at Uxbridge, printed in King Charles's works, and in "Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles of England," and ſeparate by itſelf in quarto, by *Litchfield* 1645; I can find, "ſays Dr. *Grey*, no ſuch offer "of proof made by Mr. *Whitlocke*." This is true, and the reaſon may be aſſigned; the piece referred to, exhibits only the requiſitions on one ſide, and the anſwers on the other, without going into the detail of matters that were the ſubjects of converſation merely; but becauſe the aſſertion of Mr. *Neal* be not found in the "relation of the Treaty of Uxbridge," and he ſubjoins no authority for it, Dr. *Grey* adds, "he will not I hope take it "amiſs, if we do not implicitly take his word." The reader will judge of the candour and liberality of this inſinuation, when he is informed that Mr. *Neal* ſpoke on the *beſt authority*, that of Mr. *Whitelocke* himſelf, Memorials, p. 124; who further tells us, that a motion was made to appoint a day to hear him and Sir *Edward Hyde*, who advanced the doctrine of the king's abſolute power over the militia, debate the point; but by the interference of the earl of *Southampton*, and ſome other gentlemen, the debate was declined. But the commiſſioners of both kingdoms on their return to their quarters, gave *Whitlocke* thanks, and ſaid "the honour of parliament "was concerned therein, and vindicated by him. Ed.

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the crown by form of law; which the parliament declined, and voted the adviſers of that anſwer enemies of the kingdom.

Multitudes of petitions were preſented to the houſes from the city of London, and from the counties of Middleſex, Hertford, Eſſex, &c.† beſeeching them to provide for the ſafety of the nation, by diſarming papiſts, by taking care of the proteſtants in Ireland, by bringing evil counſellors to puniſhment, by putting the kingdom into a poſture of defence, and by committing the forts and caſtles of the kingdom, to ſuch perſons as both houſes could confide in; but their hands were tied, becauſe the king who has the ſole execution of the laws, would act no longer in concert with his parliament. The commons, encouraged by the ſpirit of the people, petitioned a ſecond time for the militia, and framed an ordinance, with a liſt of the names of ſuch perſons in whom they could confide. His majeſty, in order to amuſe the houſe and gain time, told them, *that he could not diveſt himſelf of that juſt power that God and the laws of the kingdom had placed in him for the defence of his people, for any indefinite time.* After this they preſented a third petition to the king at *Theobalds*, [March 1] in which they proteſt, *that if his majeſty perſiſts in that denial, the dangers and diſtempers of*

† Dr. *Grey* obſerves, with a ſneer, that amongſt theſe petitions were ſome remarkable ones; namely, one from the porters 15000 in number; another in the name of many thouſands of the poor people; and a third from the tradeſmen's wives in and about the city of London, delivered by Mrs. *Anne Stagge*, a brewers wife. "Theſe petitions, "ſays the Doctor, "would "have been worthy a place in Mr. *Neal*'s curious collection." The contempt which Dr. *Grey* caſts on theſe petitions, will not appear generous or juſt to one who reflects on the objects of theſe petitions, which were highly intereſting; who eſtimates things not by the fluctuation and factitious claims of rank and wealth, but by the ſtandard of reaſon and rectitude; and who reſpects the rights of property, how ſmall ſoever that property be, of ſecurity and of conſcience, which attach themſelves to every claſs and order of men. With reſpect to the petition of the virtuous matrons, and the reſpect with which it was treated by parliament, who commiſſioned Mr. *Pym* to return an anſwer in perſon, both are ſanctioned by the Roman hiſtory: the legiſlator of that great empire, when towering to its utmoſt ſplendor, received and encouraged the petitions of women. Macauley's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 187, 88, the note. The female petitioners in the inſtance before us, by their public ſpirit and the ſhare they took in the common calamities produced by oppreſſion, did honour to themſelves and their ſex; and the conduct of the houſe towards them, was not leſs politick than complaiſant. ED.

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*the kingdom were ſuch as would endure no longer delay; and therefore, if his Majeſty will not ſatisfy their deſires, they ſhall be inforced, for the ſafety of the kingdom, to diſpoſe of the militia by authority of both houſes of parliament, and they reſolve to do it accordingly:** beſeeching his majeſty at the ſame time to reſide near his parliament. The king was ſo enflamed with this proteſtation, that he told them, *he was amazed at their meſſage, but ſhould not alter his reſolution in any point.*† And inſtead of reſiding near his parliament he removed to Newmarket, and by degrees to York. Upon this the commons voted, March 4, *That the kingdom be forthwith put into a poſture of defence by authority of both houſes, in ſuch a way as is already agreed upon by both houſes of parliament*;‖ and next day they publiſhed an ordnance for that purpoſe. March 9, both houſes preſented a declaration to the king at Newmarket, "expreſſing the cauſes of their "fears and jealouſies, and their earneſt deſires, that his ma-"jeſty would put from him thoſe wicked and miſchievous "counſellors, that have cauſed theſe differences between him "and his parliament; that he would come to Whitehall, and "continue his own and the prince's reſidence near his par-"liament, which he may do with more honour and ſafety "than in any other place. We beſeech your majeſty (ſay "they) to conſider in what ſtate you are, and how eaſy the "way is to happineſs, greatneſs, and honour, if you will join "with your parliament; this is all we expect, and for this "we will return you our lives and fortunes, and do every "thing we can to ſupport your juſt ſovereignty and power. "But it is not words alone that will ſecure us; that which "we deſire is ſome real effect in granting thoſe things that "the preſent neceſſities of the kingdom require." They add further, "that his majeſty's removal to ſo great a diſtance "not only obſtructed the proceedings of parliament, but "looked like an alienation of the kingdom from himſelf "and family."§ His majeſty's beſt friends adviſed him to take this opportunity of returning to London; *and it muſt be ſolely imputed to his majeſty's own reſolution* (ſays lord *Clarendon*) *that he took not that courſe*; but inſtead of this he

* Ruſhworth, part 3, vol. i. p. 523. † Ibid. p. 524.

‖ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 419, folio ed. § Ruſhworth, part 3, vol. i. p. 528.

broke

broke out into a paſſion, and told them, he had his fears for the true proteſtant profeſſion and the laws as well as they: "What would you have? (ſays his majeſty) have I violated "your laws, or denied to paſs any bill for the eaſe of my "ſubjects? I do not aſk you what you have done for me. "God ſo deal with me and mine, as my intentions are up-"right for maintaining the true proteſtant profeſſion and the "laws of the land." Being aſked by the earl of *Pembroke*, "whether he would not grant the militia for a little time?" his majeſty ſwore by God, *no, not for an hour.* When he was put in mind of his frequent violation of the laws, his majeſty replied, that he had made ample reparation, and did not expect to be reproached with the actions of his miniſters.*

As his majeſty inſiſted upon the militia, he claimed alſo an *unalienable right to all the forts and garriſons of the kingdom, with an uncontroulable power to diſpoſe of the arms and ammunition laid up in them, as his proper goods.* This the parliament diſputed, and maintained, that they were his majeſty's only in *truſt for the publick*, and that in diſcharge of this truſt the parliament ſitting are his counſellors; for if the king had ſuch a property in the forts and magazines as he claimed, he might then ſell or transfer them into an enemy's hand as abſolutely as a private perſon may his lands and goods; which is a ſtrange maxim, and contrary to the act of 40 Edw. III.

Many declarations paſſed between the king and his parliament on this argument, while each party were getting poſſeſſion of all that they could. The king was contriving to make ſure of the magazine of Hull, but the parliament were before hand with his majeſty, and not only ſecured that important fortreſs, but got the command of the fleet [March 31,] which ſubmitted to the earl of *Warwick*, whom the parliament appointed to be their admiral.

The ordinance of March 5, *For diſpoſing of the militia by both houſes of parliament without the king, in caſes of extreme danger to the nation, of which danger the two houſes were the proper judges, with the ſubſequent reſolutions of March* 16, were the GRAND CRISIS which divided the houſe into two parties. Mr. *Hyde*, afterward lord *Clarendon*, Mr. *Bridgeman*, Mr. *Palmer*, and other eminent lawyers and gentlemen,

* Ruſhworth, part 3, vol. i. p. 533.

having given their opinion againſt the ordinance, quitted their ſeats, and retired to the king. On the other hand, ſerjeant *Maynard*, *Whitlocke*, *Glyn*, *Selden*, the lord keeper *Littleton*, Mr. *Lee*, *St. John*, *Grimſton*, and divers others of no leſs judgment in law, and of a ſuperior intereſt in their country, accepted of commiſſions in the *militia*, and continued in the ſervice of the parliament. Many retired to their country ſeats, and were for ſtanding neuter in this nice conjuncture; but thoſe that remained in the houſe were about three hundred, beſides fifty that were employed in the country, and about fifty more abſent with leave; the reſt went over to the king, and were ſome time after expelled the houſe. But from this time the ſitting members were more reſolute, and met with leſs oppoſition.

March 15, his majeſty acquainted the houſes from Huntingdon, with his deſign to reſide for ſome time at York; and adds, that he expected "they ſhould pay a due regard to "his prerogative, and to the laws eſtabliſhed; and that none "of his ſubjects ſhould preſume, under colour of any order "or ordinance of parliament, to which his majeſty is not a "party, to do or execute what is not warrantable by the "laws." His majeſty's intention, by this meſſage, was to put a ſtop to all further proceedings of the parliament, for their own and the nation's ſecurity, till they had digeſted all their grievances into a body. Upon receiving this declaration both houſes came to theſe reſolutions among others:

March 16, *Reſolved*, "That thoſe who adviſe his majeſty "to abſent himſelf from the parliament, are enemies to the "peace of the kingdom, and juſtly ſuſpected to be favourers "of the rebellion in Ireland.*

Reſolved, "That the ordinance of parliament for the "militia is not inconſiſtent with the oath of allegiance; but "that the ſeveral commiſſions granted by his majeſty under "the great ſeal to the lieutenants of the ſeveral counties are "illegal and void.†

Reſolved, "That in caſes of extreme danger, and of his "majeſty's refuſal to act in concert with his parliament, the "people ought, by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, "to obey the ordinance of both houſes concerning the

* Ruſhworth, p. 534. † Rapin, vol. ii. p. 422, folio edit.

militia;

" *militia;* and that ſuch perſons as ſhall be appointed deputy " lieutenants, and are approved by both houſes, ought to " take upon them to execute their offices.

It was reſolved further, " That the two houſes of par- " liament being the repreſentative body of the whole nation, " and two parts in three of the legiſlature, were the proper " judges of the ſtate and condition of it.

Reſolved, " That when both houſes agreed that the nation " was in extreme danger, as they now did, the king was " obliged, by the laws of nature as well as by the laws of " the land, to agree to thoſe remedies which they who are " his great council ſhould adviſe him to. This ſeems evident " from the ſtatute of 25 *Edw.* III. entitled, the Statute of " Proviſors of Benefices, which ſays, that *the right of the* " *crown of England, and the laws of the realm, is ſuch, that* " *upon the miſchiefs and damages that happen to this realm,* " *our ſovereign lord the king ought, and is bound by his oath,* " *with the accord of his people in parliament, to ordain remedy* " *for removing thereof.*†

Reſolved, " That if in ſuch a time of danger his majeſty " deſerts his parliament, or refuſes to concur with them in " ordaining ſuch remedies as are abſolutely neceſſary for the " common ſafety, then the two houſes ought to look upon " themſelves as the guardians of the people, and provide " for their defence.

Reſolved, " That when the lords and commons, which is " the ſupreme court of judicature in the kingdom, ſhall de- " clare *what the law of the land is;* to have this not only " queſtioned but contradicted, and a command that it ſhould " not be obeyed, is a high breach of the privilege of par- " liament."

His majeſty on the other hand averred, " That the king- " dom was in no danger, but from the arbitrary proceedings " of the parliament, who were invading the royal preroga- " tive, and ſubverting the conſtitution in church and ſtate.

" That if the kingdom was really in danger, HE was the " *guardian* and protector of his people, and was anſwerable " to God only for his conduct; but that parliaments were " temporary and diſſolvable at his pleaſure: that he ſhould

† Ruſhworth, p. 669.

" therefore conſider them as his counſellors and adviſers, " but not his commanders or dictators.

His majeſty admitted, " That in ſome doubtful caſes the " parliament were judges of the law, but he did not think " himſelf bound to renounce his own judgment and under- " ſtanding, by paſſing laws that might ſeparate from his " crown that which was in a manner eſſential to it, (viz.) *a* " *power to protect his ſubjects.*"

To which the commons replied, " That the king alone " could not be judge in this caſe, for the king judges not " matters of law but by his courts; nor can the courts of " law be judges of the ſtate of the kingdom againſt the par- " liament, becauſe they are inferior; but as the law is de- " termined by the judges, who are the king's council, ſo " the ſtate of the nation is to be determined by the two " houſes of parliament, who are the proper judges of the " conſtitution. If therefore the lords and commons in par- " liament aſſembled declare this or the other matter to be " according to law, or according to the conſtitution of the " kingdom, it is not lawful for any ſingle perſon or inferior " court to contradict it."*

But inſtead of tiring the reader with a long paper war in ſupport of theſe propoſitions, I will make one general remark, which may ſerve as a key to the whole controverſy. *If we ſuppoſe the kingdom to be in its natural ſtate, after the king had withdrawn from his parliament, and would act no longer in concert with them. If the conſtitution was then entire, and the moſt conſiderable grievances redreſſed. If the laws in being were a ſufficient ſecurity againſt the return of popery and arbitrary power, and there was good reaſon to believe thoſe laws would have their free courſe;* then the king's arguments are ſtrong and concluſive; for in all ordinary caſes, the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the due execution of the laws, is veſted in the crown; nor may the lords and commons in parliament make new laws, or ſuſpend and alter old ones, without his majeſty's conſent. But on the other hand, *if in the opinion*† *of the lords and commons in parliament aſſembled,*

* Ruſhworth, part 3. vol. i. p. 698. Rapin, p. 477.

† It ſhould rather be *if, according to the opinion* of the lords and commons &c.

who

who are the repreſentatives of the whole nation, the conſtitution is broken; by the king's deſerting his two houſes, and reſolving to act no longer in concert with them, or by any other overt-acts of his majeſty's council, inconſiſtent with the conſtitution. Or if both houſes ſhall declare the religion and liberties of the nation to be in imminent danger, either from foreign or domeſtick enemies, and the king will not concur with his parliament to apply ſuch remedies as the wiſdom of his two houſes ſhall think neceſſary;* then certainly, after proper petitions and remonſtrances, they may *from the neceſſity of the caſe* provide for the publick ſafety, as much as in the caſe of nonage or captivity of the prince. In order therefore to decide in the preſent controverſy, we muſt make an eſtimate of the true condition of the nation; whether it was in its natural ſtate; or whether the conſtitution being divided and broken by the king's deſerting his parliament, the legal form of government was not diſſolved? In the former caſe I apprehend the king was in the right; in the latter, the parliament.

This unhappy controverſy was managed with great warmth and mutual reproaches, though with this decency, that the king did not charge his parliament with criminal deſigns, but only a malignant party in both houſes; nor did the parliament reproach the perſon of the *king*, but laid all their grievances upon his evil counſellors; however, it is eaſy to obſerve, that it was impoſſible the two parties ſhould agree, becauſe they reaſoned upon a different principle; the king ſuppoſing the nation was in a ſound ſtate, and that therefore the laws ought to take their natural courſe; the parliament apprehending the conſtitution broken, and that therefore it was their duty to provide for the publick ſafety, even without the king's concurrence. But we ſhall have more light into this controverſy hereafter.

* Rather *if*, as both houſes *ſhall declare, the religion and liberties of the nation be in imminent danger, &c.*

The controverſy turns not on the opinion and declaration of the two houſes, but on the truth of the facts ſtated. And theſe amendments preſerve the contraſt between the oppoſite parts of Mr. *Neal*'s propoſition: which he is very politely repreſented by biſhop *Warburton* as *not knowing how to ſtate*. Ed.

To return to the hiſtory. Though the Scots were made eaſy at home, being in full poſſeſſion of their civil and religious rights, yet they could not remain unconcerned ſpectators of the ruin of the Engliſh parliament, partly out of gratitude for the favours they had received, and partly from an apprehenſion that the ſecurity of their own ſettlement, as well as the introducing their kirk diſcipline into England, depended upon it. While the king was at Windſor, the Scots commiſſioners at London offered their mediation between his majeſty and his two houſes: in their petition they tell his majeſty, "that the liberties of England and Scot-"land muſt ſtand and fall together;" and after ſome expreſſions of grief for the diſtractions of England, which they conceive to ariſe from the plots of the papiſts and prelates, whoſe aim has been not only to prevent any further reformation, but to ſubvert the purity and truth of religion; they offer their ſervice to compoſe the differences, and beſeech his majeſty "to have recourſe to the faithful advices of both "houſes of parliament, which will not only quiet the minds "of his Engliſh ſubjects, but remove the jealouſies and "fears that may poſſeſs the hearts of his ſubjects in his other "kingdoms." In their paper of the ſame date to both houſes of parliament, January 15, "They return thanks to "the parliament of England for the aſſiſtance given to the "kingdom of Scotland in ſettling their late troubles; and "next to the providence of God and his majeſty's goodneſs, "they acknowledge their obligations to the mediation and "brotherly kindneſs of the Engliſh parliament; and now "by way of return, and to diſcharge the truſt repoſed in "them, they offer their mediation between them and the "king, beſeeching the houſes to conſider of the faireſt and "moſt likely methods to compoſe the differences in church "and ſtate." Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, their deſigns was to get epiſcopacy brought down and preſbytery ſet up, to the *firſt of which moſt of the members were willing to conſent, but few were cordial for the latter.*

The king was highly diſpleaſed with the Scots *mediation*, and ſent them word that the caſe of England and Scotland was different; in Scotland (ſays his majeſty) epiſcopacy was never fully ſettled by law, and is found to be contrary to the genius

genius of the people; but in England it is rooted in the very conſtitution, and has flouriſhed without interruption for eighty years; he therefore commands them not to tranſact between him and his parliament, without firſt communicating their propoſitions to him in private. At the ſame time his majeſty ſent letters into Scotland, and ordered the chancellor to uſe his utmoſt efforts to keep that kingdom to a neutrality. On the other hand, the parliament threw themſelves into the arms of the Scots; they thanked the commiſſioners for their kind and ſeaſonable interpoſition, and prayed them to continue their endeavours to remove the preſent diſtractions, and to preſerve the union between the two kingdoms. They wrote likewiſe into Scotland to the ſame purpoſe; the effects of which will appear at the next meeting of their parliament.

In the mean time, the lords and commons, in order to encourage the expectations of their friends in both kingdoms, publiſhed the following declaration of their intentions:

Die Sabbati, April 9, 1642.

"The lords and commons declare, that they intend a due "and neceſſary reformation of the government and diſcipline "of the church, and to take away nothing in the one but "what will be evil and juſtly offenſive, or at leaſt unneceſſary "and burthenſome; and for the better effecting thereof, "ſpeedily to have conſultation with godly and learned di-"vines; and becauſe this will never of itſelf attain the ends "ſought therein, they will uſe their utmoſt endeavours to "eſtabliſh learned and preaching miniſters, with a good and "ſufficient maintenance, throughout the whole kingdom, "wherein many dark corners are miſerably deſtitute of the "means of ſalvation, and many poor miniſters want neceſ-"ſary proviſion."

This declaration was ordered to be publiſhed by the ſheriffs of the ſeveral counties, for the ſatisfaction of the people.

The diſtance between London and York increaſed the miſunderſtanding between the king and his parliament; numbers of paſſengers travelling between the two places with ſecret intelligence, the parliament appointed the following oath to be taken by all who came from the king's quarters.

"I

" *I A. B. do ſwear from my heart, that I will not, di-*
" *rectly or indirectly, adhere unto, or willingly aſſiſt the king in*
" *this war, or in this cauſe againſt the parliament, nor any*
" *forces raiſed without conſent of the two houſes of parliament,*
" *in this cauſe or war. And I do likewiſe ſwear, that my*
" *coming, and ſubmitting myſelf under the power and protec-*
" *tion of parliament, is without any manner of deſign what-*
" *ſoever to the prejudice of the proceedings of this preſent par-*
" *liament, and without direction, privity, or advice of the*
" *king, or any of his council or officers, other than I have made*
" *known. So help me God, and the contents of this book.*"

This was called the NEGATIVE OATH, and was voted April 5, 1642.

As ſoon as the correſpondence was thus interrupted, numbers of libellous *news-papers*, *mercuries*, and *weekly intelligencers*, began to appear full of ſcandal and reproach, whereby the conduct of great and wiſe men was aſperſed, innumerable falſe reports ſpread through the nation, and the ſpirits of the people ſharpened for war. On the ſide of the king was *Mercurius Aulicus*; and on the ſide of the parliament *Mercurius Britannicus:* when the king fixed his court at Oxford, the learned garriſon drew their pens for the king, as the politicians of London did for the parliament; and while the armies were in the field, theſe gentlemen employed themſelves in celebrating their wonderful exploits to the people; ſo that beſides the abovementioned weekly papers, there appeared *Mercurius Ruſticus—Pragmaticus—Politicus—Publicus—Diurnals* and *Intelligencers* without number. The pulpits alſo were employed in the ſame work; the preachers dealt too much in politicks, and made free with the characters and actions of their ſuperiors: there were incendiaries on both ſides; the king's preachers enhanced his majeſty's character, and treated the parliament as rebels and traitors;* and the parliament miniſters were no leſs culpable, for though they avoided ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of the perſon of the king, they declaimed againſt the hierarchy, againſt evil and popiſh counſellors, and glanced at the queen herſelf, as preventing the harmony between his majeſty and the par-

* Ruſhworth, part 3, vol. i. p. 760.

liament,

liament, and puſhing him upon meaſures that were deſtructive to the proteſtant religion and the conſtitution of their country; which, how true ſoever in itſelf, was a ſubject very unfit for the pulpit.

The great reſort of the nobility and gentry to the court at York, gave his majeſty new life, and encouraged him to treat his parliament with very ſovereign language; he ſent them word, that *he would have nothing extorted from him; nor would he grant them any thing further that the law had put into his hands.*§ At the ſame time his majeſty attempted to ſeize upon the magazine of Hull, purſuant to the ſcheme formed at Windſor in January laſt; and accordingly appeared before the town with three hundred horſe April 23, but was denied entrance with more than twelve attendants; whereupon, after an hour's time allowed for deliberation, his majeſty cauſed Sir *John Hotham* the governor to be proclaimed a traitor by two heralds at arms, and then retired to York full of reſentment for the affront he had received, which he did not fail to communicate to the parliament, demanding juſtice againſt Sir *John Hotham* according to law; however the parliament ſtood by their governor, and ordered the arms and ammunition in Hull to be removed to the Tower of London, except what was neceſſary for the defence of the place.

Upon his majeſty's return to York, he commanded the committee of parliament, which were ſpies upon his actions, to retire to London, but they excuſed themſelves, as being ordered to continue by thoſe who employed them. His majeſty alſo ſummoned the nobility and gentry of the northern counties to meet him at York, [May 12,] when he acquainted them with his reaſons for refuſing the *militia* bill, and with the treaſonable behaviour of Sir *John Hotham* in keeping him out of Hull, and depriving him of his magazine, *being his own proper goods.* "Since treaſon is countenanced "ſo near me (ſays his majeſty) it is time to look to my ſafety; "none can blame me to apprehend danger, I am therefore "reſolved to have a guard——" The gentry were divided in their ſentiments about the king's conduct, and gave anſwers as they were differently affected, though all were wil-

§ Rapin, p. 354.

ling

ling to ſerve his majeſty *according to law.* After ſeveral other aſſemblies of the nobility, gentry, freeholders, and miniſters of York had been held by his majeſty's command, in all which he declared, that *he was reſolved to defend the true proteſtant religion eſtabliſhed in the reign of queen* Elizabeth; *to govern by law for the future; and that he had no intention to make war with his parliament, except it were in way of defence;** a regiment of horſe was raiſed for the ſecurity of his majeſty's perſon, and the command given to the prince of Wales. This was the firſt levy of troops in the civil war, his majeſty having as yet only a regiment of the militia of ſix hundred men, beſides the *reformadoes* that attended the court.

About the ſame time [May 17] the king ordered the courts of juſtice to remove from Weſtminſter to York, and ſent for ſerjeant major *Skippon*, an old experienced officer, to attend him in perſon, which the parliament prevented; but were not ſo ſucceſsful in relation to the *great ſeal*, which the *keeper* ſent privately to the king by the meſſenger that came for it [May 22,] and next day followed himſelf. This was a ſenſible diſappointment to the parliament, eſpecially as it was attended with the loſs of nine other peers, who deſerted their ſtations in the houſe about the ſame time, and went over to the king, as did conſiderable numbers of the commons, his majeſty having now given orders to all *his friends* to leave the houſe and repair to him, which, inſtead of breaking up the parliament, as was intended, ſtrengthened the hands of the *country party*, and gave them an opportunity after ſome time of expelling *the deſerters*.

Things being come to this criſis, the parliament voted May 20, "That it was now apparent that the king, ſeduced "by wicked counſel, intended to make war upon the parlia- "ment.——That whenſoever the king maketh ſuch war it "is a breach of truſt, contrary to his coronation oath, and "tending to the diſſolution of the government.——That "whoſoever ſhall ſerve or aſſiſt his majeſty in ſuch war are "traitors, and have been ſo adjudged by two acts of par- "liament 11 *Rich.* II. and 1 *Henry* IV.——May 28, they

* Ruſhworth, part 3, vol. i. p. 615, 624. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 434, 35, fol. ed.

"ordered

" ordered all ſheriffs and juſtices of peace, &c. to make " ſtay of all arms and ammunition carrying to York, and " to diſperſe all forces coming together by the king's com- " miſſion."

To juſtify their reſpective proceedings, both parties publiſhed their reaſons to the world; a ſummary of which being contained in the *parliament's memorial* of May 19, and the *king's anſwer*, I ſhall give the reader an abſtract of them.

The parliament in their memorial avow, in the preſence of the all-ſeeing Deity, " That the ſincerity of their endea- " vours have been directed only by the king's honour and " the publick peace, free from all private aims, perſonal re- " ſpects and paſſions whatſoever. They complain of his " majeſty's being drawn into the north, far from his parlia- " ment, which has given occaſion to many falſe rumours and " ſcandalous reports, to the interrupting the good under- " ſtanding between the king and his parliament.——They " take notice of thoſe evil counſellors which have prevailed " with his majeſty to make infractions upon his royal word, " as that, *on the word of a king;* and *as I am a gentleman,* " *I will redreſs the grievances of my people.*——*I am reſolved* " *to put myſelf on the love and affection of my Engliſh ſubjects.* " *—We do engage ſolemnly, on the word of a king, that the* " *ſecurity of all, and every one of you, from violence, is and* " *ſhall be as much my care, as the preſervation of us and our* " *children.* Since which time the ſtudies and chambers of " ſome of the members had been broken open, and ſix " of them attempted to be ſeized in the parliament-houſe, " the blame of which they are willing to impute to his evil " counſellors. And though the king diſavows ſuch coun- " ſellors, we hold it our duty (ſay they) humbly to avow, " there are ſuch, elſe we muſt ſay, that all the ill things done " in his majeſty's name have been done by himſelf, wherein " we ſhould neither follow the direction of the law, which " ſays, *the king can do no wrong;* nor the affection of our " own hearts, which is to clear his majeſty as much as may " be of all miſgovernment, and to lay the fault upon his mi- " niſters.‖ If any ill be done in matters of ſtate the council " are to anſwer for it, and if in matters of law the judges.

‖ Ruſhworth, part 3, vol. i. p. 693.

" They

" They acknowledge the many excellent acts that his majeſty " had lately paſſed for the advantage of his ſubjects," but then add, " that in none of them have they bereaved his " majeſty of any juſt, neceſſary, or profitable prerogative of " the crown. They declare their diſallowance of all ſeditious " libels, but complain of many mutinous petitions that have " been preſented to the king to divide him from his parlia- " ment; and whereas the king had inſinuated, that the " church was to be deſtroyed to make way for *preſbytery*, " they aver, that they deſire no more than to encourage piety " and learning, and to place learned and pious preachers in " all pariſhes, with a ſufficient maintenance.——Upon the " whole, they *aver the kingdom to be in imminent danger from* " *enemies abroad, and a popiſh and diſcontented party at home,* " *and that in ſuch a caſe the kingdom muſt not be without* " *means to preſerve itſelf.* They aver that the ordinary means " of providing for the publick ſafety is in the *king and par-* " *liament;*‖ but becauſe the king being only a ſingle perſon " may be liable to many accidents, the wiſdom of the ſtate " in ſuch caſes has intruſted the two *houſes of parliament* to " ſupply what ſhall be wanting on the part of the *prince*, as " in *caſes of captivity, nonage, or where the* ROYAL TRUST " IS NOT DISCHARGED; which the lords and commons " having declared to be the preſent caſe, there needs no fur- " ther authority to affirm it; nor is it in the power of any " perſon or court to revoke that judgment. They then " mention ſome proofs of the nation's danger, and conclude " with praying for the protection of Almighty God upon " the king, and beſeech his majeſty to caſt from him his " evil counſellors; aſſuring him and the whole kingdom, that " they deſire nothing more than to preſerve the purity and " power of religion, to honour the king in all his juſt pre- " rogatives, and to endeavour to the utmoſt of their power, " that all pariſhes may have learned and pious preachers, " and thoſe preachers competent livings. And they doubt " not to overcome all difficulties, if the people do not de- " ſert them to their own undoing; and even in this caſe, " *they declare they will not betray their truſt, but look beyond* " *their own lives and eſtates, as thinking nothing worth enjoy-*

‖ Ibid. p. 699.

" *ing*

" *ing without the liberty, peace, and ſafety of the kingdom, nor* " *any thing too much to be hazarded for the obtaining of it.*"

His majeſty, in his anſwer, is not willing to charge his parliament with *miſbehaviour*, but only a malignant party in both houſes. He denies the ſeveral plots and conſpiracies mentioned in their declaration, and takes notice of their miſapplying the word *parliament* to the vote of both houſes, whereas the king is an eſſential part of the parliament. His majeſty confeſſes that his going to the houſe of commons to ſeize the five members was an error in form, but maintains the matter of the accuſation to be juſt, and therefore thinks he ought not to be reproached with it. He neither affirms nor denies the deſign of bringing the army to *London*, but quibbles with the words *deſign* and *reſolution*, (as *Rapin* obſerves) king *Charles* I. being very ſkilful in ſuch ſort of ambiguities. His majeſty made no reply to the parliament's reaſoning upon the head, of the *king's neglecting to diſcharge his truſt*, but ſeems to inſinuate, that the parliament ſhould in no caſe meddle with the government without an expreſs law. He denies his knowledge of any evil counſellors about him; and declares that he did not willingly leave his parliament, but was driven away by the tumults at Whitehall; and adds, *that by the help of God and the laws of the land, he would have juſtice for thoſe tumults;* nor does his majeſty own the promoting or retaining in his ſervice any who are diſaffected to the laws of the kingdom; but he will not take a *vote of parliament* for his guide, till it is evident they are without paſſion or affection. The king charges them home with the greateſt violation of the laws and liberties of the ſubject. " What is become of the law that man was " born to (ſays he)? And where is *magna charta*, if the vote " of parliament may make a law?" His majeſty concludes with a ſevere remark on the parliament's calling the petitions preſented to him mutinous. " Hath a multitude of mean " inconſiderable people about the city of London had li- " berty to petition againſt the government of the church, " againſt the book of common prayer, &c. and been thanked " for it? And ſhall it be called *mutiny* in the graveſt and

* Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 704. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 442, folio.

" beſt

"beſt citizens in London, and gentry of Kent, to frame pe-
"titions to be governed by the known laws of the land,
"and not by votes of parliament? Is not this evidently the
"work of a faction? Let heaven and earth, God and man,
"judge between us and theſe men!"

The reader will judge of the weight of theſe declarations according to a former remark. The parliament ſuppoſes the *nation in imminent danger, and the royal power not exerted in its defence;* in which caſe they, as guardians of the people, apprehend themſelves empowered to act in its defence. The king ſuppoſes *the nation to be in its natural ſtate, and in no manner of danger, but from a malignant party within the two houſes*, and that therefore the laws ſhould have their free and ordinary courſe. Upon theſe contrary ſuppoſitions the arguments on both ſides are invincible; but (as has been already obſerved) it was impoſſible they ſhould produce any good effect, till it was firſt agreed whether the nation was in danger, or whether the *royal promiſe* might be relied upon with ſafety.

On the 2d of June the parliament preſented the king with the ſum of all their deſires for the *reformation and ſecurity of church and ſtate*, in nineteen propoſitions, according to his majeſty's command in January laſt. Thoſe which relate to the ſtate are built upon the ſuppoſition above-mentioned, that *the nation was in imminent danger; and that after ſo many infractions of the* ROYAL WORD, *it was not to be relied upon for the execution of the laws but in conjunction with the parliament.* They therefore pray, "that his ma-
"jeſty's *privy counſellors, commanders of forts and garriſons,*
"*and all the great officers of ſtate*, may be approved by the
"two houſes; that the judges may hold their places *quam*
"*diu ſe bene geſſerint;* that the *militia* may be in the hands
"of the parliament for the preſent; that all publick buſi-
"neſs may be determined by *a majority of the council*, and
"that they may take an oath to maintain the *petition of*
"*right, and ſuch other laws as ſhall be enacted this preſent*
"*ſeſſion.* They pray that the juſtice of parliament may paſs
"upon *delinquents;* that the lord *Kimbolton* and the *five*
"*members* may be effectually cleared by act of parliament,
"and that his majeſty would enter into alliances with foreign
"princes

"princes for the ſupport of the proteſtant religion, &c." It is hard to expreſs his majeſty's reſentment againſt all theſe propoſitions (except the two laſt), which he ſays were fit only to be offered to a vanquiſhed priſoner; that he were unworthy of his noble deſcent if he ſhould part with ſuch flowers of the crown as are worth all the reſt of the garland. "If theſe things are granted, (ſays he) we may have "the title of a king, and be waited upon bareheaded; we "may have our hand kiſſed, and have ſwords and maces "carried before us, but as to real power we ſhould remain "but the outſide, the picture, the ſign of a king." His majeſty therefore rejected them in the groſs with this ſovereign reply, *Nolumus leges* Angliæ *mutari*.

The propoſitions relating to religion are theſe:

Prop. IV. "That he or they to whom the government "and education of the king's children ſhall be committed, "be approved of by both houſes of parliament, and in the "intervals of parliament by the majority of the privy-coun-"cil; and that ſuch ſervants againſt whom the houſes have "any juſt exception be removed.*

Prop. V. "That the marriages of the king's children "be with conſent of parliament, under penalty of a *præ-*"*munire* on ſuch as ſhall conclude them otherwiſe, and not "to be pardoned but by parliament.

Prop. VI. "That the laws in force againſt *jeſuits*, *prieſts*, "and *popiſh recuſants*, be ſtrictly put in execution, without "any toleration or diſpenſation to the contrary; and that "ſome more effectual courſe may be enacted by authority "of parliament, to diſable them from making any diſturbance "in the ſtate, or eluding the laws by truſts or otherwiſe.

Prop. VII. "That the votes of popiſh lords in the "houſe of peers may be taken away, ſo long as they con-"tinue papiſts; and that your majeſty will conſent to ſuch "a bill as ſhall be drawn, for the education of the chil-"dren of papiſts by proteſtants, in the proteſtant religion.

Prop. VIII. "That your majeſty will be pleaſed to con-"ſent, that ſuch a reformation be made of the church go-"vernment and liturgy, as both houſes of parliament ſhall "adviſe, wherein they intend to have conſultation with di-

* Ruſhworth, part 3, vol. i. p. 793.

"vines,

" vines, as is expreſſed in their declaration for that purpoſe; " and that your majeſty will contribute your beſt aſſiſtance " for the raiſing of a ſufficient maintenance for preaching " miniſters through the kingdom; and that your majeſty " will be pleaſed to give your conſent to the laws, for the " taking away of innovations and ſuperſtitions, and of plu- " ralities, and againſt ſcandalous miniſters."

To theſe propoſitions his majeſty replied as follows:

To the fourth and fifth, concerning the *education and diſpoſal of his children*, " That he had committed them to the " care of perſons of quality, integrity and piety, with ſpe- " cial regard to their education in the principles of the true " proteſtant religion, but that he would never part with that " truſt, which God, nature, and the laws of the land, had " placed in him; nor would he ſuffer any to ſhare with him " in his power of treaties; but he aſſured them, that he " would not entertain any treaty of marriage for his chil- " dren without due regard to the *proteſtant religion, and the* " *honour of his family;* and that he would take ſuch care " of the prince of *Wales*, and his other children, as ſhould " juſtify him to God as a father, and to his dominions as a " king."

To the ſixth propoſition, *concerning popiſh recuſants*, his majeſty admitted, " That if they could find any more effec- " tual courſe to diſable them from diſturbing the ſtate, or " eluding the laws, by truſts or otherwiſe, he ought to give " his conſent to it."

To the ſeventh, *concerning the votes of popiſh lords*, his majeſty replied, " that he was informed, thoſe lords had " prudently withdrawn from the houſe of peers, but he did " not conceive that a law againſt the votes of any, where " blood gave them their right, was ſo proper, in regard of " the privilege of parliament; however, his majeſty was " content, that as long as they did not conform to the doc- " trine and diſcipline of the church of England, they ſhould " not ſit in the houſe of peers, but only vote by proxy. As " for a bill for the educating the children of papiſts in the " proteſtant religion, he ſhould be very glad of it, and " would encourage it.

To

To the eighth propoſition, *touching reformation of church government and liturgy*, his majeſty refers them to his declaration of December 1, in which he had declared, " that he " was willing to remove illegal innovations; that if his par- " liament adviſed him to call a *ſynod* to examine into ſuch " ceremonies as gave offence, he would take it into conſide- " ration, and apply himſelf to give due ſatisfaction therein; " but he was perſuaded in his conſcience, that no church " could be found upon earth, that profeſſed the true reli- " gion with more purity of doctrine than the church of " England; nor where the government and diſcipline are " more beautified, and free from ſuperſtition, than as they " are here eſtabliſhed by law; which his majeſty is deter- " mined with conſtancy to maintain, as long as he lives, in " their purity and glory, not only againſt all innovations of " popery, but from the irreverence of thoſe many ſchiſma- " ticks and ſeparatiſts, wherewith of late this kingdom and " the city of London abounds, for the ſuppreſſion of whom " his majeſty requires the aſſiſtance of his parliament. As " for ſuch matters in religion which were in their own na- " ture indifferent, his majeſty refers them to his firſt decla- " ration, printed by advice of his privy-council, in which " he had declared, that he was willing, in tenderneſs to any " number of his loving ſubjects, to admit that ſome law " might be made for the exemption of tender conſciences " from puniſhment or proſecution for ſuch ceremonies; pro- " vided it be attempted and purſued with that modeſty, tem- " per, and ſubmiſſion, that the peace and quiet of the king- " dom be not diſturbed, the decency and comelineſs of God's " ſervice diſcountenanced, nor the pious, ſober, devout " actions, of the firſt reformers ſcandalized and defamed. " His majeſty adds, that he had formerly referred the com- " poſing the preſent diſtractions about church government " and liturgy to the wiſdom of the parliament, but de- " ſired *he might not be preſſed to any ſingle act on his part, till* " *the whole be ſo digeſted and ſettled by both houſes, that his* " *majeſty may clearly ſee what is fit to be left as well as what* " *is fit to be taken away.* His majeſty obſerves with ſatisfac- " tion, that *they deſire only a reformation, and not, as is daily* " *preached in conventicles, a deſtruction of the preſent diſcipline*

" *and liturgy*, and promiſes to concur with his parliament in " raiſing a ſufficient maintenance for preaching miniſters, in " ſuch manner as ſhall be moſt for the advancement of piety " and learning; but as for the other bills, againſt *ſuperſtitious* " *innovations*, and *pluralities*, his majeſty can ſay nothing to " them, till he ſees them."

It was now apparent to all men, that this controverſy, which had hitherto been debated by the pen, muſt be decided by the ſword; for this purpoſe the queen was all this while in Holland negociating foreign ſupplies: her majeſty pledged the crown jewels, and with the money ariſing from thence purchaſed a ſmall frigate of thirty-two guns, called the *Providence*, and freighted it with two hundred barrels of powder, two or three thouſand arms, ſeven or eight field-pieces, and ſome ready money for the king's ſervice, all which were ſafely convoyed to his majeſty at York, about the *beginning* of June. The parliament had been advertiſed of the queen's proceedings, and acquainted the king with their advices; which at firſt he was pleaſed to diſown, for in his declaration of March 9, he tells the parliament, " Whatſoever you are advertiſed from Paris, &c. of foreign " aids, we are confident no ſober honeſt man in our king- " dom can believe, that we are ſo deſperate, or ſo ſenſeleſs, " as to entertain ſuch deſigns as would not only bury this " our kingdom in certain deſtruction and ruin, but our name " and poſterity in perpetual ſcorn and infamy."* One would think by this that the king did not know what was doing with the crown jewels, though they were carried over with his leave, and (as Mr. *Whitlocke* ſays) that with them and the aſſiſtance of the prince of *Orange*, a ſufficient party might be raiſed for the king. But in this anſwer, as in moſt others, his majeſty had his ambiguities and reſervations.‡

It

* Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 445, 461. Memorials, p. 52.

‡ Biſhop *Warburton* contends that by *foreign aids* the king underſtood, what the parliament certainly meant, *foreign troops*. His lordſhip therefore aſſerts, " there is no ambiguity here; but there is neither end nor " meaſure," he adds, " to this hiſtorian's prejudices and falſe repreſenta- " tions." The exact ſtate of the matter is, that the parliament in their declaration do uſe the words, *foreign force*, and explicitly mention the loan of 4000 men a piece by the kings of France and Spain. The king in his anſwer

It was the king's great misfortune never to get poſſeſſion of a convenient place of ſtrength upon the coaſt. The governor of *Portſmouth* declaring for him, the parliament immediately ordered the militia of the country to block up the place by land, while the earl of *Warwick* did the ſame by ſea, ſo that it was forced to ſurrender for want of proviſion, before the king could relieve it. The like diſappointment befel his majeſty at Hull, which he beſieged a ſecond time, July 4,* with three thouſand foot and about one thouſand horſe, while Sir *J. Pennington* the king's admiral blocked it up by ſea; but the governor drawing up the ſluices laid the country under water, and obliged the army to retire. This was a ſevere diſappointment, becauſe his majeſty had ſent word to the parliament June 14, that *by the help of God and the law, he would have juſtice upon thoſe that kept him out of Hull, or loſe his life in requiring it.*

On the other hand the commons, upon the deſertion of the king's friends, ordered a general call of the houſe June 16, and that every member ſhould anſwer to his name on forfeiture of one hundred pounds. The lords ordered the *nine peers* that went after the *great ſeal*, to appear at their bar June 8, and for their *non-appearance* [June 27] deprived them of their privilege of voting in the houſe during the preſent parliament. As the *commons* had taken all imaginable precautions to hinder the king from getting the forts and magazines of the kingdom into his poſſeſſion, they ordered all ſuſpected places to be ſearched for arms and ammunition; in the archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth they ſeized arms for

anſwer ſays, only in general, "that whatever their advertiſements from Rome, &c. were, he was confident no ſober honeſt man, &c." without uſing, as Mr. *Neal* inaccurately repreſents him doing, the terms *foreign aids*. But will it follow from hence, that the king's anſwer was free from ambiguity and reſervation, or Mr. *Neal*'s charge falſe? If what Mr. *Whitlocke* ſays were true, there was a duplicity and ambiguity in the king's reply: and it conſiſted in *this*, not in the uſe of an equivocal term, but in cenſuring the meaſures, of which he was ſuſpected, as ſenſeleſs, deſperate and pernicious; at the ſame time he was actually taking ſuch or ſimilar ſteps. Ed.

* According to Dr. *Grey*, there is an error in this date; for the king iſſued a proclamation of his intention to beſiege Hull, upon the 11th of July; ſo could not lay ſiege to it upon the fourth. Ed.

§ Ruſhworth, p. 601.

about five hundred men, and lodged them in the Tower of London; in Cobham-Hall they ſeized five cart-loads of arms; and below Graveſend about one hundred pieces of cannon. As ſoon as they heard the king had received ſupplies from beyond ſea, and was preparing to beſiege Hull, they ordered their ordinance for raiſing the militia to be put in execution in Eſſex, [June 7,] when all the regiments appeared full, beſides a great number of volunteers who declared they would ſtand by the parliament in this cauſe with their lives and fortunes. The king forbad the militia's appearing in arms without his conſent, according to the ſtatute 7 *Eliz. cap.* 1, and iſſued out *commiſſions of array*, according to an old ſtatute of 5 *Henry* IV. appointing ſeveral perſons of quality to array, muſter, and train the people in the ſeveral counties; but the parliament by a declaration endeavoured to prove theſe commiſſions to be illegal, contrary to the *petition of right*, and to a ſtatute of this preſent parliament; and went on with muſtering the *militia* in ſeveral other counties, where the ſpirit of the people appeared to be with them. The execution of theſe counter-commiſſions occaſioned ſome ſkirmiſhes wherever the two parties happened to meet.

On the 10th of June 1642, the parliament publiſhed propoſals for borrowing money upon the publick faith at eight *per cent.* intereſt, allowing the full value of the plate, beſides one ſhilling *per* ounce conſideration for the faſhion. Upon information of this, the king immediately wrote to the lord-mayor of London, to forbid the citizens lending their money or plate, upon pain of high treaſon; notwithſtanding which ſuch vaſt quantities were brought into Guildhall within ten days, that there were hardly officers enough to receive it. Mr. *Eachard* computes the plate at *eleven millions*, which is monſtrous, for in reality it was but one million, two hundred ſixty-ſeven thouſand, three hundred and twenty-ſix pounds: the *gentry* of London and Middleſex brought in the beſt of their plate, and the *meaner ſort* their gold rings, thimbles and bodkins. Lord *Clarendon* ſays, this zeal of the people aroſe from the influence and induſtry of their preachers; which might be true in part, though it was rather owing to a quick and feeling apprehenſion of the danger

ger of their liberties and religion, by an inundation of popery and arbitrary power.

The king alſo tried his credit with the people, by publiſhing a declaration inviting his ſubjects to bring in their *money, plate, horſes and arms* to York, upon the ſecurity of his foreſts and parks for the principal, and eight *per cent.* intereſt, with very little ſucceſs, except among the courtiers and the two univerſities.

July 7, his majeſty ſent letters to the *vice-chancellor and heads of colleges in Oxford*, deſiring them to lend him their publick ſtock, engaging upon the word of a king to allow them eight *per cent.* for that and all other ſums of money that any private gentleman or ſcholar ſhould advance. Hereupon it was unanimouſly agreed in convocation, to intruſt his majeſty with their publick *ſtock*, amounting to eight hundred and ſixty pounds, which was immediately delivered to Mr. *Chaworth* his majeſty's meſſenger. The ſeveral colleges alſo ſent his majeſty their plate; and private gentlemen contributed conſiderable ſums of money, to the value of above ten thouſand pounds.‖ The two houſes at Weſtminſter being informed of theſe proceedings, publiſhed an ordinance, declaring this act of the univerſity "a breach of truſt, and an "alienation of the publick money, contrary to the intent "of the pious donors, and therefore not to be juſtified by "the laws of God or man;" that it was alſo contrary to their engagements, for the *univerſity* being yet in the hands of the parliament, the lord *Say* and his deputy lieutenants had been with the ſeveral maſters and heads of houſes, and obtained a ſolemn promiſe from each of them, that their *plate* ſhould be forth-coming, and ſhould not be made uſe of by the king againſt the parliament; and yet contrary to their engagement they ſent it away privately to York, where it arrived July 18, as appeared by his majeſty's moſt gracious letter of thanks.* As ſoon as the two houſes were informed of this, they ſent for the four principal managers of this affair into cuſtody, *viz.* Dr. *Prideaux* biſhop of *Worceſter*, Dr. *Samuel Fell* dean of *Chriſt-Church*, Dr. *Frewen* and Dr. *Potter*, who abſconded, and the ſcholars, encouraged

‖ Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 88. * Ruſhworth, part 3, vol. i. p. 759.

by their principals, bought arms, formed themſelves into companies, and laying aſide their academical ſtudies, were inſtructed in the art of war, and performed the military exerciſes under their reſpective captains and leaders. Such was the zeal of the vice-chancellor Dr. *Pink*, that not content with marſhalling the univerſity, he promoted the king's *commiſſion* of *array* among the townſmen, and received one of his majeſty's troops of horſe into garriſon, for which he was afterwards apprehended and committed to the Gatehouſe at Weſtminſter. The parliament, provoked with this behaviour of the univerſity, threatened to quarter ſome of their own regiments upon them, which frightened away half the ſcholars, and put the reſt into ſuch a terrible panic, that the vice-chancellor thought proper to write the following ſubmiſſive letter to the earl of *Pembroke* their chancellor;

" *Right honourable!*

" MAY it pleaſe your lordſhip to know, that this univerſity is now in extreme danger of ſuffering all the calamities that warlike forces may bring upon it.* Such forces we hear for certain are ſome of them already on their march, and others are raiſing to aſſault us; and, if they may have their wills, to deſtroy us! My lord, you have been ſolicitous whom to appoint your *chancellor* for next year, but if theſe forces come forward, and do that execution upon us that we fear they intend, there will be no uſe at all for a *vice-chancellor*, for what will be here for him to do, where there will be no ſcholars for him to govern? Or what ſhould ſcholars do here, having no libraries left them to ſtudy in, no ſchools to diſpute in, chapels to ſerve God in, colleges or halls to live or lodge in, but have all theſe ranſacked, defaced, demoliſhed, ſo as poſterity may have to ſay, See! here was for a long time, and till ſuch a year, an univerſity of great renown and eminence in all manner of learning and virtue, but now laid utterly waſte, and buried in her own ruins. And then the queſtion will be, What! had we no *lord-chancellor?* or was not he able to protect us?——We are all confi-

* Ruſhworth, part 3, vol. ii. p. 11.

" dent

" dent that if your lordſhip would interpoſe for us to the " honourable houſes of parliament for our ſafety and ſecu- " rity, all would be well with us. The delinquents that " were ſent for are not one of them here at this time. Sir " *John Byron*, with his regiment of troopers, we ſhall ſoon " prevail with to withdraw from us, if he may with ſafety " march back to the king, who of his own gracious care " of us ſent him hither. And if your lordſhip ſhall be ſe- " cured, that no other forces ſhall be here impoſed upon us, " that will take the liberty to exerciſe that barbarous inſo- " lence with which the illiterately rude and ruffianly rabble " of the vulgar threaten us; againſt ſuch only our young " men have lately taken in hand the arms we have (a very " few God knows, and in weak hands enough) to ſave them- " ſelves and us from having our libraries fired, our colleges " pillaged, and our throats cut by them, if they ſhould ſud- " denly break in upon us. And this, my lord, is all the " ſinful intent we have had in permitting them to train in a " voluntary and peaceable manner ſo as they have done. " Good, my lord, that which I moſt earneſtly beg of your " honour is, that at the humble requeſt of the univerſity " you would put in action with all ſpeed, what may be moſt " prevalent with the parliament for the peace and ſecurity " of this place, and for the ſtaying of our ſtudents, a great " part of whom, (ſuch ſtout and hardy men they are) upon " alarms and frights, ſuch as have been hourly here of late, " are fled away from us home to their mothers. The diſ- " ciples, when in danger of drowning, clamoured our Savi- " our, *Maſter, careſt thou not that we periſh!* But I am bold " to aſſume for your honour, and to aſſure all of this uni- " verſity under your happy government, that you will not " ſuffer us to periſh; and that you will at this time give us " a clear and real evidence of it, having this repreſentation " of the peril we are now in, made to your honour by me,

" *Your lordſhip's humble ſervant,*

Sept. 12th, 1642. " Provoſt, *vice-chancellor of Oxford.*"

This letter being ſent two months after the univerſity had conveyed their plate and money to the king; after they had refuſed

refuſed to ſend up ſuch principal managers of that affair as the parliament had demanded; after they had taken up arms, and received a regiment of his majeſty's forces into garriſon, the earl of *Pembroke* only returned the following angry anſwer:

" *Sir*,

" IF you had deſired my advice and aſſiſtance in time, " I ſhould willingly have contributed my beſt endeavours " for your ſafety and protection, but your own unadviſed " counſels and actions have reduced you to the ſtraits you " are now in; and in diſcretion you might have foreſeen, " that the admitting cavaliers, and taking up arms, could " not but make the univerſity a notorious mark of oppoſition " againſt the parliament, and therefore to be oppoſed by it. " If you had contained yourſelves within the decent, modeſt " bounds of an univerſity, you might juſtly have challenged " me, if I had not performed the duty of a *chancellor*. The " beſt counſel I now can give you is, that you preſently diſ- " miſs the cavaliers, and yield up to the parliament ſuch " *delinquents* as are among you; then the cauſe being taken " away the effect will follow. When you have put your- " ſelves into the right poſture of an univerſity, I will be a " faithful ſervant to you, and ready to do you all the good " offices I can with the parliament, as I am now ſorry you " have brought upon yourſelves theſe troubles.

Sept. 13, 1642. " *I reſt your very true friend*,
" Pembroke *and* Montgomery."

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY followed the example of Oxford, for upon reading his majeſty's letter of June 29, to the vice-chancellor Dr. *Holdſworth*, they readily agreed alſo to intruſt the king with their publick money: what the whole ſum amounted to does not appear; but may be gueſſed by the particulars of one college, a receipt for which is preſerved among the archives, and is as follows:

" *July* 2d, 1642.

" RECEIVED the day and year above-written of *Wm.* " *Beale*, doctor in divinity, maſter of St. *John*'s college in " the univerſity of Cambridge, for the king's uſe (according

" to

"to the intendment and direction of his majesty's letters of "the 29th of June last, to the vice-chancellor of the said "university) the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds. I "say received from the treasury of the said college by me,*

"*John Poley.*"

This Mr. *Poley* was fellow of Pembroke-hall, and one of the proctors of the university. When the king had secured their money, he sent to borrow their plate, under pretence of preserving it from the parliament; for this purpose he wrote another letter to the vice-chancellor, with directions to take an exact account, not only of the weight, but also of the form of every piece, together with the names, arms, and mottoes, of the respective donors, that if his Majesty should not preserve it as entire as it was, he might restore it hereafter in the same weight and form, and with the same marks, all which he ensured upon his royal word. There is no account remaining of what plate the colleges delivered up for his Majesty's use, though many wished (says Mr. *Fuller*) that every ounce had been a pound for his sake; but in the treasury of St. *John*'s college there are the particulars of what plate that college delivered in, together with the weight, forms, and names of the chief benefactors, which amounts in the whole, according to averdupois weight, to two thousand sixty-five ounces and a half, as expressed in the following receipt:

"*Aug.* 8th, 1642.

"I do acknowledge that there has been delivered to "me, in the name, and on behalf of the master, fellows, "and scholars of St. *John*'s college in Cambridge, two fir "boxes, marked with these three letters, *S. J. C.* containing "in them all the several pieces of plate above-written, which "said plate weigheth, as appears by the particulars, two "thousand sixty-five ounces and a half, more or less, which "they deposited into the king's hands for the security thereof, "and his majesty's service, according to the tenor of his "majesty's letters, written and directed to the vice-chan-"cellor of the university.† *John Poley.*"

* Dr. Barwick's Life, p. 22.

† Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 24.

According

According to this calculation the king might receive from all the colleges together about eight or ten thouſand pounds in plate, beſides money. Colonel *Oliver Cromwell* with his company of ſoldiers, endeavoured to intercept the convoy, but under the conduct of Mr. *Barnaby Oley* their guide, who was acquainted with all the by-roads, they eſcaped the enemy, and delivered up their charge to the king about the time when he was ſetting up his royal ſtandard at Nottingham. *Cromwell* having miſſed the convoy returned to Cambridge, and took poſſeſſion of the town and univerſity for the parliament, who, being acquainted with what was done, ſent them an angry meſſage, as they had done to Oxford, full of reſentments for their diſpoſing of the *publick money*, contrary to the truſt repoſed in them. The maſters and fellows excuſed themſelves, by alledging the *royal mandate*; whereupon the two houſes ſent a mandate of their own to the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges in convocation aſſembled, deſiring them to contribute their aſſiſtance to the cauſe in which they [the parliament] were engaged; but though (as Dr. *Barwick* obſerves) the commander of the garriſon kept them ſitting till midnight they would lend nothing, becauſe *they apprehended it to be contrary to religion and a good conſcience*; the houſes therefore ordered Dr. *Beal*, Dr. *Martin*, and Dr. *Sterne*, maſters of St. *John's*, *Jeſus*, and *Queen's* college, into cuſtody;* upon which many of the ſcholars deſerted their ſtations, and liſted in the king's ſervice.

Beſides the two univerſities the king applied under-hand to the papiſts, who were firm to his intereſt, though he durſt not as yet avow his correſpondence with them; for in his declaration of June 3, he aſſures the miniſters and freeholders of Yorkſhire, that he would not make uſe of foreigners, or of perſons diſaffected to the proteſtant religion —— Again, we have taken order that the power of the ſword ſhall not come into the hands of papiſts† —— Auguſt 10, his majeſty

* They were immediately after carried to London by *Cromwell*, and confined in the tower and other priſons for ſome years, particularly in the noiſome hold of a ſhip. Dr. *Grey*. Barwick's Life, p. 32, (note t); and Fuller's Hiſtory of Cambridge, p. 168. ED.

† Ruſhworth, part 3, vol. i. p. 625.

commands

commands that no papiſt ſhould be liſted as a ſoldier in his army; which was expedient to avoid, as much as poſſible, the reproach of an alliance with thoſe people, who were at this time become infamous by the Iriſh maſſacre. Though his majeſty had but few Roman catholicks among his own forces, the duke of *Newcaſtle*'s army was filled with them, and popery was countenanced to that degree at York, that maſs was ſaid in every corner of the ſtreet, and the proteſtants ſo affronted, that they were almoſt afraid to go to church.§ The king applied to his Roman catholick ſubjects to advance two or three years of the rent that they paid as a compoſition for their eſtates as recuſants; which they not only complied with, but wrote to their friends abroad to borrow more; proclamation was made at Bruges, and other parts of Flanders, that all people who would lend any money to maintain the Roman catholicks in England, ſhould have it repaid in a year's time with many thanks.

The Lancaſhire papiſts, having been lately diſarmed by order of parliament, petitioned his majeſty, That ſince the war was begun, their arms might be re-delivered, that they might be in a capacity to defend his majeſty's royal perſon, and their own families. To which his majeſty conſented in the following words:

§ Dr. *Grey* would impeach the truth of this detail, and ſays, that as Mr. *Neal* "quotes no authority for theſe particulars, *I am willing to believe*, "that they are not all of them true.' As to the firſt particular, I can refer for Mr. *Neal* to *Rapin*, vol. ii, p. 468, and the matter has been, within theſe few years, ſtated and diſcuſſed by Mrs. *Macaulay*, vol. iii. p. 377-8, 8vo. The fact was admitted by the earl of *Newcaſtle* himſelf, and he publiſhed a long declaration, partly to vindicate himſelf on this head; which is preſerved in *Ruſhworth*, part 3, vol. ii. p. 78, &c. Though I am not able to aſcertain the authorities, on which my author ſtates the other particulars, a letter of intelligence of the affairs in Yorkſhire, which the parliament received, and which has been given to the publick ſince Mr. *Neal*'s hiſtory appeared, affords a general confirmation to his account. It repreſents that the papiſts, after the king's proclamation for raiſing his ſtandard, flocked from Ireland, Lancaſhire, and all parts of Yorkſhire to York; that there were great rejoicings amongſt them, and a great forwardneſs to aſſiſt the ſervice ſhewn. The circumſtances repreſented by our author, were not unnatural or improbable conſequences of ſuch a confluence and exultation of the papiſts. And it appears from this letter, that the cavaliers in general, were guilty of tumults, outrages and depredations. Parliamentary Hiſtory, vol. xi. p. 335, 381, and 405, quoted by Mrs. *Macaulay*, vol. iii. p. 343-4, 8vo. Ed.

"The

"——"The laws for diſarming recuſants being to prevent "dangers in a time of peace, but not intended to bar you "from the uſe of arms in time of war for your own ſafety, "or the defence of our perſon —— Our will and command "therefore is, and we charge and require you, upon your "allegiance, that with all poſſible ſpeed you provide ſufficient "arms for yourſelves, your ſervants, and your tenants, "which we authorize, and require you to keep and uſe for "the defence of us, yourſelves, and your country, againſt "all forces raiſed againſt us, under colour of any order or "ordinance of parliament; and we ſhall uſe our utmoſt "power to protect you and yours againſt all injuries and "violence.*

"*Given under our ſignet at Cheſter, Sept. 27th,*
"*in the eighteenth year of our reign.*"

Agreeably to this, Mr. *George Tempeſt*, a prieſt, writes to his brother in the king's army, *Our prieſts at Lancaſter are at liberty; catholick commanders are admitted, and all well enough that way; God Almighty (as I hope) will better proſper the cauſe.* And another adds, That *there is no proſecution of prieſt or papiſt in Northumberland.*

When the parliament objected this to his majeſty, and named the very officers, he was highly diſpleaſed, and in his anſwer makes uſe of theſe ſolemn expreſſions: "For that "continued diſhoneſt accuſation, of our inclination to the "papiſts, which the authors of it in their own conſciences "know to be moſt unjuſt and groundleſs, we can ſay no "more, and we can do no more, to the ſatisfaction of the "world —— That any prieſts or jeſuits impriſoned have "been releaſed by us out of the gaol of Lancaſter, or any "other gaol, is as falſe as the father of lies can invent. "Neither are the perſons named in that declaration, to "whom commiſſions are ſuppoſed to be granted for places "of command in this war, ſo much as known to us; nor "have they any command, or to our knowledge are preſent "in our army. And it is ſtrange, that our oaths and pro-

* Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 3d, p. 50.

"teſtations

"teſtations before Almighty God, for the maintenance of "the proteſtant religion, ſhould be ſo ſlighted —— We de- "ſire to have our proteſtations believed by the evidence of "our actions."* Surely this ſolemn appeal to Almighty God was ambiguous and evaſive! or elſe we muſt conclude, that his majeſty was very little acquainted with what was done in his name, and by his commiſſion.

It was only five days after this, that the maſk was thrown off, for his majeſty confeſſes, in his declaration of Oct. 27, That the malice and fury of his enemies had reduced him to the neceſſity of accepting the ſervice and affection of any of his good ſubjects, *whatſoever their religion was*; that he did know of ſome few papiſts, whoſe eminent abilities in command and conduct had moved him to employ them in his ſervice; but he aſſures his good ſubjects, that he would always uſe his endeavours to ſuppreſs their religion, by executing the laws already in force againſt papiſts, and in concurring in any other remedies which his two houſes ſhould think proper.

As the king was reduced to the neceſſity of accepting the ſervice and affection of the papiſts; ſo on the other hand, the parliament took all imaginable care to cultivate a good correſpondence with the Scots, and to ſecure that nation in their intereſts. We have remembered that the Scots commiſſioners at London offered their mediation in the beginning of the year, which the parliament accepted; but the king, from his extreme hatred of the *preſbyterian diſcipline*, refuſed, commanding them to be content with their own ſettlement, and not meddle in the affairs of another nation. But the breach between the king and his two houſes growing wider, the council of Scotland ſent their chancellor in the month of May to renew their offers of a mediation between the two parties, which the king rejected as before;† and the rather, becauſe they ſtill inſiſted upon the *aboliſhing of epiſcopacy*, which his majeſty believed to be of *divine inſtitution*, and upon an *uniformity of preſbyterian government* in the two nations: whereas the majority of both houſes, being of

* Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 3d, p. 31.

† Duke of Hamilton's Memoirs, b. iii. p. 194.

ERASTIAN

ERASTIAN PRINCIPLES, were under no difficulties about a *change of diſcipline*, apprehending that the civil magiſtrate might ſet up what form of government was moſt conducive to the good of the ſtate. The parliament therefore treated the chancellor with great reſpect, and not only accepted the mediation, but wrote to the general aſſembly which was to meet in July, acquainting them with the criſis of their affairs, and deſiring their advice and aſſiſtance in bringing about ſuch a reformation as was deſired. To which the aſſembly returned an anſwer, dated Auguſt 3, 1642, to the following purpoſe:

"AFTER giving God thanks for the parliament's "deſire of a reformation of religion, and expreſſing their "grief that it moves ſo ſlowly — They obſerve, that their "commiſſioners, far from arrogance and preſumption, had "with great reſpect and reverence, expreſſed their deſires "for *unity of religion, that there might be one confeſſion of "faith, one directory of worſhip, one publick catechiſm, and "one form of church government.** The aſſembly (ſay they) "now enter upon the labours of the commiſſioners, being "encouraged by the zeal of former times, when their "predeceſſors ſent a letter into England againſt the *ſurplice*, "*tippet*, and *corner cap*, in the year 1566, and again in the "years 1583, and 1589. They are now further encouraged "by the king's late anſwer to their commiſſioners in their "treaty for Ireland, wherein his majeſty approves of the "affection of his ſubjects of Scotland, in their deſires of "conformity of church government; by his majeſty's late "practice while he was in Scotland, in reſorting to their "worſhip, and eſtabliſhing it by act of parliament. They "are alſo encouraged by a letter ſent from many reverend "brethren of the church of England, expreſſing their pray-"ers and endeavours againſt every thing that ſhall be pre-"judicial to the eſtabliſhment of the kingdom of Chriſt. "They therefore adviſe to begin with an uniformity of "church government; for what hope can there be (ſay they) "of *one confeſſion of faith, one form of worſhip and catechiſm*,

* Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 3, p. 387.

"*till*

" *till prelacy be plucked up root and branch, as a plant which* " *God had not planted?* Indeed the reformed kirks hold " their form of government by preſbyteries to be *jure di-* " *vino*, and perpetual, but *prelacy* is almoſt univerſally held " by the prelates themſelves to be a *human ordinance*, and " may therefore be altered or aboliſhed in caſes of neceſſity, " without wronging any man's conſcience; for the accom- " pliſhing of which they promiſe their beſt aſſiſtance."

In the parliament's anſwer to this letter, " they acknow- " ledge the friendſhip of their brethren of Scotland, and " expreſs their deſires of unity in religion, *that in all his* " *majeſty's dominions there might be but one confeſſion of faith* " *and form of church government;** and though this is hardly " to be expected punctually and exactly, yet they hope, ſince " they are guided by the ſame ſpirit, they ſhall be ſo directed, " as to caſt out every thing that is offenſive to God, and " ſo far agree with the Scots, and other reformed churches, " in the ſubſtantials of doctrine, worſhip and diſcipline, that " there may be a free communion in all holy exerciſes and " duties of publick worſhip, for the attaining whereof they " intend an aſſembly of godly and learned divines, as ſoon " as they can obtain the royal aſſent.——We have entered " into a ſerious conſideration (ſay they) what good we have " received by the government of biſhops, and do perceive " it has been the occaſion of many intolerable burthens and " grievances, by their uſurping a pre-eminence and power " not given them by the word of God, &c. We find it " has alſo been pernicious to our civil government, inſo- " much as the biſhops have ever been forward to fill the " minds of our princes with notions of an arbitrary power " over the lives and liberties of the ſubject, by their coun- " ſels and in their ſermons. Upon which accounts, and " many others, we do declare, that this government by " archbiſhops, biſhops, their chancellors and commiſſaries, " deans and chapters, archdeacons, and other eccleſiaſtical " officers depending upon the hierarchy, is evil, and juſtly " offenſive and burthenſome to the kingdom, a great impe-

* Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 3, p. 390.

" diment

" ment to reformation, and very prejudicial to the civil " government; and that we are reſolved the ſame ſhall be " taken away. And we deſire our brethren of Scotland to " concur with us in petitioning his majeſty, that we may " have an aſſembly of divines; and to ſend ſome of their " *own miniſters* to the ſaid aſſembly, in order to obtain uni- " formity in church government, that ſo a more eaſy paſſage " may be made for ſettling one confeſſion of faith, and di- " rectory of publick worſhip, for the three kingdoms."

The king being alarmed with the harmony between the two kingdoms, ſent a warm remonſtrance to the council of Scotland, Aug. 26, the very week he ſet up his ſtandard at Nottingham, in which he declares,

" THAT he deſired *uniformity* as much as they, in ſuch " a way as he in his conſcience thought moſt ſerviceable to " the true proteſtant religion; but that his two houſes of " parliament had never made any propoſition to him ſince " their meeting, concerning *uniformity of church government;* " ſo far (ſays his majeſty) are they from deſiring ſuch a thing, " that *we are confident the moſt conſiderable perſons, and thoſe* " *who make the faireſt pretenſions to you of that kind, will* " *not ſooner embrace a preſbyterial than you an epiſcopal.** " And truly it ſeems (notwithſtanding whatſoever profeſſion " they have made to the contrary) that nothing has been " leſs in their minds, than ſettling the true religion, and re- " forming ſuch abuſes in the church as poſſibly may have " crept in, contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of the land, to " which we have been ſo far from being averſe, that we have " preſſed them to it. And whenever any propoſition ſhall " be made to us by them, which we ſhall conceive may ad- " vance the unity of the proteſtant religion, according to " the word of God, or eſtabliſh church-government, ac- " cording to the known laws of the kingdom, we ſhall let " the world ſee, that nothing can be more agreeable to us " than the advancing ſo good a work."

Here his majeſty explains the *uniformity* he all along intended, and very juſtly obſerves, that the parliament no

* Duke of Hamilton's Memoirs, b. iv. p. 197.

more

more believed the *divine inſtitution of preſbytery*, than others did of *dioceſan prelacy*; for though they were content, in order to ſecure the aſſiſtance of the Scots *nation*, to vote away the power of archbiſhops and biſhops, yet when they had conquered the king, and had nothing to fear from their neighbours, they could not be prevailed with to eſtabliſh the Scots *preſbytery* without reſerving the *power of the keys* to themſelves.

Lord *Clarendon* obſerves very juſtly, "that the parliament "were ſenſible they could not carry on the war but by the "help of the Scots, which they were not to expect with-"out an alteration of the government of the church, to "which *that* nation was violently inclined, but *that very much* "*the major part of the members that continued in the parlia-*"*ment houſe were cordially affected to the eſtabliſhed govern-*"*ment*, AT LEAST NOT AFFECTED TO ANY OTHER."* But then to induce them to conſent to ſuch an alteration, it was ſaid the Scots would not take up arms without it; ſo that they muſt loſe all, and let the king return as a conqueror, or ſubmit to the change. If it ſhould be ſaid, this would make a peace with the king impracticable, whoſe affection to the hierarchy all men knew, it was anſwered, that it was uſual in treaties to aſk more than was expected to be granted; and it might be, that their departing from their propoſition concerning the church, might prevail with the king to give them the *militia*. Upon theſe motives the bill to aboliſh epiſcopacy was brought into the houſe and paſſed the commons September 1, and on the 10th of the ſame month it paſſed the lords. The noble hiſtorian ſays, that marvellous art and induſtry was uſed to obtain it; that the majority of the commons was really againſt it, and that it was very hardly ſubmitted to by the houſe of peers. But the writer of the *parliamentary chronicle*, who was then at London, ſays, the bill paſſed *nullo contradicente*, not a negative vote being heard among them all; and that there were bonfires and ringing of bells for joy all over the city.§

The bill was entitled, *An act for the utter aboliſhing and taking away of all archbiſhops, biſhops, their chancellors and commiſſaries*, &c.

* Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 117. § Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 150.

" It ordains, that after the 5th of November, 1643, there " ſhall be no *archbiſhop, biſhop, chancellor or commiſſary of* " *any archbiſhop or biſhop, nor any dean, ſub-dean, dean and* " *chapter, archdeacon, nor any chancellor, chaunter, treaſurer,* " *ſub treaſurer, ſuccentor, or ſacriſt of any cathedral or colle-* " *giate church, nor any prebendary, canon, canon reſidentiary,* " *petty canon, vicar, choral, choriſter, old vicars or new vi-* " *cars, of or within any cathedral or collegiate churches in* " *England or Wales.*——That their names, titles, juriſdic- " tions, offices, and functions, and the having or uſing any " juriſdiction or power, by reaſon or colour of any ſuch " names and titles, ſhall ceaſe, determine, and become abſo- " lutely void.

" That all the manors, lordſhips, caſtles, meſſuages, lands, " tenements, rents, and all other poſſeſſions and hereditа- " ments whatſoever, belonging to any archbiſhoprick or " biſhoprick, ſhall be in the real and actual poſſeſſion and " ſeiſin of the king's majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, to " hold and enjoy in as ample a manner as they were held by " any archbiſhop or biſhop within two years laſt paſt, except " impropriations, parſonages, appropriate tithes, oblations, " obventions, penſions, portions of tithes, parſonages, vica- " rages, churches, chapels, advowſons, nominations, colla- " tions, rights of patronage and preſentation.

" That all impropriations, parſonages, tithes, &c. and all " other hereditaments and poſſeſſions whatſoever belonging " to any dean, ſub-dean and chapter, archdeacon, or any " of their officers, be put into the hands of truſtees, to pay " to all and every archbiſhop, biſhop, dean, ſubdean, arch- " deacon, and all other officers belonging to collegiate and " cathedral churches, ſuch yearly ſtipends and penſions as " ſhall be appointed by parliament. And they ſhall diſpoſe " of all the aforeſaid manors, lands, tithes, appropriations, " advowſons, &c. for a competent maintenance for the ſup- " port of ſuch a number of preaching miniſters in every " cathedral and collegiate church as ſhall be appointed by " parliament; and for the maintenance of preaching mini- " ſters in other places of the country where ſuch maintenance " is wanting; and for ſuch other good uſes, to the advance- " ment of religion, piety, and learning, as ſhall be directed by " parliament. " Provided,

" Provided, that all revenues and rents as have been, and " now ought to be paid, for the maintenance of grammar " ſchools or ſcholars, or for the repairing any church, chapel, " highway, cauſeway, bridges, ſchool-houſe, alms-houſe, or " other charitable uſes, payable by any of the perſons whoſe " offices are taken away by this act, ſhall be continued. Pro- " vided alſo, that this act ſhall not extend to any college, " church, corporation, foundation, or houſe of learning, in " either of the univerſities."

It may ſeem ſtrange that the parliament ſhould aboliſh the *preſent eſtabliſhment* before they had agreed on *another*, but the Scots would not declare for them till they had done it. Had the two houſes been inclined to preſbytery, (as ſome have maintained) it had been eaſy to have adopted the Scots *model* at once; but as the bill for extirpating epiſcopacy was not to take place till above a year forward, it is apparent they were willing it ſhould not take place at all, if in that time they could come to an accommodation with the king; and if the breach ſhould then remain, they propoſed to conſult with an *aſſembly of divines* what form to erect in its ſtead. Thus the old Engliſh *hierarchy* lay proſtrate for about eighteen years, although never *legally aboliſhed* for want of the royal aſſent; and therefore at the reſtoration of king *Charles* II. it took place again, without any new law to reſtore it; which the preſbyterians, who were then in the ſaddle, not underſtanding, did not provide againſt as they might.

While the king and parliament were thus ſtrengthening themſelves, and calling in ſeverally all the ſuccours they could get, the ſcene of the war began to open; his majeſty travelled with a large retinue into ſeveral of the *northern* and *weſtern* counties, ſummoning the people together, and in ſet ſpeeches endeavouring to poſſeſs them of the juſtice of his cauſe, promiſing, upon the word of a king, that for the future he would govern by law. Upon this aſſurance about forty lords, and ſeveral members who had deſerted§ the

§ Biſhop *Warburton* cenſures Mr. *Neal* for uſing the word *deſerted*, " which," he ſays, " is a party word, and implies betraying their truſt." His lordſhip owns that the conduct of the members, who left the houſe and retired to the king, was ſo called by the parliament; but an hiſtorian's

the houſe of commons, ſigned an engagement, *to defend his majeſty's perſon and prerogative, to ſupport the proteſtant religion eſtabliſhed by law, and not to ſubmit to any ordinance of parliament concerning the militia that had not the royal aſſent.* Great numbers liſted in his majeſty's ſervice, whereby an army was formed which marched a ſecond time to the ſiege of Hull.

A week after the king was ſet down before this *fortreſs*, and not before, [July 12] the two houſes, after long debates, came to this reſolution, *that an army ſhould be raiſed for the defence of the king and parliament*, that the earl of *Eſſex* ſhould be captain-general, and the earl of *Bedford* general of the horſe, who were empowered to reſiſt and oppoſe with force all ſuch whom they ſhould find in arms, putting in execution the king's *commiſſion of array*. The reaſons of this reſolution ariſing from the king's extraordinary preparations for war, were publiſhed at the ſame time; and in their declaration of Auguſt 4, they ſay, "*That they* "*would have yielded up every thing to the king, could they*

adopting, in this caſe, the term which impeaches their fidelity, he conſiders "as taking for granted the thing in diſpute." But, with his lordſhip's leave, his ſtricture confounds the province of the hiſtorian with that of the mere chronologiſt. The former does not merely detail events, but inveſtigates their cauſes, and repreſents their connection and influence. It is not eaſy to ſay, how he can do this, without forming and expreſſing a decided opinion on them. That opinion does not bind the reader, nor is the impartiality of the hiſtorian violated, if facts are fairly and fully ſtated. In the caſe before us, it may be further urged, that the word *deſerted* not only conveyed Mr. *Neal*'s idea of the conduct of the members who left the parliament, but *truely* repreſented it. They forſook the ſeats to which they were *elected*; they left the poſt which was aſſigned to them; and they withdrew from the ſtage of debate and action to which the king's writ had called, and to which the voice of their conſtituents had ſent them. They were REPRESENTATIVES, choſen to act in conjunction with the other repreſentatives: inſtead of proceeding on this principle, they formed a ſeparate junto and faction. The firſt duty of a *repreſentative* is to fulfil the truſt repoſed in him. The word *deſerted*, ſays his lordſhip, is a party-word: grant it. Yet the uſe of it was not inconſiſtent with the impartiality of the hiſtorian; for though it ſhould not give the moſt favourable idea of the conduct of theſe members, it conveys the judgment which the parliament had of it: and of the rectitude of this judgment the reader is ſtill left to form his own ſentiments. The matter at the time was conſidered in the moſt ſerious light, and greatly alarmed and diſtreſſed all who loved the peace of the nation. See May's Parliamentary Hiſtory, p. 58, &c. ED.

"*have*

" *have been aſſured, that by diſarming themſelves they ſhould* " *not have been left naked, while the military ſword was in* " *the hands of thoſe evil counſellors who they had reaſon to* " *fear had vowed the deſtruction of the two houſes, and* " *through their ſides of the proteſtant religion;* but being " well acquainted with their deſigns, they apprehend that " their duty to God and their country obliges them to ha- " zard every thing for the maintenance of the true religion, " the king's perſon, honour and eſtate, and the liberties of " England." On the 9th of Auguſt the king proclaimed the earl of *Eſſex* and all his adherents *traitors*, unleſs they laid down their arms within ſix days; and in another *manifeſto* declared both houſes of parliament guilty of *high treaſon*, and forbid all his ſubjects to yield obedience to them. The parliament alſo, on their part, proclaimed all who adhered to the king in this cauſe *traitors againſt the parliament and kingdom.** Auguſt 12, the king by proclamation commanded all his ſubjects on the *north* of Trent, and within twenty miles *ſouth* of it, to appear in arms for the ſuppreſſing the *rebels* that were marching againſt him; and about the ſame time iſſued out another proclamation, requiring all men who could bear arms to repair to him at Nottingham, where he intended to ſet up his ſtandard on Monday Auguſt 22. In the mean time his majeſty gave out new commiſſions to augment his forces, and marching through Lincoln took away the arms of the train-bands for the uſe of his troops. At length, being arrived at the appointed place, he cauſed his ſtandard to be erected in the open field, on the outſide of the caſtle wall of Nottingham, but very few came to attend it; and the weather proving ſtormy and tempeſtuous it was blown down the ſame evening, and could not be fixed again in two days. Three weeks after this [September 9,] the earl of *Eſſex*, the parliament's general, left London, to put himſelf at the head of their army of fifteen thouſand men at St. Albans. The king, with an army of equal ſtrength, marched from Nottingham to Shrewſbury, and having refreſhed his forces there for ſome time, broke up October 12, in order to march directly for London, but the earl of

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 457, folio edition.

Eſſex putting himſelf in the way, both armies engaged at Edgehill near Keinton in Warwickſhire, on Sunday October 23, the very ſame day twelvemonth after the breaking out of the Iriſh *maſſacre*; the battle continued from three in the afternoon till night, with almoſt equal advantage, the number of ſlain on both ſides being about four thouſand. Thus the ſword was drawn, which was drenched in the blood of the inhabitants of this iſland for ſeveral years, to the loſs of as many proteſtant lives as periſhed by the inſurrection and maſſacre of Ireland.

CHAP. XII.

The State of the Church of England. The Religious Character of both Parties. With a Summary of the Grounds of the CIVIL WAR.

WE have already ſeen the unſettled ſtate of religion upon the king's progreſs into Scotland, with the complaints of the *royaliſts* for want of decency and uniformity. The hierarchy had for ſome time been *a dead weight*, the ſprings that moved it being ſtopt, by the impriſonment of the biſhops, and the check that was given to the ſpiritual courts; but now the whole fabrick was taken down after a year, though when that was expired no other diſcipline was erected in its room; nor was the *name, ſtile and dignity of archbiſhops and biſhops* taken away by ordinance of parliament till Sept. 5, 1646, that is, till the war was over, and the king a priſoner. In this interval there was properly *no eſtabliſhed form of government*, the clergy being permitted to read more or leſs of the liturgy as they pleaſed,* and to govern their pariſhes according to their diſcretion. The *veſtments* were left indifferent, ſome wearing them, and others, in imitation of the foreign proteſtants, making uſe of a *cloak*. Feb. 2, 1642-3, the *commons* ordered, that the ſtatute of the univerſity of Cambridge, which impoſes the uſe of the *ſurplice* upon all ſtudents and graduates, ſhould not be preſſed, as being againſt the law and liberty of the ſubject; and three days after they made the ſame order for the ſchools of Weſtminſter, Eton, and Wincheſter. Biſhop *Kennet* ſays, that *tithes* were denied to thoſe who read common prayer; and it is as true, that they were withheld from thoſe that did

* Here, as Dr. *Grey* obſerves, is an inaccuracy. The uſe of the liturgy was not permitted during the whole of this interval, as appears by Mr. *Neal*'s own account, vol. iii.; for it was prohibited, and the directory eſtabliſhed in its room, previouſly to the abolition of the epiſcopal titles and dignity, by ordinances of parliament on the 3d of January 1644-5, and 23d of Auguſt 1645. ED.

not

not read it; for many, taking advantage of the confuſion of the times, eaſed themſelves of a burthen for which ſome few pleaded conſcience, and others the uncertain title of thoſe that claimed them.

Though the parliament and puritan clergy were averſe to *cathedral worſhip*; that is, to a variety of muſical inſtruments, choriſters, ſinging of prayers, anthems, &c. as unſuitable to the ſolemnity and ſimplicity of divine ſervice, yet was it not prohibited; and though the revenues of prebendaries and deans, &c. had been voted uſeleſs, and more fit to be applied to the maintenance of preaching miniſters, yet the ſtipends of thoſe who did not take part with the king, were not ſequeſtered till the latter end of the year 1645, when it was ordained, "That the deans and prebendaries of Weſtminſter who had abſented themſelves, or were delinquents, or had not taken the covenant, ſhould be ſuſpended from their ſeveral offices and places, except Mr. *Oſbaldeſton*;" but the names, titles, and offices of *deans and chapters*, were not aboliſhed till after the king's death, in the year 1649, the parliament proceeding with ſome caution, as long as there was any proſpect of an accommodation with the king. Indeed the beauty of the *cathedrals* was in ſome meaſure defaced about this time, by the ordinance for the *removing crucifixes, images, pictures, and other monuments of ſuperſtition out of churches*. Many fine paintings in the windows and on the walls were broken and deſtroyed, without a decent repair of the damage. In Lambeth-Chapel the organ was taken down [Nov. 25.] The following ſummer the paintings, pictures, ſuperſtitious ornaments and images were defaced, or removed out of the cathedrals of Canterbury, Rocheſter, Chicheſter, Wincheſter, Worceſter, Lincoln, Litchfield, Saliſbury, Gloceſter, St. Paul's in London, the *collegiate church* of Weſtminſter, &c. "But (ſays my author) I do not find that they then ſeized the revenues and eſtates of the cathedrals, but contented themſelves with plundering and impriſoning ſome of the principal members, and diſperſing many of the reſt; and ſeveral of thoſe places coming afterwards into his majeſty's hands, the ſervice did not wholly ceaſe, nor were the doors of thoſe ſtately fabricks finally cloſed at that time."

Though

Though the *diſcipline* of the church was at an end, there was nevertheleſs an uncommon ſpirit of devotion among people in the parliament quarters; the *Lord's day* was obſerved with remarkable ſtrictneſs, the churches being crouded with numerous and attentive hearers three or four times in the day; the officers of the peace patroled the ſtreets, and ſhut up all publick houſes; there was no travelling on the road, or walking in the fields, except in caſes of abſolute neceſſity. *Religious exerciſes* were ſet up in private families, as reading the ſcriptures, family prayer, repeating ſermons, and ſinging of pſalms, which was ſo univerſal, that you might walk through the city of London on the evening of the Lord's day, without ſeeing an idle perſon, or hearing any thing but the voice of prayer or praiſe from churches and private houſes.

As is uſual in times of publick calamity, ſo at the breaking out of the civil war, all *publick diverſions and recreations* were laid aſide. By an ordinance of September 2, 1642, it was declared, that "whereas publick ſports do not agree with "publick calamities, nor publick ſtage-plays with the ſea-"ſons of humiliation; this being an exerciſe of ſad and "pious ſolemnity; the other being ſpectacles of pleaſure "too commonly expreſſing laſcivious mirth and levity; it is "therefore ordained, that while theſe ſad cauſes, and *ſet* "*times of humiliation*, continue, *publick ſtage-plays* ſhall ceaſe "and be forborne; inſtead of which are recommended to "the people of this land, the profitable duties of repentance, "and making their peace with God."*

The *ſet times of humiliation* mentioned in the ordinance, refers to the monthly faſt appointed by the king, at the requeſt of the parliament [Jan. 8, 1641,] on account of the Iriſh inſurrection and maſſacre, to be obſerved every laſt *Wedneſday* in the month, as long as the calamities of that nation ſhould require it. But when the king ſet up his ſtandard at Nottingham, the two houſes, apprehending that England was now to be the ſeat of war, publiſhed an ordinance for the more ſtrict obſervation of *this faſt*, in order to implore a divine bleſſing upon the conſultations of parlia-

* Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part. 3, p. 1.

ment,

ment, and to deprecate the calamities that threatened *this nation.* All preachers were enjoined to give notice of it from the pulpit the preceding Lord's day, and to exhort their hearers to a ſolemn and religious obſervation of the whole day, by a devout attendance on the ſervice of God in ſome church or chapel, by abſtinence, and by refraining from worldly buſineſs and diverſions: all publick houſes were likewiſe forbid to ſell any ſorts of liquors (except in caſes of neceſſity) till the publick exerciſes and religious duties of the day were ended; which continued with little or no intermiſſion *from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon;* during which time the people were at their devotions, and the miniſters engaged in one part or other of divine worſhip.

But beſides the monthly faſt, the opening of the war gave riſe to another *exerciſe of prayer, and exhortation to repentance,* for an hour every morning in the week. Moſt of the citizens of London having ſome near relation or friend in the army of the earl of *Eſſex*, ſo many bills were ſent up to the pulpit every Lord's day for *their preſervation*, that the miniſter had neither time to read them, or to recommend their caſes to God in prayer; it was therefore agreed by ſome London *divines*, to ſeparate an hour for this purpoſe every morning, one half to be ſpent in prayer, and the other in a ſuitable exhortation to the people. The reverend Mr. *Caſe*, miniſter of St. Mary-Magdalen, Milk-ſtreet, began it in his church at ſeven in the morning, and when it had continued there a month, it was removed by turns to other churches at a diſtance, for the accommodation of the ſeveral parts of the city, and was called the *morning exerciſe.* The ſervice was performed by divers miniſters, and earneſt interceſſions were made in the preſence of a numerous and crowded audience, for the welfare of the publick as well as particular caſes. When the heat of the war was over, it became a *caſuiſtical lecture*, and was carried on by the moſt learned and able divines till the reſtoration of king *Charles* II. Their ſermons were afterwards publiſhed in ſeveral volumes quarto, under the title of the *Morning Exerciſes;* each ſermon being the reſolution of ſome practical caſe of conſcience. This lecture, though in a different form, is continued among the proteſtant diſſenters to this day.

Some

Some time after another *morning lecture* was ſet up in the Abbey-church of Weſtminſter, between the hours of ſix and eight, for the benefit of that part of the town, and eſpecially of the members of parliament; it was carried on by Dr. *Staunton*, Mr. *Nye*, *Marſhal*, *Palmer*, *Herle*, *Whitaker*, and *Hill*, all members of the aſſembly of divines. In ſhort, there were lectures and ſermons every day in the week in one church or another, which were well attended, and with great appearance of zeal and affection. Men were not backward to riſe before day, and go to places of worſhip at a great diſtance, for the benefit of hearing the word of God. Such was the devotion of the city of London and parts adjacent, in theſe dangerous times!

Nor was the *reformation of manners* leſs remarkable; the laws againſt vice and profaneneſs were ſo ſtrict, and ſo rigorouſly put in execution, that wickedneſs was forced to hide itſelf in corners. There were no gaming-houſes, or houſes of pleaſure; no profane ſwearing, drunkenneſs, or any kind of debauchery to be ſeen or heard in the ſtreets. It is commonly ſaid, that the religion of theſe times was no better than *hypocriſy* and *diſſimulation*; and without all doubt, there were numbers of men who made the *form of godlineſs* a cloak to diſhoneſty; nay, it is probable, that *hypocriſy*, and other *ſecret immoralities*, might be the prevailing ſins of the age, all *open vices* being ſuppreſſed; but ſtill I am perſuaded, that the body of the people were ſincerely religious, and with all their faults, I ſhould rejoice to ſee, *in our days*, ſuch an appearance of religion, and all kinds of vice and profaneneſs ſo effectually diſcountenanced.

If we go from the city to the camp of the earl of *Eſſex*, we ſhall find no leſs probity of manners among them, moſt of his ſoldiers being men who did not fight ſo much for pay, as for religion and the liberties of their country. Mr. *Whitlocke* obſerves,* "That colonel *Cromwell*'s regiment of "horſe were moſt of them *freeholders ſons*, who engaged "in the war upon principles of conſcience; and that being "well armed within, by the ſatisfaction of their conſciences, "and without with good iron arms, they would as one man "ſtand firmly and charge deſperately." The ſame author†

* Memorials, p. 68. † Ibid. p. 72.

adds,

adds, "that colonel *Wilſon*, who was heir to an eſtate of "two thouſand pounds a year, and was the only ſon of his "father, put himſelf at the head of a gallant regiment of "citizens, who liſted themſelves in the parliament's ſervice "purely upon conſcience; this (ſays he) was the condition "of many others alſo of like quality and fortune in thoſe "times, who had ſuch an affection for their religion, and "the rights and liberties of their country, that *pro aris & "focis* they were willing to undergo any hardſhips or dan-"gers, and thought no ſervice too much or too great "for their country." The moſt eminent divines ſerved as chaplains to the ſeveral regiments; Dr. *Burges* and Mr. *Marſhal* were chaplains to the earl of *Eſſex*'s regiment; Dr. *Downing* to lord *Roberts*'s; Mr. *Sedgwick* to colonel *Hollis*'s; Dr. *Spurſtow* to Mr. *Hampden*'s; Mr. *Aſke* to lord *Brooks*'s, &c. While theſe continued, none of the enthuſiaſtick follies that were afterwards a reproach to the army, diſcovered themſelves. There were among them ſome who afterwards joined the *ſectaries*; ſome who were mere *mercenaries*, and (if we may believe his majeſty's declaration after the battle of Edgehill) ſome who were *diſguiſed papiſts;* but upon the whole, lord *Clarendon* confeſſes, there was an exact diſcipline in the army; that they neither plundered nor robbed the country; all complaints of this kind being redreſſed in the beſt manner, and the offenders puniſhed. The reverend Mr. *Baxter*, who was himſelf in the army, gives this account of them:* "The generality of thoſe people throughout Eng-"land who went by the name of *puritans*, *preciſians*, *preſby-"terians*, who followed ſermons, prayed in their families, "read books of devotion, and were ſtrict obſervers of the "ſabbath, being avowed enemies to ſwearing, drunkenneſs, "and all kinds of profaneneſs, adhered to the parliament; "with theſe were mixed ſome young perſons of warm heads, "and enthuſiaſtical principles, who laid the foundation of "thoſe ſects and diviſions which afterwards ſpread over the "whole nation, and were a diſgrace to the cauſe which "the parliament had eſpouſed. Of the clergy, thoſe who "were of the ſentiments of *Calvin*, who were conſtant "preachers of the word of God themſelves, and encou-

* Baxter's Life, p. 26, 31, 33, &c. fol.

"ragers

" ragers of it in others; who were zealous againſt *popery*, " and wiſhed for a reformation of the diſcipline of the church, " were on the parliament's ſide. Among theſe were ſome " of the elder clergy, who were preferred before the riſe of " archbiſhop *Laud*; all the deprived and ſilenced miniſters, " with the whole body of lecturers and warm popular preach- " ers both in town and country; theſe drew after them great " numbers of the more ſerious and devout people, who were " not capable of judging between the king and parliament, " but followed their *ſpiritual guides* from a veneration they " had for their integrity and piety. Many went into the " parliament, and filled up their armies afterwards, merely " becauſe they heard men *ſwear* for the common prayer " and biſhops, and heard others *pray* that were againſt " them: becauſe they heard the king's ſoldiers with horrid " oaths abuſe the name of God, and ſaw them live in de- " bauchery, while the parliament ſoldiers flocked to ſermons, " talked of religion, and prayed and ſung pſalms together " on their guards. And all the ſober men that I was ac- " quainted with, who were *againſt the parliament*, (ſays Mr. " *Baxter*) uſed to ſay, *the king had the better cauſe, but the* " *parliament had the better men.*"§

The puritan [or parliament] clergy were zealous *calviniſts*, and having been prohibited for ſome years from preaching againſt the *arminians*, they now pointed all their artillery againſt them, inſiſting upon little elſe in their ſermons, but the doctrines of *predeſtination*, *juſtification by faith alone*, *ſalvation by free grace*, *and the inability of man to do that which is good*. The duties of the *ſecond table* were too much neglected; from a ſtrong averſion to *arminianiſm* theſe divines unhappily made way for *antinomianiſm*, verging from one extreme to another, till at length ſome of the weaker ſort were loſt in the wild mazes of enthuſiaſtick dreams and viſions, and others from falſe principles pretended to juſtify

§ To the authorities quoted by Mr. *Neal*, Biſhop *Warburton* oppoſes that of *Oliver Cromwell*; who, in his ſpeech to his parliament, repreſented the preſbyterian armies of the parliament, as chiefly made up, before the ſelf-denying ordinance, of *decayed* " *ſerving-men*, broken tapſters, and " men without any ſenſe of religion: and that it was his buſineſs to inſpire " that *ſpirit of religion* into his troops on the reform, to oppoſe the prin- " ciple of honour in the king's troops, made up of gentlemen." ED.

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the hidden works of diſhoneſty. The *aſſembly of divines* did what they could to put a ſtop to the growth of theſe pernicious errors; but the great ſcarcity of preachers of a learned education, who took part with the parliament, left ſome pulpits in the country empty, and the people to be led aſide in many places, by every bold pretender to inſpiration.

"The generality of the ſtricter and more diligent ſort of "preachers (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) joined the parliament, and "took ſhelter in their garriſons; but they were almoſt all "conformable miniſters; the laws and the biſhops having "caſt out the nonconformiſts long enough before, and not "left above two in a county: thoſe who made up the aſ"ſembly of divines, and who through the land were the "honour of the parliament party, were almoſt all ſuch as "till then had conformed, and took the ceremonies to be "lawful in caſes of neceſſity, but longed to have that ne"ceſſity removed." He admits, "that the younger and "leſs experienced miniſters in the country, were *againſt* "*amending the biſhops and liturgy*, apprehending this was "but gilding over their danger; but that this was not the "ſenſe of the parliament, nor of their principal divines. "The matter of biſhops or no biſhops (ſays he) was not "the main thing, except with the Scots, for thouſands that "wiſhed for good biſhops were on the parliament ſide. Al"moſt all thoſe afterwards called *preſbyterians*, and all that "learned and pious ſynod at Weſtminſter, except a very "few, had been conformiſts, and kept up an honourable "eſteem for thoſe biſhops that they thought religious; as "archbiſhop *Uſher*, biſhop *Davenant*, *Hall*, *Moreton*, &c. "Theſe would have been content with an amendment of the "hierarchy, and went into the parliament, becauſe they ap"prehended the intereſts of religion and civil liberty were "on that ſide."*

But the *political principles* of theſe divines gave the greateſt diſguſt to the royaliſts; they encouraged the people to ſtand by the parliament, and preached up the lawfulneſs of defending their religion and liberties againſt the king's evil counſellors. They were for a limited monarchy, agreeable

* Baxter's Life, p. 33, 35, 37.

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to our preſent happy conſtitution, for which, and for what they apprehended the purity of the proteſtant religion, they contended, and for nothing more; but for this they have ſuffered in their moral character, and have been left upon record, as *rebels*, *traitors*, *enemies to God and their king*, &c.‖ His majeſty, in one of his declarations, calls them *ignorant in learning*, *turbulent and ſeditious in diſpoſition*, *ſcandalous in life*, *unconformable to the laws of the land*, *libellers*, *revilers both of church and ſtate*, *and preachers of ſedition and treaſon itſelf*. Lord *Clarendon* ſays, "that under the notion of reformation, and extirpating popery, they infuſed ſeditious inclinations into the hearts of men againſt the preſent government of the church and ſtate; that when the army was raiſed they contained themſelves within no bounds, and inveighed as freely againſt the perſon of the king, as they had before againſt the worſt malignants, profanely and blaſphemouſly applying what had been ſpoken by the prophets againſt the moſt wicked and impious kings, to ſtir up the people againſt their moſt gracious ſovereign." His lordſhip adds, "That the *puritan clergy* were the chief incendiaries, and had the chief influence in promoting the civil war. The kirk reformation in Scotland and in this kingdom (ſays his lordſhip) was driven on by no men ſo much as thoſe of their clergy; and without doubt the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* never had ſuch an influence over the councils at court, as Dr. *Burges* and Mr. *Marſhal* had then on the houſes; nor did all the biſhops of Scotland together ſo much meddle in temporal affairs as Mr. *Henderſon* had done."*

Strange! when the Scots biſhops were advanced to the higheſt poſts of honour and civil truſt in that kingdom; and when archbiſhop *Laud* had the direction of all publick affairs in England, for twelve years together. Was not the archbiſhop at the head of the council-table, the ſtar-chamber, and the court of high-commiſſion? Was not his *grace* the contriver or promoter of all the monopolies and oppreſſions that brought on the civil war? What could the puritan clergy do like this? Had they any places of pro-

‖ Huſband's Collections, p. 514, &c. * Vol. i. p. 302.

fit

ſit or truſt under the government, or any commiſſions in the eccleſiaſtical courts? Did they amaſs to themſelves great riches or large eſtates? No; they renounced all civil power and juriſdiction, as well as lordly titles and dignities; and were, for the moſt part, content with a very moderate ſhare of the world. If they ſerved the parliament cauſe, it was in viſiting their pariſhioners, and by their ſermons from the pulpits: here they ſpent their zeal, praying and preaching as men who were in earneſt, for what they apprehended the cauſe of God and their country. But it is eaſy to remark, that the *noble hiſtorian* obſerves no meaſure with the *puritan clergy* when they fall in his way.

Nor were the parliament divines *the chief incendiaries between the king and people*, if we may believe Mr. *Baxter*, who knew the *puritans* of thoſe times much better than his lordſhip. "It is not true (ſays this divine§) that they ſtirred "up the people to war, there was hardly one ſuch man in a "county, though they diſliked the late innovations, and "was glad the parliament was attempting a reformation." They might inveigh too freely in their ſermons againſt the vices of the clergy, and the ſeverities of the late times; but in all the *faſt ſermons* that I have read,‡ for ſome years after the beginning of the war, I have met with no reflections upon the perſon of the king, but a religious obſervation of that political maxim, *the king can do no wrong*.

His lordſhip adds, that *they profanely and blaſphemouſly applied what had been ſpoken by the prophets againſt the moſt wicked and impious kings, to ſtir up the people againſt their*

§ Baxter's Life, p. 34.

‡ Dr. *Grey*, who miſtakes this for the aſſertion of Mr. *Baxter* inſtead of Mr. *Neal*, oppoſes to it his own remark on the faſt ſermons between the year 1640 and the death of the king: from which, he ſays, he could produce hundreds of inſtances for the diſproof of what is ſaid above. As a ſpecimen, he quotes many paſſages from ſermons of the moſt popular and leading men of thoſe times. Some of theſe paſſages, it appears to me, point ſtrongly at the king, and go to proof that royal perſonages are amenable for evil conduct. But, beſides that they are given detached from their connection, it is to be conſidered, that if Mr. *Neal* had read the ſame diſcourſes, they would affect his mind differently from what they did Dr. *Grey:* who, through all his animadverſions, appears to have looked on *Charles* as an immaculate prince, and to have been a diſciple to the advocates for paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance. ED.

moſt

moſt gracious ſovereign. If this were really the caſe, yet the king's divines came not behind them in applying the abſolute dominion of the kings of Judah in ſupport of the unbounded prerogative of the kings of England, and in *curſing* the parliament, and pronouncing *damnation* upon all who died in their ſervice. I could produce a large catalogue of ſhocking expreſſions to this purpoſe, but I wiſh ſuch offences buried in oblivion, and we ought not to form our judgments of great bodies of men, from the exceſſes of a few.

We ſhall have an opportunity hereafter, of comparing the learning of the puritan divines‖ with the royaliſts, when it will appear, that there were men of no leſs eminence for literature with the parliament than with the king, as the *Seldens*, the *Lightfoots*, the *Cudworths*, the *Pococks*, the *Witchcots*, the *Arrowſmiths*, &c. but as to their *morals*, their very adverſaries will witneſs for them. Dr. *G. Bates*, an eminent royaliſt, in his *Elenchus*, gives them this character, *Moribus ſeveris eſſent, in concionibus vehementes, precibus & piis officiis prompti, uno verbo ad cætera boni:* i. e. *They were men of ſevere and ſtrict morals, warm and affectionate preachers, fervent in prayer, ready to all pious offices, and in a word, otherwiſe* [*that is, abating their political principles*] *good men.* And yet with all their *goodneſs* they were unacquainted with the *rights of conſcience*, and when they got the ſpiritual ſword into their hands managed it very little better than their predeceſſors the biſhops.

‖ Mr. *Neal* is here charged with contradicting what he had ſaid, p. 558, where he ſpeaks of "the great ſcarcity of preachers of a learned educa-"tion." This is ſaid, when Mr. *Neal* is repreſenting the difficulty the aſſembly of divines had to ſupply the pulpits through the country. This might be the caſe when ſpeaking of the kingdom at large, and yet there might be *ſome* of no leſs eminence for literature than any who ſided with the king. Mr. *Neal* gives the names of ſuch. But Biſhop *Warburton* will not allow, that they were of the parliament party: "the moſt that can be "ſaid of them is," he adds, "that they ſubmitted to the *power*." But their acting with the aſſembly of divines was, certainly, more than a ſubmiſſion to *power:* it was taking a lead in the affairs of the parliament: this, if the cauſe had been repugnant to their principles, *they* might, and, as honeſt men, would have declined doing: as did Biſhop *Uſher*, Dr. *Holdſworth*, and the other epiſcopalian divines who were alſo choſen to attend the aſſembly, but who ſtaid away from it; becauſe it was not, in their opinion, a legal convocation. ED.

The clergy who eſpouſed the king's cauſe were the *bench of biſhops, the whole body of the cathedral, and the major part of the parochial clergy, with the heads, and moſt of the fellows of both univerſities*, among whom were men of the firſt rank for learning, politeneſs, piety, and probity of manners, as archbiſhop *Uſher*, biſhop *Hall*, *Moreton*, *Weſtfield*, *Brownrigge*, *Prideaux*, Dr. *Hammond*, *Saunderſon*, &c. who joined the king, not merely for the ſake of their preferments, but becauſe they believed the *unlawfulneſs of ſubjects reſiſting their ſovereign in any caſe whatſoever*. Among the parochial clergy were men of no leſs name and character. Lord *Clarendon*† ſays, "that if the ſermons of thoſe times preached "at court were collected together and publiſhed, the world "would receive the beſt bulk of *orthodox* divinity, profound "learning, convincing reaſon, natural powerful eloquence, "and admirable devotion, that hath been communicated in "any age ſince the apoſtles' time." And yet, in the very ſame page, he adds, "there was ſometimes preached there, mat-"ter very unfit for the place, and ſcandalous for the per-"ſons." I ſubmit this paragraph to the reader's judgment; for I muſt confeſs, that after having read over ſeveral of theſe court ſermons, I have not been able to diſcover all that learning and perſuaſive eloquence which his lordſhip admires; nor can much be ſaid for their *orthodoxy*, if the thirty-nine articles be the ſtandard. But whatever decency was obſerved at court, there was hardly a ſermon preached by the inferior clergy within the king's quarters, wherein the parliament divines were not ſeverely expoſed and ridiculed, under the character of *puritans*, *preciſians*, *formaliſts*, *ſabbatarians*, *canting hypocrites*, &c. Such was the ſharpneſs of men's ſpirits on both ſides!

Among the country clergy there was great room for complaints, many of them being *pluraliſts*, *non-reſidents*, *ignorant and illiterate*, *negligent of their cures*, ſeldom or never viſiting their pariſhioners, or diſcharging any more of their function than would barely ſatisfy the law. They took advantage of the *book of ſports* to attend their pariſhioners to their *wakes* and *revels*, by which means many of them became ſcandalouſly immoral in their converſations. Even Dr. *Walker*

† Vol. i. p. 77.

admits,

admits, that there were among them men of wicked lives, and ſuch as were a reproach and ſcandal to their function; the particulars of which had better have been buried than left upon record.*

The common people that filled up the king's army were of the looſer ſort; and even the chief officers, as lord *Goring*, *Granville*, *Wilmot*, and others, were men of profligate lives, and made a jeſt of religion; the private centinels were *ſoldiers of fortune*, and not having their regular pay, lived for the moſt part upon free plunder: when they took poſſeſſion of a town, they rifled the houſes of all who were called *puritans*, and turned their families out of doors. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, "that when he lived at Coventry after the battle of Edgehill, there were above thirty worthy miniſters in "that city who had fled thither for refuge from the ſoldiers "and popular fury, as he himſelf alſo had done, though "they had never meddled in the wars; among theſe were "the reverend Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Anthony Burgeſs*, Mr. *Burdal*, "Mr. *Bromſhil*, Dr. *Bryan*, *Grew*, *Craddock*, and others. "And here (ſays he) I muſt repeat the great cauſe of the "parliament's ſtrength, and of the king's ruin; the debauched rabble, encouraged by the gentry, and ſeconded "by the common ſoldiers of his army, took all that were "called *puritans* for their enemies; ſo that if any man was "noted for a ſtrict and famous preacher, or for a man of a "preciſe and pious life, he was plundered, abuſed, and put "in danger of his life; if a man prayed in his family, or "was heard to repeat a ſermon, or ſing a pſalm, they preſently cried out REBELS, ROUNDHEADS, and all their money and goods proved guilty, however innocent they were "themſelves. Upon my certain knowledge it was this that "filled the armies and garriſons of the parliament with ſober "and pious men. Thouſands had no mind to meddle in "the wars, but to live peaceably at home, if the rage of the "ſoldiers and drunkards would have ſuffered them. Some "ſtayed at home till they had been impriſoned; ſome till "they had been plundered twice or thrice over, and had "nothing left; others were quite tired out with the inſolence of their neighbours; with being quartered upon, and

* Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 72.

" put in continual danger of their lives, and ſo they ſought " refuge in the parliament garriſons."§

This was ſo notorious, that at length it came to the king's ear, who, out of meer compaſſion to his diſtreſſed ſubjects, " iſſued out a proclamation, bearing date Nov. 25, 1642, *for the better government of his army;* the preamble of which ſets forth, " That his majeſty, having taken into his princely " conſideration the great miſery and ruin of his ſubjects, by " the plundering, robbing, and ſpoiling of their houſes, and " taking from them their money, plate, houſhold ſtuff, cattle, " and other goods, under pretence of their being diſaffected " to us and our ſervice, and theſe unlawful and unjuſt actions " done by divers ſoldiers of our army, and others ſheltering " themſelves under that title; his majeſty, deteſting ſuch bar- " barous proceedings, forbids his officers and ſoldiers to " make any ſuch ſeizures for the future, without his warrant. " And if they go on to plunder and ſpoil the people, by " taking away their money, plate, houſhold goods, oxen, " ſheep, or other cattle; or any victuals, corn, hay, or other " proviſions, going to or from any market, without making " ſatisfaction, his majeſty orders them to be proceeded againſt " by martial law." This was as much as the king could do in his preſent circumſtances; yet it had very little effect, for his majeſty having neither money or ſtores for his army, the officers could maintain no diſcipline, and were forced to connive at their living at free quarter upon the people.

Thus this unhappy nation was miſerably harraſſed, and thrown into terrible convulſions, by an unnatural civil war; the nobility and gentry, with their dependants, being chiefly with the king; the merchants, tradeſmen, ſubſtantial farmers, and in general the middle ranks of people, ſiding with the parliament.

It is of little conſequence to enquire, *who began this unnatural and bloody war.* None will blame them, on whoſe part it was juſt and unavoidable, for taking all neceſſary precautions in their defence, and making uſe of ſuch advantages as providence put into their hands to defeat the deſigns of the enemy, and nothing can excuſe the other. His majeſty profeſſed before God to his nobles at York, *that he had no*

§ Baxter's Life, p. 44.

intention

intention to make war upon his parliament. And in his laſt ſpeech on the ſcaffold he affirms, "that he did not begin a "war with the two houſes of parliament, but that they be- "gan with him upon the point of the militia; and if any "body will look upon the dates of the commiſſions, (ſays "his majeſty) theirs and mine, they will ſee clearly that they "began theſe unhappy troubles, and not I." Yet with all due ſubmiſſion to ſo great an authority, were the dates of commiſſions for raiſing the militia the beginning of the war? Were not the crown jewels firſt pawned in Holland, and arms, ammunition and artillery, ſent over to the king at York? Did not his majeſty ſummon the gentlemen and free-holders to attend him as an extraordinary guard, in his progreſs in the north, and appear before Hull in a warlike manner, before the raiſing the militia? Were not theſe warlike preparations? Dr. *Welwood* ſays, and I think all impartial judges muſt allow, that they look very much that way. Mr. *Eachard* is ſurprized that *the king did not put himſelf into a poſture of defence ſooner;*‖ but he would have ceaſed to wonder, if he had remembered the words of lord *Clarendon: The reaſon why the king did not raiſe forces ſooner was, becauſe he had neither arms nor ammunition, and till theſe could be procured from Holland, let his provocations and ſufferings be what they would, he was to ſubmit and bear it patiently.* It was therefore no want of will, but mere neceſſity, that hindered the king's appearing in arms ſooner than he did. Father *Orleans* confeſſes, that it was agreed with *the queen in the cabinet council at Windſor*, that while her majeſty was negociating in Holland, the king ſhould retire to York and there make his firſt levies. He adds, *that all mankind believed that his majeſty was underhand preparing for war, that the ſword might cut aſunder thoſe knots he had made with his pen.*

In order to excuſe the unhappy king, who was ſacrificed in the houſe of his friends, a load of guilt is with great juſtice laid upon the QUEEN, who had a plenitude of power over his majeſty, and could turn him about which way ſhe pleaſed. Biſhop BURNET ſays, *that by the livelineſs of her diſcourſe ſhe made great impreſſions upon the king; ſo that to*

‖ Memoirs, p. 64.

*the queen's want of judgment, and the king's own temper, the ſequel of all his misfortunes was owing.** Biſhop KENNET adds, that *the king's match with this lady was a greater judgment upon the nation than the plague which then raged in the land; and that the influence of a ſtately queen over an affectionate huſband, proved very fatal both to prince and people, and laid in a vengeance for future generations.* The queen was a great bigot to her religion, and directed by her *father confeſſor* to protect the Roman *catholicks*, even to the hazard of the king's crown and dignity. Though his majeſty uſually conſulted her in all affairs of ſtate, yet *ſhe* ſometimes preſumed to act without him, and to make uſe of his name without his knowledge. *It was the* QUEEN *that made all the great officers of ſtate*, (ſays lord *Clarendon*) *no preferments were beſtowed without her allowance.* She was an enemy to parliaments, and puſhed the king upon the moſt arbitrary and unpopular actions, to raiſe the Engliſh government to a level with the French. It was the QUEEN that countenanced the Iriſh inſurrection; that obliged the king to go to the houſe of commons and ſeize the five members; and that was at the head of the council at Windſor, in which it was determined to break with the parliament and prepare for war; *this* (ſays the noble hiſtorian; *viz.* the king's perfect adoration of his queen, his reſolution to do nothing without her) and his being inexorable as to every thing he promiſed her, *was the root and cauſe of all other grievances.* The two houſes often petitioned the king not to admit her majeſty into his councils, or to follow her advice in matters of ſtate; but he was not to be moved from his too ſervile regards to her dictates, even to the day of his death.

Sundry others of his majeſty's privy-council had their ſhare in bringing on the calamities of the war, though when it broke out they were either dead, diſperſed, or impriſoned; as the duke of *Buckingham*, earl of *Strafford*, archbiſhop *Laud*, *Finch*, *Windebank*, *Noy*, &c. Theſe had been the moſt buſy actors at the *council-table*, the *ſtar-chamber*, and *court of high-commiſſion*, and were at the head of all the monopolies and illegal projects that enſlaved the nation for above twelve years, and might have done it for ever, had

* Hiſtory of his Life and Times, vol. i. p. 39, Scotch edition.

they

they been good huſbands of the publick treaſure, and not brought upon themſelves the armed force of a neighbouring nation. The politicks of theſe *ſtateſmen* were very unaccountable, for as long as they could ſubſiſt without a parliamentary ſupply, they went on with their *ſhip-money*, *court and conduct-money*, *monopolies*, and ſuch like reſources of the prerogative; as ſoon as the parliament ſat, theſe were ſuſpended, in expectation of a ſupply from the two houſes, before they had enquired into the late inroads upon the conſtitution; but when they found this could not be obtained, they broke up the parliament in diſguſt, fined and impriſoned the members for their freedom of ſpeech, and returned to their former methods of arbitrary government. All king *Charles*'s parliaments had been thus diſſolved, even to the preſent, which would undoubtedly have been treated in the ſame manner, had it not been for the act of *continuation*.*

On the other hand, a *ſpirit of Engliſh liberty* had been growing in the nation for ſome years, and the *late oppreſſions*, inſtead of extinguiſhing it, had only kept it under ground, till having collected more ſtrength, it burſt out with the greater violence; the *patriots* of the *conſtitution* watched all opportunities to recover it; yet, when they had obtained a parliament by the interpoſition of the *Scots*, were diſpoſed to take a ſevere revenge upon their late oppreſſors, and to enter upon too violent meaſures in order to prevent the return of power into thoſe hands that had ſo ſhamefully abuſed it. The five members of the houſe of commons, and their friends, who were concerned in inviting the Scots into England, ſaw their danger long before the king came to the houſe to ſeize them, which put them upon concerting meaſures *not only to reſtore the conſtitution, but to lay further limitations upon the royal power for a time*, that they might not be expoſed to

* This act has been called "a violent breach of the conſtitution of this "government:" but the author who has caſt this reproach on it, alſo obſerves, that "if this act had not been obtained, perhaps it would have been "impoſſible to oppoſe the king's attempts with effect." On this ground the "act of continuation" has been called "an act of fidelity of the repre-"ſentatives of the people to their conſtituents: an inſtance of the expe-"dience and righteouſneſs of recovering the violated conſtitution, by means "not ſtrictly juſtifiable when the times are peaceable, and the curators of "government juſt and upright." Memoirs of Hollis, vol. ii. p. 591. Ed.

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the mercy of an incenſed prince, as ſoon as he ſhould be delivered from the preſent parliament. It is true, his majeſty offered a general pardon at the breaking up of the ſeſſion, but theſe members were afraid to rely upon it, becauſe (as was ſaid) there was no appearance that his majeſty would govern by law for the future, any more than he had done before.

The king, being made ſenſible of the deſigns and ſpirit of the *commons*, watched all opportunities to diſperſe them, and not being able to gain his point, reſolved to leave the two houſes, and act no longer in concert with them, which was in effect to determine their power; for to what purpoſe ſhould they ſit, if the king will paſs none of their bills; and forbid his ſubjects to obey any of their votes or ordinances till they had received the royal aſſent? It was this diſmembered and broke the conſtitution, and reduced the parliament to this dilemma, either to return home, and leave all things in the hands of the king and queen, and their late miniſtry; or to act by themſelves, as the GUARDIANS OF THE PEOPLE, in a time of imminent danger: had they diſſolved themſelves, or ſtood ſtill while his majeſty had garriſoned the ſtrong fortreſſes of Portſmouth and Hull, and got poſſeſſion of all the arms, artillery, and ammunition of the kingdom; had they ſuffered the *fleet* to fall into his majeſty's hands, and gone on meekly petitioning for the *militia*, or for his majeſty's return to his two houſes of parliament, till the *queen* was returned with foreign recruits, or the Iriſh at liberty to ſend his majeſty's ſuccours both they and we muſt in all probability have been buried in the ruins of the liberties of our country. The two houſes were not inſenſible of the riſk they ran in croſſing the meaſures of their *ſovereign*, under whoſe government they thought they were to live, and who had counſellors about him who would not fail to put him upon the ſevereſt repriſals, as ſoon as the ſword of the kingdom ſhould return into his hands; but they apprehended that their own and the publick ſafety was at ſtake; that the king was preparing to act againſt them, by raiſing extraordinary guards to his perſon, and ſending for arms and ammunition from abroad; therefore they ventured to make a ſtand in their own defence, and to perform ſuch acts of ſovereignty as were

were neceſſary to put it out of the power of the court, to make them a ſacrifice to the reſentments of their enemies.

But though in a *juſt and neceſſary war*, it is of little moment to enquire who began it, it is nevertheleſs of great conſequence to conſider oa which ſide the *juſtice* of it lies. Let us therefore take a ſhort view of the arguments on the king's ſide with the parliament's reply.

1. It was argued by the royaliſts, *that all grievances both real and imaginary were removed by the king's giving up ſhip-money, by his aboliſhing the court of honour, the ſtar-chamber, and high-commiſſion, and by his giving up the biſhops votes in parliamet.*

The parliament writers own theſe to be very important conceſſions, though far from comprehending all the real grievances of the nation. The *queen* was ſtill at the head of his majeſty's councils, without whoſe approbation no conſiderable affairs of government were tranſacted. None of the authors of the late oppreſſions had been brought to juſtice, except the earl of *Strafford;* and it is more than probable, if the parliament had been diſſolved, they would not only have been pardoned, but reſtored to favour.—Though the biſhops were deprived of their ſeats in parliament, yet the defects in the publick ſervice (which the puritans complained of) were almoſt untouched; nor were any effectual meaſures taken to prevent the growth of popery, which threatned the ruin of the proteſtant religion.

2. It was argued further, *that the king had provided againſt any future oppreſſions of the ſubjects by conſenting to the act for triennial parliaments.*

To which it was replied, that the *triennial act*, in the preſent ſituation of the court, was not a ſufficient ſecurity of our laws and liberties; for ſuppoſe at the end of three years, when the king was in full poſſeſſion of the regal power, having all the forts and garriſons arms and ammunition of the kingdom at his diſpoſal, with his old miniſtry about him, the council ſhould declare, that the NECESSITY OF HIS MAJESTY'S AFFAIRS obliged him to diſpenſe with the *triennial*

* Clarendon, vol. i. p. 262.

act

act, what ſheriff of a county, or other officer, would venture to put it in execution? Beſides, had not the king, from this very principle, ſuſpended and broke through the laws of the land for twelve years together before the meeting of this preſent parliament? And did not his majeſty yield to the new laws with a manifeſt reluctance? Did he not affect to call them acts of *grace*, and not of juſtice? Were not ſome of them extorted from him by ſuch arguments as theſe: *That his conſent to them being forced, they were in themſelves invalid, and might be avoided in better times?* Lord *Clarendon* ſays,‖ he had reaſon to believe this; and if his lordſhip believed it, I cannot ſee how it can reaſonably be called in queſtion. Biſhop *Burnet* is of the ſame mind, and declares,* in the Hiſtory of his Life and Times, "that his majeſty never "came into his conceſſions ſeaſonably, nor with a good "grace; all appeared to be extorted from him; and there "were grounds to believe, that he intended not to ſtand to "them any longer than he lay under that force that viſibly "drew them upon him, contrary to his own inclinations." To all which we may add the words of father *Orleans* the jeſuit, who ſays, "that all mankind believed at that time, "that the king did not grant ſo much but in order to re-"voke all."

3. It was ſaid, *that the king had ſeen his miſtake, and had ſince vowed and proteſted, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that for the future he would govern according to law.*

To which it was replied, that if the PETITION OF RIGHT ſo ſolemnly ratified from the throne, in preſence of both houſes of parliament, was ſo quickly broke through, what dependance could be had upon the *royal promiſe?* For tho' the king himſelf might be a prince of virtue and honour, yet his ſpeeches (ſays Mr. *Rapin*) were full of ambiguities and ſecret reſerves, that left room for different interpretations; beſides, many things were tranſacted without his knowledge, and therefore ſo long as the *queen* was at the head of his councils, they looked upon his *royal word* only as the promiſe of a minor, or of a man under ſuperior di-

‖ Clarendon, vol. i. p. 430.

* Hiſtory of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 40. Edinburgh.

rection;

rection; which was the moſt favourable interpretation could be made of the many violations of it in the courſe of fifteen years. "The *queen*, who was directed by popiſh counſels, "(ſays biſhop *Burnet*) could, by her ſovereign power, make "the king do whatſoever ſhe pleaſed."

4. It was further urged, *that the parliament had invaded the royal prerogative, and uſurped the legiſlative power, without his majeſty's conſent, by claiming the militia, and the approbation of the chief officers both civil and military, and by requiring obedience to their votes and ordinances.*

This the two houſes admitted, and inſiſted upon it as their right, in caſes of *neceſſity* and *extreme danger;* of which *neceſſity* and *danger*, they, as the guardians of the nation, and two parts in three of the legiſlature, were the proper judges: "The queſtion is not (ſay they) whether the king be the "fountain of juſtice and protection; or whether the execu-"tion of the laws belongs primarily to him? But if the king "ſhall refuſe to diſcharge that duty and truſt, and ſhall de-"ſert his parliament, and in a manner abdicate the govern-"ment, whether there be not a power in the two houſes to "provide for the ſafety and peace of the kingdom? or, if "there be no parliament ſitting, whether the nation does "not return to a ſtate of nature, and is not at liberty to pro-"vide for its own defence by extraordinary methods?" This ſeems to have been the caſe in the late glorious revolution of king WILLIAM and queen MARY, when the conſtitution being broken, a convention of the nobility and commonalty was ſummoned without the king's writ, to reſtore the religion and liberties of the people, and place the crown upon another head.

5. The king on his part maintained, that *there was* NO DANGER *from him, but that all the danger were from a malignant party in the parliament, who was ſubverting the conſtitution in church and ſtate. His majeſty averred, that God and the laws had intruſted him with the guardianſhip and protection of his people, and that he would take ſuch care of them as he ſhould be capable of anſwering for it to God.*

With regard to *dangers* and *fears*, the parliament appealed to the whole world, whether there were not juſt grounds for them, after his majeſty had violated the PETITION OF RIGHT,

RIGHT, and attempted to break up the preſent parliament, by bringing his army to London; after he had entered their houſe with an armed force, to ſeize five of their members; after he had deſerted his parliament, and reſolved to act no longer in concert with them; after his majeſty had begun to raiſe forces under pretence of extraordinary guard to his perſon, and endeavoured to get the forts and ammunition of the kingdom into his poſſeſſion, againſt the time when he ſhould receive ſupplies from abroad; after they had ſeen the dreadful effects of a bloody and unparalleled inſurrection and maſſacre of the proteſtants in Ireland, and were continually alarmed with the increaſe and inſolent behaviour of the *papiſts* at home; and laſtly, after they had found it impracticable, by their moſt humble petitions and remonſtrances, to remove the queen and her cabal of papiſts from the direction of the king's councils; after all theſe things, (ſay they) *we muſt maintain the grounds of our fears to be of that moment, that we cannot diſcharge the truſt and duty which lies upon us, unleſs we do apply ourſelves to the uſe of thoſe means, which God and the laws have put into our hands, for the neceſſary defence and ſafety of the kingdom.**

There were certainly *ſtrong* and perhaps unreaſonable *jealouſies, and apprehenſions of danger on both ſides.* The king complained, that he was driven from Whitehall by popular tumults, where neither his perſon or family could remain in ſafety. He was jealous (as he ſaid) for the *laws and liberties* of his people, and was apprehenſive that his parliament intended to change the conſtitution, and wreſt the ſceptre and ſword out of his royal hands. On the other ſide, the two houſes had their *fears and diſtruſts of their own and the publick ſafety;* they were apprehenſive, that if they put the forts and garriſons and all the ſtrength of the kingdom into his majeſty's power, as ſoon as they were diſſolved, he, by the influence of his queen and his old counſellors, would return to his maxims of arbitrary government, and never call another parliament; that he would take a ſevere revenge upon thoſe members who had expoſed his meaſures, and diſgraced his *miniſters;* and in a word, that he would break

* Rapin, p. 468.

through

through the late laws, as having been extorted from him by force and violence; but it was very much in the king's power, even to the treaty at Uxbridge in 1644-5, to have removed theſe diſtruſts, and thereby have ſaved both himſelf, the church, and the nation; for, as the noble hiſtorian obſerves, "*the parliament took none of the points of controverſy* "*leſs to heart, or were leſs united in any thing, than in what* "*concerned the church.*"* And with regard to the ſtate, that *many of them were for peace, provided they might have indemnity for what was paſſed, and ſecurity for time to come.* Why then was not this indemnity and ſecurity offered? Which muſt neceſſarily have divided the parliamentarians, and obliged the *moſt rigorous and violent* to recede from their high and exorbitant demands; and by conſequence have reſtored the king to the peaceable poſſeſſion of his throne.

Upon the whole, if we believe with the noble hiſtorian, and the writers on his ſide, *that the king was driven by violence from his palace at Whitehall, and could not return with ſafety; that all real and imaginary grievances of church and ſtate were redreſſed; and that the kingdom was ſufficiently ſecured from all future inroads of popery and arbitrary power by the laws in being*; then the juſtice and equity of the war was moſt certainly with the king. Whereas, if we believe *that the king voluntarily deſerted his parliament, and that it was owing alone to his majeſty's own peremptory reſolution, that he would not return* (as lord *Clarendon* admits.) *If by this means the conſtitution was broken, and the ordinary courts of juſtice neceſſarily interrupted. If there were ſundry grievances ſtill to be redreſſed, and the king reſolved to ſhelter himſelf under the laws in being, and to make no further conceſſions. If there were juſt reaſons to fear*, with biſhop *Burnet* and father *Orleans*, that the king *would abide by the late laws no longer than he was under that force that brought them upon him.* In a word, *if in the judgment of the majority of lords and commons, the kingdom was in imminent danger of the return of popery and arbitrary power, and his majeſty would not condeſcend ſo much as to a temporary ſecurity for their ſatisfaction;* then we muſt conclude, that the cauſe of the par-

* Vol. ii. p. 581, 594.

liament,

liament, at the commencement of the war, and for ſome years after, was not only *juſtifiable*, but *commendable and glorious*; eſpecially if we believe their own moſt ſolemn proteſtation,* in the preſence of almighty God, to the kingdom and to the world; "That no private paſſion or reſpect, no evil intention to his majeſty's perſon, no deſigns to the prejudice of his juſt honour or authority, had engaged them to raiſe forces, and take up arms againſt the authors of this war in which the kingdom is inflamed."†

* Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part 3d, p. 26.

† Biſhop *Warburton* grants, that "*Charles* was a man of *ill faith*:" from whence aroſe the queſtion, "whether he was to be truſted? Here," he adds, "we muſt begin to diſtinguiſh. It was one thing, whether thoſe "particulars, who had perſonally offended the king, in the manner by "which they extorted this amends from him; and *another*, whether the "publick, on all principles of civil government, ought not to have ſate "down ſatisfied. I think particulars could not ſafely take his word; and "that the publick could not honeſtly refuſe it. You will ſay then, the "leaders in parliament were juſtified in their miſtruſt. Here, again, we "muſt diſtinguiſh. Had they been private *men*, we ſhould not diſpute it. "But they bore another character; they were repreſentatives of the pub-"lick, and ſhould therefore have acted in that capacity." Some will conſider theſe diſtinctions, ſet up by his lordſhip, as favouring more of chicanery than ſolid reaſoning. The ſimple queſtion is, Was *Charles* worthy to be truſted? No! His lordſhip grants, that he was a man of *ill faith*. How then could the repreſentatives of the people *honeſtly* commit the national intereſt to a man, whoſe duplicity and inſincerity had repeatedly deceived them: and in deceiving them had deceived the publick? If they could not ſafely take his word for themſelves; how could they do it for their conſtituents? In all their negociations with him they had been acting not for themſelves only, but for the nation. It was inconſiſtent with the truſt inveſted in them to ſacrifice or riſk the national welfare by eaſy credulity; a credulity, which in their private concerns wiſdom and prudence would have condemned. Beſides, the inſincerity of *Charles* had been ſo notorious, they had no ground to ſuppoſe that the publick could or would take his word; much leſs that the publick would expect or approve of their doing it; to whom the proofs of his inſincerity offered themſelves immediately and with all their force. Ed.

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